


NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Bridging Communities of Place: Insights from the New Rural Economy Project

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- NRE Research Team
- Rural Citizens in our field sites

- This presentation can be found on the NRE website

- Contributors: Bill Reimer, Ray Bollman, Omer Chouinard, Ivan Emke, Greg Halseth, Emily Huddart, Dianne Looker, John Parkins, Laura Ryser, Sara Teitelbaum, Derek Wilkinson
- This session provides insights regarding the conditions and processes linking communities throughout rural and urban Canada. Based on 10 years of research, presenters will discuss how community interdependence is altered with changes in trade, migration, technology, and policy. Particular attention will be given to emerging strategies and options for capacity-building as communities reorganize to meet their needs and objectives. New forms of governance, service delivery, communications, and environmental stewardship serve as illustrations of the processes involved while theoretical frameworks related to social capital, social cohesion, and capacity-building are used for understanding some of the transformations.
- Room 14; 14:45 to 16:15 (1.5 hours)

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Bridging Communities

- Make interdependencies visible
 - Trade and Exchanges
 - Institutions and Organizations
 - Environment
 - Identity and Ideology
- Identify challenges and opportunities
- Propose strategies

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- 'Bridging communities' implies that we must create those bridges.
- But – communities are already bridged
 - The more we learn about our ourselves, society, our economy, our natural environment, and our planet, the more we realize that interdependence is one of our most fundamental conditions.
 - *We have come to realize the many ways in which decisions in Montreal or Ottawa (institutions), affect the health of the pine beetle in BC (environment), how the pine beetle affects your ability to purchase an ipod in Saskatoon (trade), and how all of these will affect the likelihood of our soldiers getting blown up on a road to Kandahar (identity and heritage).*
- From this point of view, 'bridging communities' is not about building those bridges, but about:
 - (S) Making the existing connections visible (documenting the interdependencies)
 - It is useful to consider these connections within 4 general spheres. We are interdependent through:
 - (S) Trade and exchanges (among goods and services, finances, people)
 - (S) Shared Institutions and organizations (formal and informal)
 - (S) Shared Environment (Air, Water, Land)
 - (S) Shared Identity and Ideology (How we understand ourselves and those around us, *How those understandings shape our actions*)
 - Bridging communities also means identifying the challenges and opportunities they create
 - Finding ways in which those bridges can be used for greater equity, justice, sustainability, and the other outcomes we wish to promote – all the while remembering that bridges are not always a good thing.

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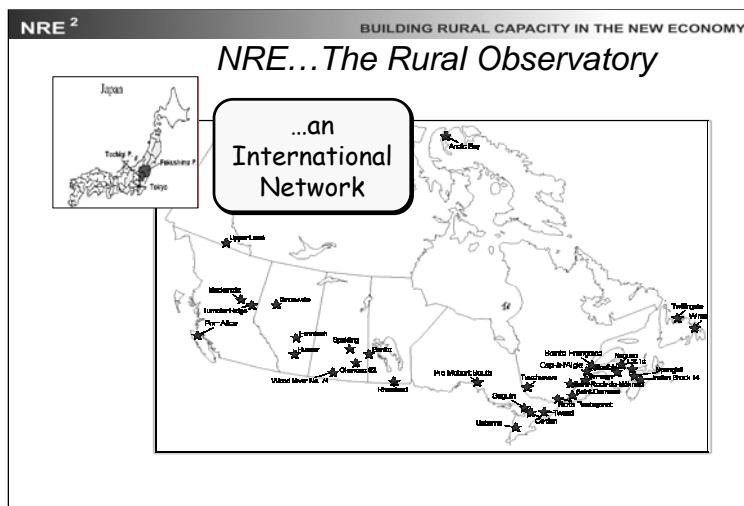
Rural (Re)vitalization

- What changes are taking place in rural Canada?
- What is driving them?
- How can rural communities and people best position themselves in the context of these changes? (Capacity-building)

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In the NRE Project, our particular explorations of these challenges emerge from a mutual concern with rural revitalization.

- *Therefore our analysis will reflect a concern with bridges among communities of place*
 - *It provides many insights and findings relevant for other types of communities, however (e.g. communities of interest).*
- Questions that have guided our research program:
 - (S) What changes are taking place in rural Canada?
 - (S) What is driving them?
 - (S) How can rural communities and people best position themselves in the context of these changes? (Capacity-building)
- We have learned that:
 - Available linkages are not always used
 - The most resilient communities are those that use multiple types of links to other people, communities, and institutions – regionally, nationally, and internationally.
 - Being able to do so is strongly related to the social cohesion of those communities – internal linkages and external go together.
- We have been working on these issues for over 10 years so there is much to tell.
- Since we have had to select from this work we will focus on certain aspects only – and invite you to learn about the others through the web site, posters, materials, conversations, etc.



- (S) The NRE Project is a national, collaborative project
 - Includes 15 core researchers in 11 universities across the country
 - 32 systematically chosen rural communities (The Rural Observatory)
 - We have worked with most of them over 10 years
 - Program of annual conferences and workshops – held in rural locations
- Our Japanese colleagues were very impressed with this approach and asked us if we would collaborate with them to do the same thing in Japan
 - (S) With our help they selected 2 sites in Japan and ran a parallel and comparative project with ours
- Project includes information from:
 - biannual profile data at the level of the sites,
 - household interview data from about 2000 households in 21 of the sites,
 - census data since 1986,
 - national survey data on rural and urban people's perception of the environment.
 - Several other specialized surveys on media, communications, capacity, and governance.
 - Close collaboration with local citizens and their organizations.
- This design allows us to not only understand the dynamics within each site, but allows us to make comparisons across sites – *thereby separating out characteristics unique to each place from those that are due to contextual conditions.*
- This work serves as a fundamental basis for the insights we will be discussing today.

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Outline

- Trade and travel (Bollman)
- Institutional interdependence (Ryser)
- Frameworks (Reimer)
- Governance (Reimer)
- Shared environments (Teitelbaum)
- Identities and communication (Emke)
- Conclusions (Reimer)

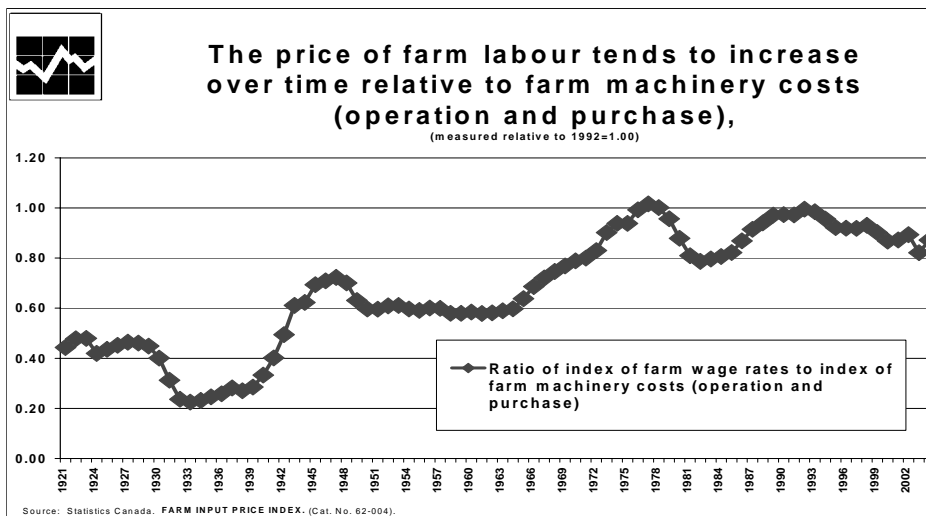
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- We will take you through some of the insights and learnings in the following manner.
- Ray Bollman will outline some of the key ways in which the economies of trade in goods, services, finances, and people have set the context for rural-rural and rural-urban interdependence.
- Laura Ryser will discuss some of the findings and implications for regional interdependence from our work on the organization and provision of services in rural areas
- I will then outline some of the conceptual frameworks we have used to understand local responses to interdependencies
- And will illustrate using some of the insights of our Governance Theme team (in place of Omer Chouinard who was unable to be here today)
- Sara Teitelbaum will take us through some examples by which the sharing of natural environments have created crises of interdependence and how regional groups have reorganized themselves to meet these crises.
- Ivan Emke will focus on the ways in which communications technologies may be tools for action. Both traditional and new forms of communication have in some cases undermined, and in others, enhanced community awareness of interdependence – sometimes local, sometimes global
- I will then conclude with some remarks regarding the ways in which these insights may help us to understand interdependence in general – among places and among people.

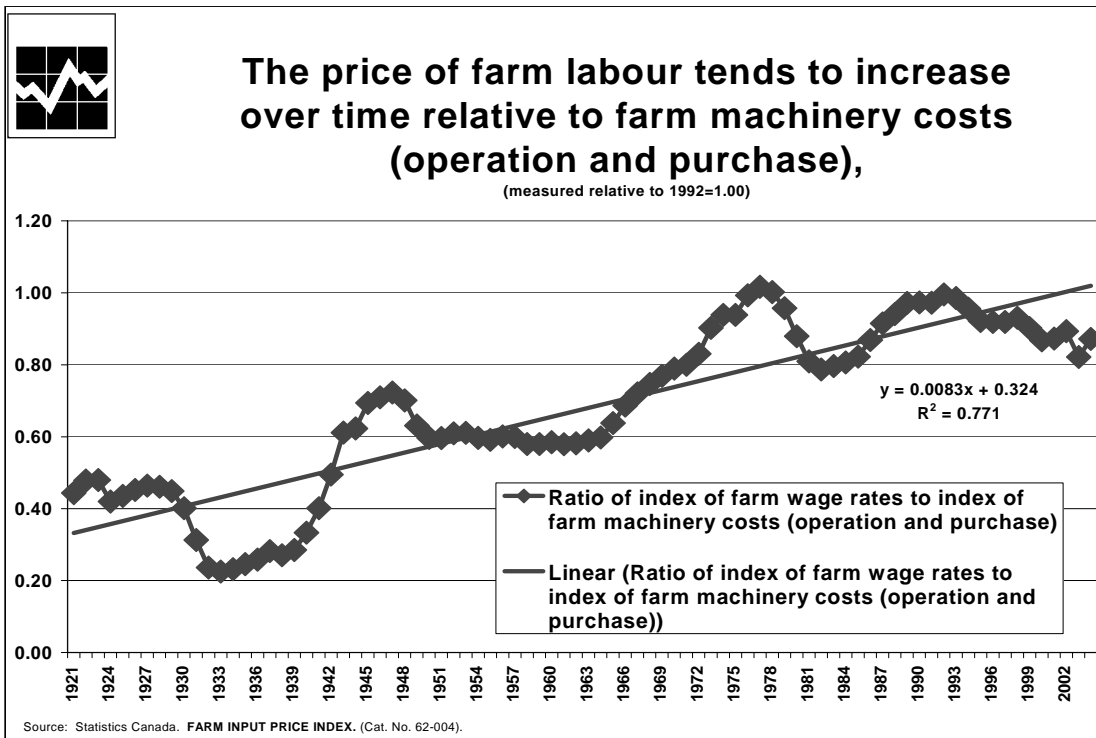
Economic drivers

- Commodity production is a rural albatross
- Rural manufacturing is competitive
- Agglomeration economies are trump
- Rural<>urban linkages:
 - Trade vs. governance
 - Within vs. between
 - > rural<>urban "within metro"
 - > versus
 - > Metro<>hinterland "between linkages"

- [Transition to Ray:
- Ray Bollman is presently Chief of Research and Rural Data in the Agriculture Division of Statistics Canada. He has a background in Agricultural Economics but has proven himself to be an insightful champion of all socio-economic aspects of rural populations. He is the editor of Statistics Canada's Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletins and the immediate past-chair of the OECD Working Party on Territorial Indicators.
- Ray will provide us with an overview of some of the major drivers of the rural economy today – and in a country like Canada, this means the major drivers of our economy in general.

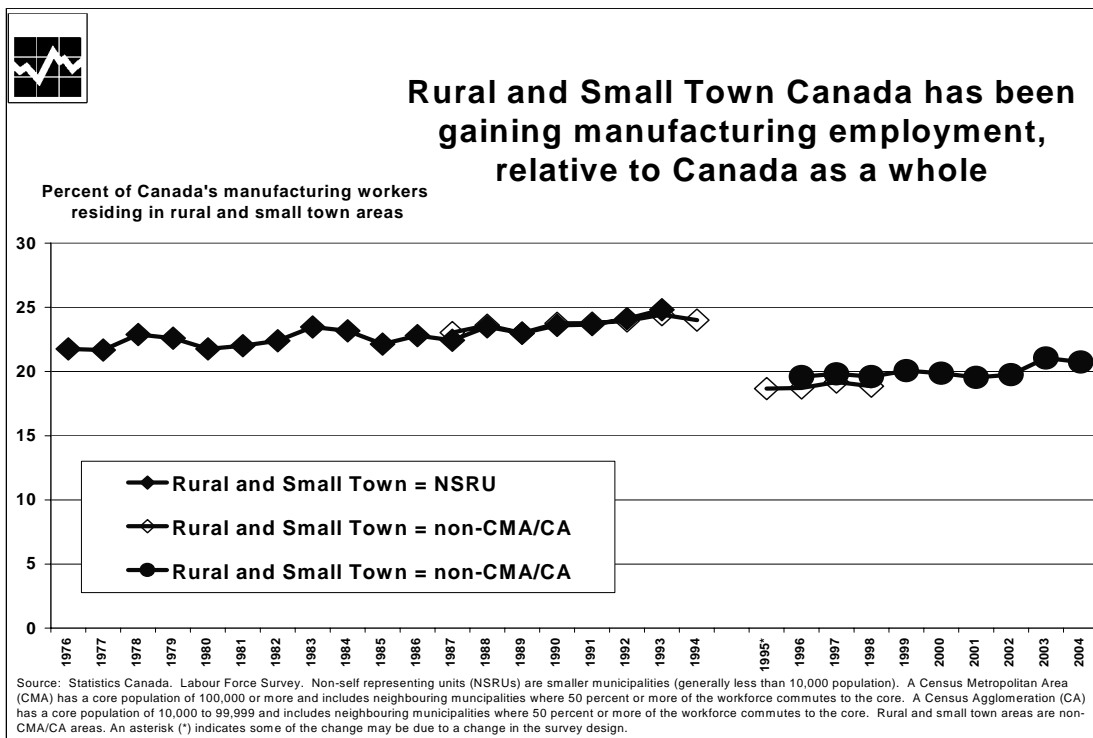


- We have a “farm crisis” in the grain and oilseed sector – both the farm press and the non-farm press have recognised this. Many stories in the press imply / suggest / and sometimes boldly assert that policy attention to the “grain and oilseed crisis” would save some / one rural community.
- In my view, there are two fundamental trends in agriculture:
 - the long-run real price (i.e. after adjusting for inflation) for agricultural commodities is “down”; and
 - the long-run trend is for the price of labour to increase relative to the price of capital. (See T.W. Schultz. (1972) “The Increasing Value of Human Time.” **American Journal of Agricultural Economics** Vol. 73, No. 1, pp. 1322 – 1385)
- In my view, when it comes to understanding the impact of agriculture on rural communities, the price of commodities does not matter – it does not matter if we have wheat at \$2 per bushel or \$6 per bushel. The fundamental trend impacting rural communities is the increase in the price of labour relative to the price of capital. Simply put, there is an on-going incentive to substitute capital for labour in farming – tractors (and other farming machines) are getting bigger – less and less labour is required to produce more and more wheat. Agricultural output is up -- agricultural labour is down. Fewer people are required in agriculture. **This trend is on-going – regardless of the price of farm outputs. Consequently, the challenge for rural communities is to find something new to export to maintain a population base.** Note that the same phenomena is occurring in mining communities and forestry communities and fishing communities – in each case, fewer people are required to extract or harvest more rural products. Each community is challenged to find new goods or services to export to prevent their population from declining.

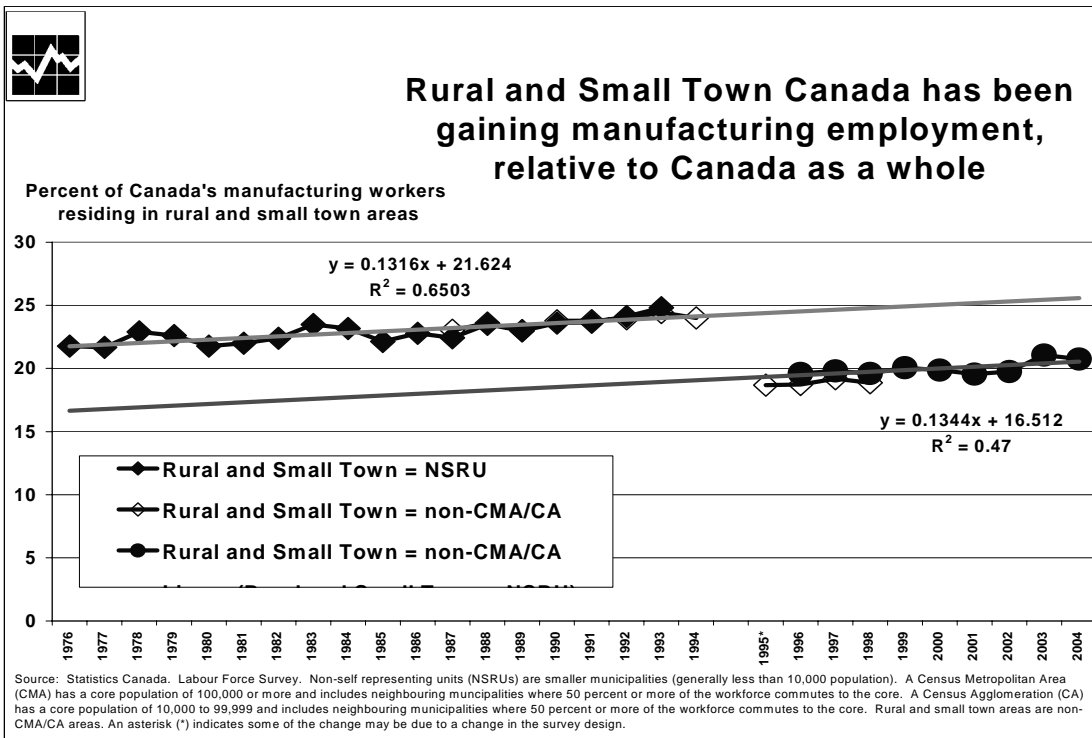


Economic drivers

- Commodity production is a rural albatross
- Rural manufacturing is competitive

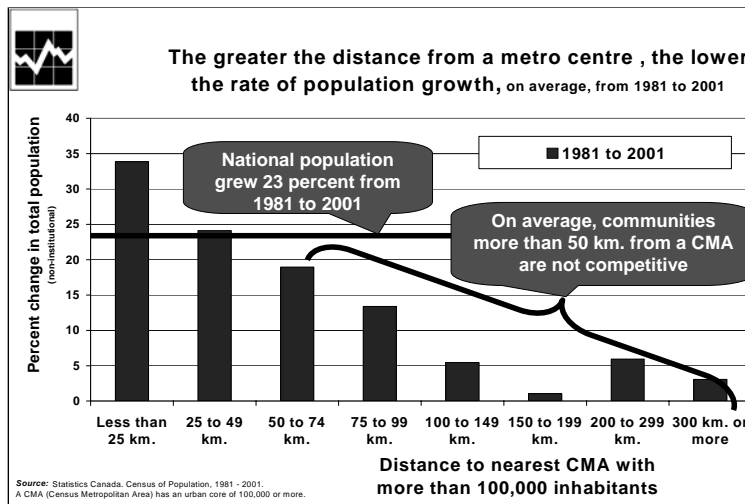


- Following David Freshwater (Freshwater, David. (2003) "Will manufacturing remain the pillar of rural development?" In **The Future of Rural Policy: From Sectoral to Place-based Policies in Rural Areas**. (Paris: OECD), pp. 99-124.), almost by default, successful rural communities in the future will have a manufacturing base. (Exceptions will be communities with an amenity such as pristine lakes or pristine mountain vistas.)
- In Canada, rural and small town areas are competitive in increasing their share of Canada's total manufacturing employment.
- Part of this is due to declining price (at least up to recent spikes in fuel prices) for transporting goods (Bollman, Ray D. and Marc Prud'homme. (2006) "Trends in the prices of rurality." **Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin** Vol. 6, No. 7 (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Cat. no. 21-006-XIE) (www.statcan.ca/english/freepub/21-006-XIE/free.htm).



Economic drivers

- Commodity production is a rural albatross
- Rural manufacturing is competitive
- Agglomeration economies are trump



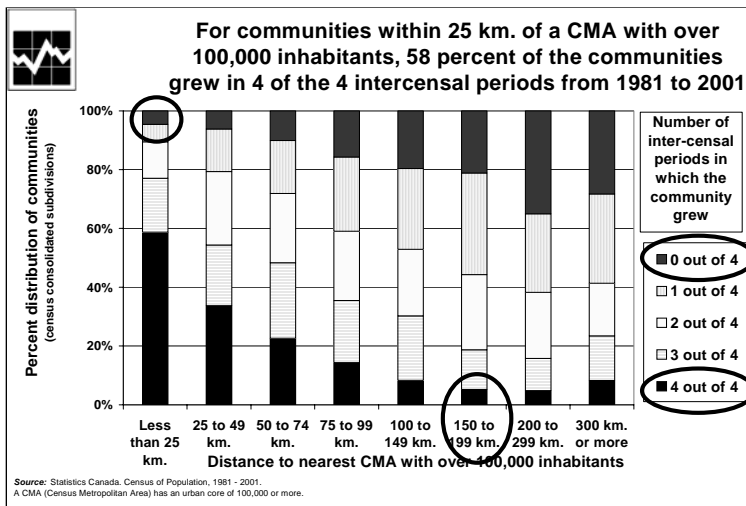
• **The economic advantages of agglomerations are driving the demographic growth of cities**

- Agglomerations exist and persist because of externalities which increase productivity and which hold cities together (Alasia, 2005; Hite, 2004). Localized knowledge spillovers are a key, but not the only, externality.
- *An essential characteristic of learning is that it involves interactions with others. High population density, and greater diversity, allow for more and richer interactions. In turn, interactions facilitate knowledge generation, diffusion, and accumulation; in other words, agglomeration facilitates learning and innovation.* (Alasia, 2005, p. 50).
- Agglomeration economies (or external economies of scale) are driving the demographic growth of cities. The question for rural areas is: can rural areas find ways to link to this driver? One option is to produce specialty goods and services to sell into the rich, growing and segmenting metro niche markets.
- Canada ranks as a typical OECD country in terms of the share of the population that lives in urban and rural regions (Cunningham and Bollman, 1997, Figure 4).
- From 1981 to 2001, metro centres trumped population growth. The share of Canada's population within 25 kilometres of a metro centre increased to 43 percent by 2001. The share of the population within 25 to 49 kilometres held steady at 27 percent over the 1981 to 2001 period. Thus, by 2001, 70 percent of Canada's population lived within 50 kilometres of a metro centre.
- In this paper, metro centre refers to Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) which have an urban core of 100,000 or more individuals and include all surrounding towns and municipalities where 50 percent or more of the workforce commutes to the urban core.
- The share of Canada's population in communities more than 50 kilometres from a metro centre declined continuously during the 1981 to 2001 period. If one defines "competitive" as increasing your market share, then these communities were not competitive, on average, over this period.
- The further the community is from a metro centre, the lower was the rate of population growth. On average, population growth was positive in each group of communities – but communities more than 50 kilometres from a metro centre grew at a slower pace than the national rate of population growth (which was an increase of 23 percent from 1981 to 2001). Hence, the share of Canada's population in these communities declined over these two decades. The power of metro centres to drive population growth looks exceptionally strong. However, not all metro centres and not all communities close to metro centres performed equally over the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, only 59 percent of the communities within 25 kilometres of a metro centre successfully attained population growth in 4 out of 4 inter-censal periods between 1981 and 2001. Another 18 percent grew their population in 3 of the 4 inter-censal periods, but suffered a population decline in one 5-year period between 1981 and 2001. Perhaps surprisingly, 5 percent of the communities within 25 kilometres of a CMA declined continuously from 1981 to 2001. A nearby metro agglomerated economy was unable to drive population growth in these communities.
- It appears that communities 200 to 299 kilometres from a CMA fared the worst in terms of population growth performance during the 1980s and the 1990s. Only 5 percent achieved continuous population growth in 4 out of 4 intercensal periods and over one-third suffered continuous population declines in this two-decade period. These communities were more than 2 hours from the 'benefits' of a metro centre – such as an international airport, a large hospital, a potential market for goods and services produced in the non-metro community, etc.

• Alasia, Alessandro (2005) **Skills, Innovation and Growth: Key Issues for Rural and Territorial Development: A Survey of the Literature.** (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Agriculture and Rural Working Paper No. 76, Cat. no. 21-601-MIE) (www.statcan.ca/cgi-bin/downpub/listpub.cgi?catno=21-601-MIE).

• Hite, Jim. (2000) "It Takes a Critical Mass to Prosper." **Briefing Paper** (Rural Virginia Prosperity Commission). (www.rvpc.vt.edu/nov%2014%20critical%20mass.pdf)


• Cunningham, Ron and Ray D. Bollman. (1997) "Structure and Trends of Rural Employment: Canada in the Context of OECD Countries." Chapter 4 in Ray D. Bollman and John M. Bryden. **Rural Employment: An International Perspective** (Wallingford, U.K.: CAB International), pp. 36 – 58.



Economic drivers

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 - > versus
 - > Metro<>distant rural "between" linkages

- To this point, we have noted that commodity production for international markets has driven settlement and the economy of rural Canada – but the on-going substitution of machines for labour has caused resource-dependent communities to be “challenged” to find a new good or service to export OR to face a continuing decline in their workforce.
- The relative decline in the price of transporting goods is one factor offering an opportunity for manufacturing jobs in rural Canada.
- Agglomeration economies mean that people are more productive in agglomerations.
- Now, to map these drivers across space to understand linkages and networks:
- → the “rural countryside” within the commuting distance to a “larger urban centre”
 - in this case, metro and rural represent one labour market (and often they represent a strong internal market for goods and services)
 - thus, “trade” is “within” metro, not between “urban” and “rural”
 - the big discussion for urban<>rural linkages is “governance”
 - environmental issues may be one common topic of conversation
- → for “rural” outside the commuting distance to a “larger urban centre”
 - exchanges are via the flow of goods and services (i.e. “trade”);
 - trade is the major linkage / network / conversation;
 - “governance” is a lower-rank discussion
 - environmental “governance” is largely an urban demand – can we afford to pay for environmental goods and services? The development of markets for rural producers to “sell” environmental services is an important opportunity – notably a “trade” opportunity, not a governance opportunity – to provide a linkage / network / conversation ‘between’ urban and rural
- There are significant “rural” populations in each type of situation and their linkage / networks / conversations with “urban” would be expected to differ – because of “distance” – because of the degree of rurality.
- Rural<>urban linkages are sometimes issues of **trade** and are sometimes issues of **governance** (or protection).
- Empirically, there are 2 million “rural” inhabitants within the governance umbrella of “metro” - - some of the rural<>urban conversations “within metro” will concern trade but most will concern governance.
- Empirically, there are 6 million “rural and small town” inhabitants outside the governance umbrella of “metro” – some of the rural<>urban conversations “between” metro and the hinterland will be about governance, but most will be about trade



Within metro → rural-urban linkages / networks / conversations are expected to be largely about “governance”

Population of Canada by type of labour market and by type of community / settlement, 2006

| Type of labour market | Type of community / settlement | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|--|
| | Census urban | Census rural | All types of communities / settlements |
| | *** Population (million) *** | | |
| Larger urban centre (CMA and CA) | 23 | 2 | 26 |
| Rural and small town (non-CMA/CA) | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| All types of labour markets | 25 | 6 | 32 |

Source: Statistics Canada. Census of Population, 2006.

- Within “larger urban centres”, there are 2 million rural people involved in conversations with their urban cousins “within metro.” We are hypothesizing that the guts of this conversation is on issues of governance, and not trade (because they are part of the same (internal) trading market)
- There are 6 million rural and small town people outside “larger urban centres” who are involved in conversations “between” themselves as hinterland residents and the residents of “larger urban centres.” We are hypothesizing that the guts of this conversation is on issues of trade.
- Thus, “distance” – or the degree of rurality – would be expected to determine the type of rural<>urban linkage / networks / conversations.



Between metro and 'distant rural' →
rural-metro linkages / networks / conversations
are expected to be largely about "trade"

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To wrap up → economic drivers

- Commodity production is a rural albatross
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[Bill transition:

- As Ray has illustrated, the factors affecting and conditioning rural Canada are complex and extensive: including local, regional, national, and global implications.
- For that reason, we designed our approach to reflect this complexity in a number of ways.
- We were convinced that we needed to be directly involved at the local level – exposing ourselves to the information and feedback that can only come from sustained contact with people in rural areas.
 - This meant not just analyzing macro-level data, but collecting information at the local level as well, inviting local people into the process, providing regular feedback to them, and learning from their responses along the way (e.g. we always hold our conferences and workshops in small towns)
- But we also knew of the advantages that systematic comparison has for knowledge and understanding.
 - Many case studies have been conducted in rural settings – but often are focused on single sites or regions with little systematic comparison
 - Makes it difficult to determine, for example, whether the results reflect the unique characteristics of that single case or processes that are shared with many other sites.
- Thus, we spent some time identifying the most strategic comparisons to make in our work]

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|---|-------------|---------|---------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| | | | High Capacity | | Low Capacity | |
| | | | Lead | Lag | Lead | Lag |
| Global Exposed | Fluctuating | Adjac. | 175 | 27 | 46 | 15 |
| | | Distant | 251 | 13 | 124 | 44 |
| | Stable | Adjac. | 4 | 26 | 8 | 19 |
| | | Distant | 5 | 16 | 18 | 30 |
| Local Exposed | Fluctuating | Adjac. | 4 | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| | | Distant | 12 | 16 | 5 | 13 |
| | Stable | Adjac. | 12 | 100 | 7 | 45 |
| | | Distant | 15 | 99 | 16 | 56 |

- We identified 5 key comparisons that we felt were critical to the future of rural Canada
 - Whether the site was strongly connected to the global economy or not
 - Whether its economy was fluctuating or stable
 - Whether it was close to or far away from major urban centres
 - Whether it had a lot or little amount of institutional capacity nearby (schools, hospitals, or other services)
 - Whether it was leading or lagging with respect to a number of socio-economic characteristics
- We classified all the rural census subdivisions in Canada into their appropriate cells and randomly selected one from each cell (done in 1997)
 - Formed the “Rural Observatory”
- Throughout our research, therefore, we have been able to compare among field sites with respect to these dimensions and to do so over time – as we watch for sites to shift from one cell to another.
- It allows us to ask questions like – “Are the impacts of drivers identified by Ray significantly modified by whether the local economy of the site is globally exposed or not?” or “Are the trade linkages different among sites that are distant from major metropolitan areas as compared to those which are adjacent?”
- The intensive field work aspects of our work have also made it possible to examine the local processes involved at the same time.
 - Thus it provides a basis for analyzing the second broad category of inter-community linkages: the **institutions and organizations** which communities share.
- Two of the four theme teams on our project have addressed these issues directly – one through the examination of **services** – both formal and informal, and the other through the analysis of **governance** in rural areas.
- Laura Ryser will present some of this material on behalf of the Services team.
- Laura Ryser is the Research Manager of the Rural and Small Town Studies Program at the University of Northern British Columbia. She is also a success story of the NRE Project – entering as a student researcher, completing her Master’s degree in Natural Resources and Environmental Studies at the University of Northern B.C., and going on to manage a respected and influential Centre in that university.
- She will focus on the way in which rural services have been reorganized and some of the ways in which local communities have responded.

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Services Regionalize, Specialize, & Standardize

- Services are being reduced
- Only 22% of services being tracked are available locally in at least ½ the sites

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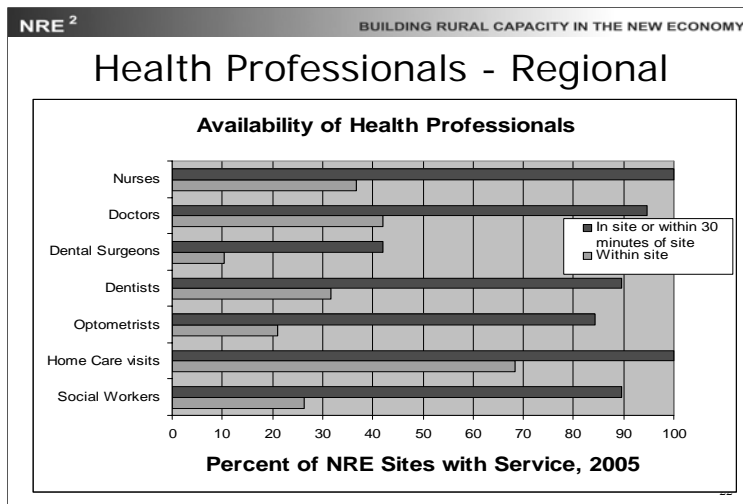
- **Services Regionalize, Specialize, Standardize, and Professionalize**
- As rural and small town Canada faces challenges associated with social and economic restructuring, there is a clear trend of services withdrawal. Few services are available in a majority of our sites.
- In our tracking, only 28 out of 127 (or 22%) services are available in more than half of the 19 sites. Instead, services continue to be available on a regional basis.

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|------------------------------|------|--|--|
| Health Professionals - Local | | | |
| Services – All Sites (% yes) | 1998 | 2005 | |
| Doctors | 47.4 | 42.1 | |
| Nurses | 52.6 | 36.8 | |
| Dentists | 36.8 | 31.6 | |
| Optometrist | 15.8 | 21.1 | |
| Dental surgeon | 15.8 | 10.5 | |
| Home care visits | 47.4 | 68.4 | |
| Social workers | 42.1 | 26.3 | |

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•**Health Care Professionals – Local**

•For example, if we examine changes in health care between 1998 and 2005, access to most basic health care professionals is being reduced. Cuts have been most noticeable to nursing staff and social workers. The small growth in local availability of optometrists and home care workers since 1998 may reflect market pressures from population aging.



•Health Care Professionals – Regional

•When we move to a regional level, most of these health services are available within 30 minutes. This change in spatial scale at which services are available generally follow principles of centrality and market area.

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Services Regionalize, Specialize, & Standardize

- Services are being regionalized
 - Service specialization
 - Standardization & professionalization
 - Urban / market-based models not well suited to rural areas

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•**Services Regionalize, Specialize, Standardize, and Professionalize**

II

- Greater service specialization, and an increase in the standardization and professionalization of services, have also been widely supported.
- However, rural and small town places are often unable to support such high-end service transformations - with the result that urban-based models do not fit well with rural and small town circumstances.

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Local & Regional Inadequacies Create Voids

- Limited service provision erodes capacity to respond to change
- Services provide a foundation for community and economic renewal
- Shifting burden of costs to travel and access services

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•Local and Regional Inadequacies Create Voids

- Such changes erode a community's ability to respond to social and economic change. Services are critical to provide a foundation for networking and innovative bottom up approaches to community and economic renewal.
- In addition, the regionalization of services shifts the burden of costs to users who have to travel in Canada's four season climate. This shift may be especially difficult for those less able to travel, the elderly, and the poor.
- If rural and small town residents wish to retain these services, they will have to find new ways to have them delivered.

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|--|------|--|--|
| New Governance Emerges | | | |
| Does your organization have any partnerships - % yes | | | |
| | 2003 | 2005 | |
| Non-local partnerships | 69.0 | 75.9 | |
| Local partnerships | 69.0 | 58.6 | |

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•New Governance Emerges - Partnerships

- Some communities are finding new ways to cope with service restructuring through the emergence of partnerships and shifts in the governance structures of voluntary organizations.
- Drawing from 29 interviews in four sites across Canada, responses indicated that partnerships, both within and outside the community, are important for the operation of these organizations. Even though they are important, partnerships are difficult to maintain and need support over time.
- In particular, voluntary groups are responding to service restructuring by developing partnerships to deliver services, as well as to obtain expertise, share information, and obtain access to a range of human, financial, and in-kind resources. These partnerships help voluntary groups to confront problems that require multiple services, coordination, and a variety of strategies.

| NRE ² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY | | | |
|--|-------|-------------|-------|
| New Governance Emerges II | | | |
| Does your organization have any partnerships? - % yes, 2005 | | | |
| | Board | No Board | Total |
| Non-local partnerships | 86.4 | 42.9 | 75.9 |
| Local partnerships | 68.2 | 28.6 | 58.6 |

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•**New Governance Emerges II – Partnerships and Boards**

- Approximately 76% of these voluntary groups also adopted a board of directors. A board can provide stability and support the capacity of an organization to conduct its activities.
- Voluntary organizations with a board of directors were more likely to develop partnerships with local and non-local groups.

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New Governance Emerges III

- Groups with a board were more likely to maintain funding sources.
- Boards of directors established to:
 - Meet funding requirements
 - Improve accountability

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•New Governance Emerges III – Boards and Funding

- Voluntary organizations with a board of directors were also more likely to maintain their funding sources over time. Many groups established a board of directors to meet funding requirements and improve accountability.

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Community Interdependence

- March 2000: Closure of Quintette mine
- Tumbler Ridge Task Force formed
 - Local government and local service providers
 - Provincial Ministry of Energy & Mines, school district, health unit
 - Regional District
 - Nearby communities

•Community Interdependence and Community Transition

- Tumbler Ridge provides us with an example of how important relationships between local and non-local organizations can be. In March 2000, Quintette announced the closure of the local mine.
- Shortly after, the Tumbler Ridge Revitalization Task Force was formed and included not only local service providers and government representatives, but also representatives from provincial education, health, and government agencies, the regional district, and nearby communities, including Dawson Creek, Chetwynd, and Fort St. John.
- Measures were put in place to guarantee funding for basic education, health, and retraining services during the transition period.

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Community Interdependence Implications

- Changing services demands
 - Shifting burden of costs to travel & access services
 - Lack of preparedness for economic upswings
- More attention to service provision as a component of renewal is needed

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•Community Interdependence Implications

•The community interdependence that has been created by the reorganization of services at a regional level create several policy implications. A question continues to surround who will bear the costs of traveling to access services in regional centres. This especially applies to our vulnerable populations.

•More attention is needed to avoid unintended service policy change consequences which could truncate local revitalization efforts. The success story of Tumbler Ridge, B.C. highlights the critical importance of keeping basic services available as a way to support community transition. Services are not just about how we react, they are about how we prepare.

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Policy Implications II

- Program design must recognize this shift in scale
 - Expanded service populations
 - Evaluation of benefits
- Design government programs to support collaboration / 'scaling up' approach to service provision

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•Policy Implications II

- Programs to assist with rural revitalization will need to keep the shift towards a regionalization of services in mind. While funds are typically allocated to sites; benefits, demands, and evaluations may now need to be at that regional scale.
- Government program and policies must also support opportunities for partnering to deliver services and undertake innovations.

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Policy Implications III

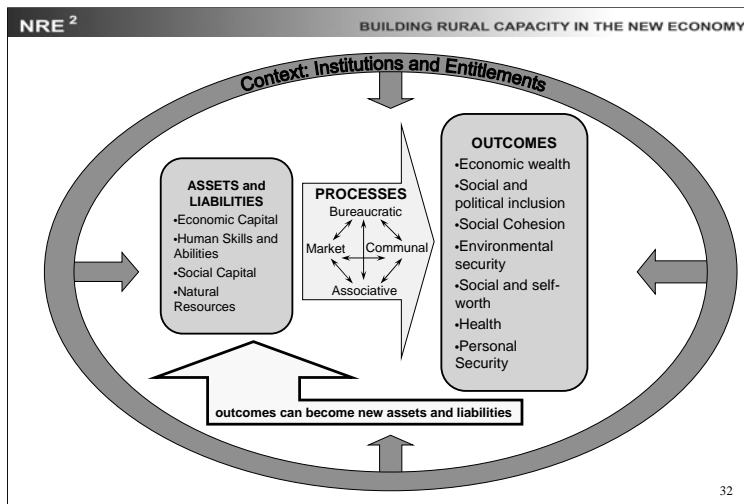
- Support needed to cope with the reorganization of gov't services
 - Transportation options
 - Subsistence while visiting regional centres
 - Home care costs
 - Multi-use facilities
 - One-stop shops

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•Policy Implications III

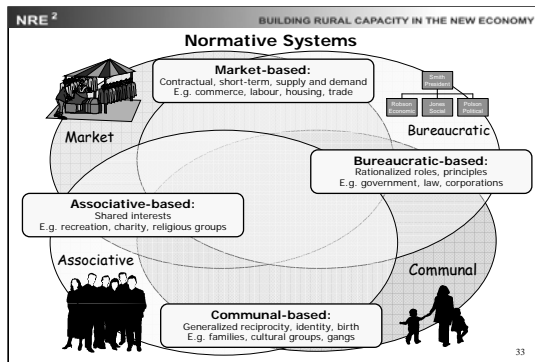
•Furthermore, transportation options, subsistence support while visiting regional centres, and home care costs should receive special attention if services will only be offered in regional centres. Finally, multi-use facilities or one-stop shops that offer information and government forms need to be reconsidered.

•Thank-you.

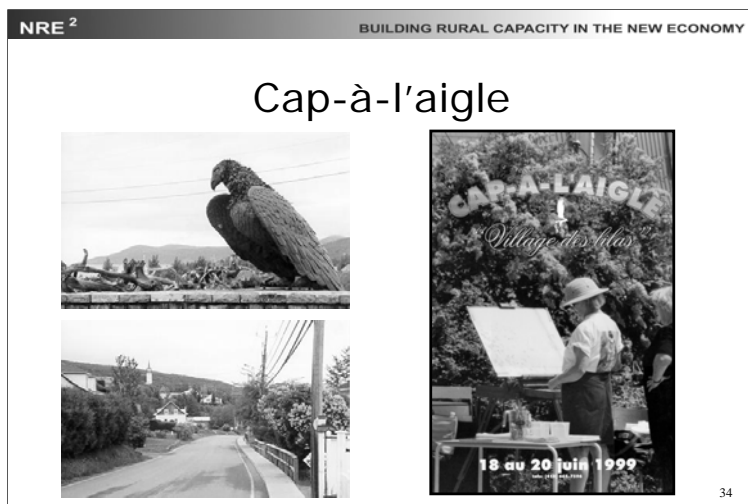


[Bill transition:

- *Understanding the complex relationship between the macro-level conditions outlined by Ray and the regional and local responses described by Laura has been one of the major challenges we faced as a research team.*
- In order to manage the complexity of these relationships and to ensure coherence in our approaches, we developed a common framework that has guided our discussion and analysis.
- In keeping with our concern for community action this framework focuses on capacity – the conditions and processes that contribute to a community (in our case) taking action on its own behalf (governance).
- It has proved considerably robust in data analysis and sufficiently flexible in its application that we feel it is a useful point of departure for capacity analysis well beyond the rural context.]
- The capacity model is composed of 5 main elements in a dynamic system
- (AAA) It assumes that capacity building is about reorganizing assets and liabilities into new outcomes
- It is similar to some of the assets-based community development (ABCD) models, but includes three critical innovations:
 - (A) Outcomes can, in turn, become new assets and liabilities for communities.
 - (A) Contextual conditions affect all aspects of the model
 - We have paid particular attention to the nature of the processes by which assets and liabilities become outcomes since they point to the local agency dynamics – both actual and potential
 - We have conducted much of this analysis with respect to 4 types of normative systems that structure this agency ->



- (S) Market relations (such as found in commerce, labour markets, housing markets, trade)
 - Based on supply & demand, contracts
 - Supported and controlled by trade agreements, competition legislation, labour law, better business bureau, and the courts
 - They are the norms that guide us when we shop for groceries, seek employment, or negotiate the purchase of a house
- (S) Bureaucratic relations (e.g. government, corporations, law, formal organizations)
 - Based on rationalized roles, authority and status, generalized principles
 - Controlled by legislation, corporate law
 - They are the norms that guide us when getting our driver's license, meeting a doctor, or for most of us, relating to colleagues or students
- (S) Associative relations (e.g. baseball teams, bridge clubs, environmental groups, meals on wheels)
 - Based on shared interest
 - Controlled by civil law, municipal by-laws, social norms, and informal sanctions
- (S) Communal relations (e.g. families, friendship networks, gangs, cultural groups)
 - Based on kinship, generalized reciprocity, favours
 - Controlled by informal norms, legislation, family law, and government support agencies
- All types are implicated in the individual and organizational linkages we investigated, but some more predominant than others in specific cases or for particular types of organizations
- These systems are not always compatible, but they can be organized in such a way that they can reinforce one another for particular purposes and at particular times
- We have paid attention to the ways in which they have been reorganized in rural areas in order to meet changing conditions.



Example of capacity: Cap a l'Aigle

- (S) Small village of 7000 on the north side of the St. Lawrence river
- (S) Several of the citizens had developed an interest in Lilacs
 - Had a club - volunteers
 - Exchanged stories, clippings
 - Discovered that there was a more general interest in lilacs throughout North America (Internet a contributing asset)
- When municipal council was exploring options for community economic development
 - Several counselors knew of this network and raised the option of using it as a basis for economic development
 - Developed a business plan
 - Got government funding
 - Established a festival
 - (S) Marketed the village
- We have interpreted this as an example of capacity – with the development and use of social capital as an important factor.
- We consider social capital to be all about linkages – among individuals, groups, and communities.
- But we include in that interpretation, an equal sensitivity to the norms that guide the linkages or networks in which social capital is embedded.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Social Capital Insights

- Available social capital is not always used

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Using this framework, we have identified several insights from our analysis which contribute to a more appropriate understanding of social capital.

- Available social capital is not always used

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Available Social Capital is not always Used

| Correlation (r) | Available Social Capital | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|----------|
| Used Social Capital | Market | Bureaucratic | Associative | Communal |
| Market | .12** | .22** | .20** | -.18** |
| Bureaucratic | .08** | .14** | .09** | .09** |
| Associative | .21** | .35** | .28** | .07** |
| Communal | | | | .05* |

cf. low correlations

NRE HH Survey (N=1849) ** p<.01; * p<.05; Social Capital Used within 30 minutes of site 36

- Correlation between available social capital and the extent to which it is used by rural households.
- Low correlations indicate that the level of available social capital in a site is not strongly related to its level of use
- Organizations, networks, and groups may exist without being used by particular types of people.
- Our work has helped to answer “Which types of social capital are used by which people and Why?”

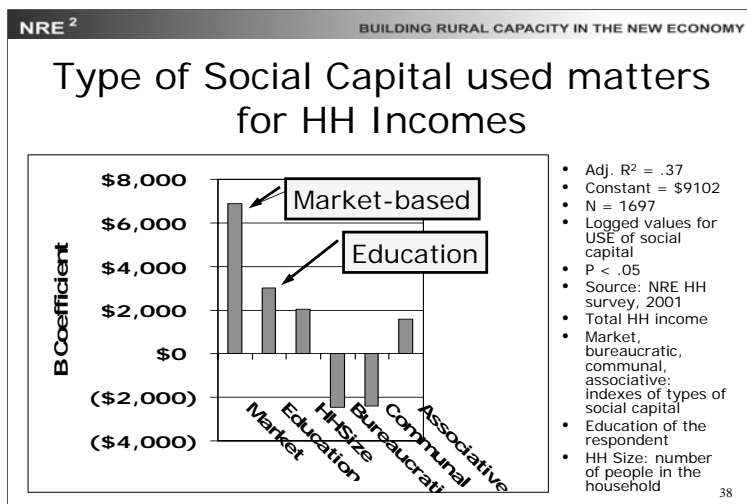
NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Social Capital Insights

- Available social capital is not always used
- Types of social capital affect outcomes

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Different types of social capital affect outcomes differently



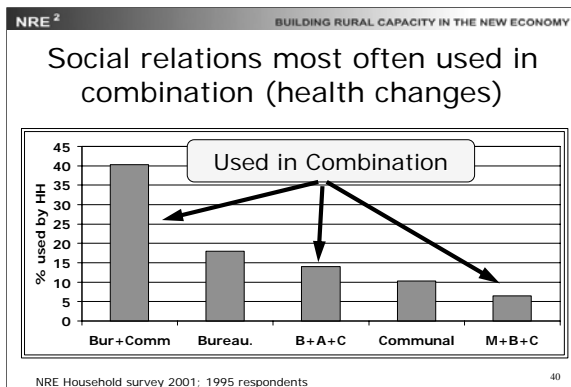
- This graph of the relative size of the beta coefficients from a regression analysis illustrates how market-based social capital shows the strongest relationship to household income, for example.
- These relationships appear even stronger than the traditional economic focus on human capital (measured by education).

Social Capital Insights

- Available social capital is not always used
- Types of social capital affect outcomes
- Different types of social capital are often used in combination – for different objectives

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- Different types of social capital are often used in combination – for different objectives



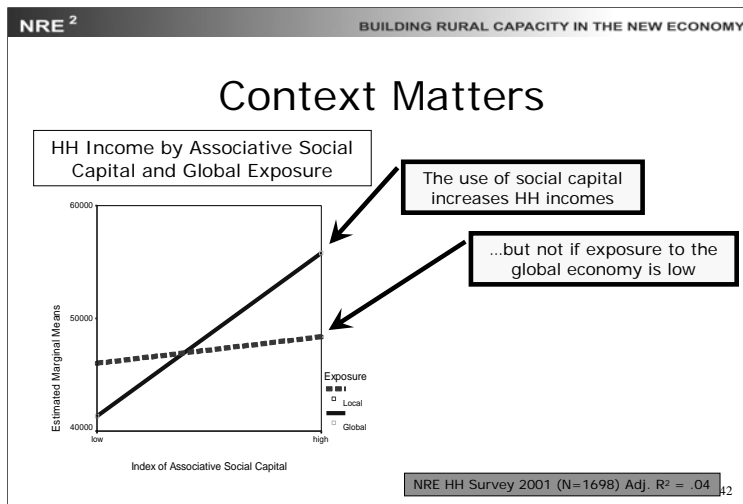
- When dealing with health issues, for example, people tend to turn to a combination of both bureaucratic and communal-based social capital first.

Social Capital Insights

- Available social capital is not always used
- Types of social capital affect outcomes
- Different types of social capital are often used in combination – for different objectives
- The type of site context matters in these relationships

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- The type of site context matters in these relationships



- This graph illustrates how the use of associative-based social capital in globally connected economies contributes to higher household incomes – but much less so for those sites which have weaker connections to global economies.

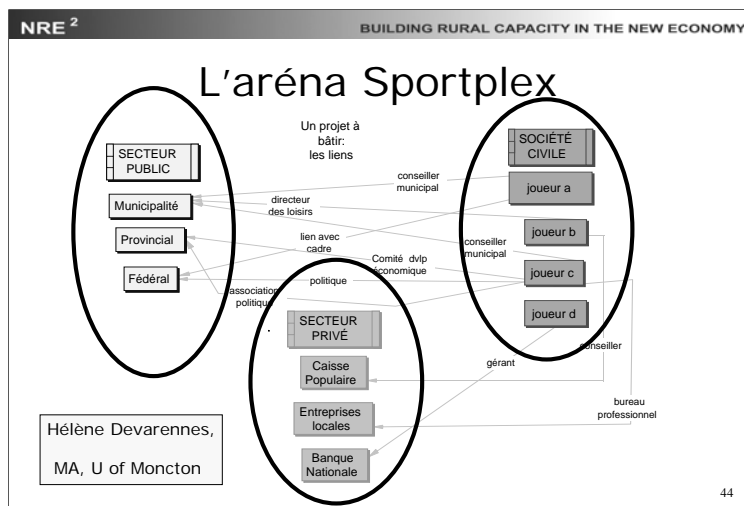
NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Social Capital Insights

- Available social capital is not always used
- Types of social capital affect outcomes
- Different types of social capital are often used in combination – for different objectives
- The type of site context matters in these relationships
- Bridging social capital provides an advantage to communities

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- Bridging social capital provides an advantage to communities
 - Reinforces Laura's point regarding the importance of regionalization
- Our Governance Theme team has focused on the networks and norms of local people and groups as they deal with crises and build new, more innovative governance structures.



- Some of this work is illustrated by another of our sites – Neguac (made famous a few years ago by virtue of its proximity to Burnt Church in NB)
- Research conducted by **Hélène Devarences** as part of her Master's thesis
- The community decided to expand their recreation facilities with a new Sports Centre
 - Partially a response to concern for their youth
- The Governance team documented the strategies and connections which made the venture possible in such a small town.
 - It reflected many of the patterns we found in other places:
- Innovations in using and building their social capital emerged across sectors: (S) public, (S) private, and (S) civil – and communities (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal)
 - Key people in the communities served as linkages across these sectors through their familiarity and ability with the different normative systems
- The linkages and familiarity thus constructed was then strategically developed to institutionalize these governance strategies.
- These results are reflected in our more general survey results that show how communities with diverse governance structures (not just a central group in control) show higher levels of socio-economic benefits. [supports Lin et al.'s work on the importance of bridges across structural holes]
- [Bill transition:
- Ray, Laura, and I have illustrated the complexity of interdependence
 - Via trade and exchanges – of goods, services, people, and finances
 - Through shared institutions – and more generally governance structures and actions
- The next presentation addresses the third sphere of interdependence that has been a focus of study within our project: the sharing of environments
- The Environment Theme examined the role and management of natural resources in the rural milieu.
- It quickly expanded to a framework that included urban regions – in recognition of the many ways in which our shared environment creates a critical basis of interdependence.
- Sara Teitelbaum is another of our NRE success stories. She has been with the NRE Project for over 5 years and is now completing her PhD in the Faculty of Forestry and Environmental Management at the University of New Brunswick.
- Sara has traveled the country examining the many examples of community forestry and its implementation.
- She will illustrate the critical nature of bridging the differences between rural and urban centres – and suggest how our shared environment might provide an opportunity for doing so.]

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Environments

- Water, food, global warming restructure our understanding of interdependence
- Natural asset base of rural communities present opportunities, however local capacity is strongly related to external forces, trends and partners.
- Bridging capital (including urban-rural) is critical in rural capacity. Strategic alliances around shared environmental interdependence are key.

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- Environmental issues like food, climate change and water create a web of interdependence that spans the globe. Study by the David Suzuki Foundation estimates that the basic North American meal travels 2,400 km field to table
- Rural communities in Canada play a key role as provider of these natural resources, and this is an important economic driver for these communities, but they are nonetheless part of a global economic system that is not always easy for them to manipulate - lack of value-added and (as mentioned by Ray Bollman), trend for capital to replace labour - natural resources form increasingly smaller share of rural incomes
- As rural communities struggle to diversify and attract investment, bridging capital and strategic alliances around environmental interdependence are key

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Environments

- Examples of strategic partnerships that enhance community participation and decision-making

Example 1: Community forestry

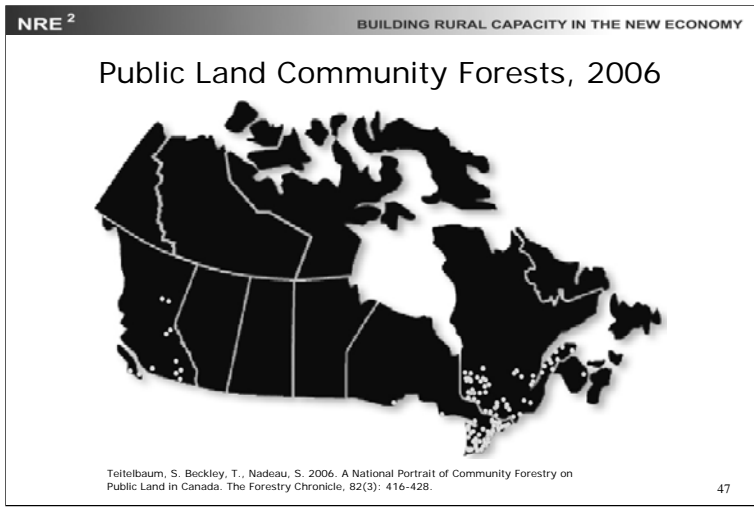
- national survey revealed more than 120 initiatives
- evidence of the social economy in practice
- importance of external linkages

Example 2: Miramichi Watershed Management Committee

- community capacity can be a limiting factor

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- We've been interested in the ways in which local governance initiatives around the environment have fared in their quest to find solutions to economic and ecological problems
- My own work looks at community forestry in Canada, and another grad student, Butch Dalton, has looked at community-management of fisheries in the Miramichi, one of the NRE sites.
- On the topic of community forestry - national survey of initiatives revealed more than 120 examples of Crown land or municipal lands being managed by local people with the explicit goal of creating benefits for local communities - evidence that "community" extends far beyond rural towns - many community forest areas dispersed over large areas and affect regional economies -- many are also organized regionally through para-municipal organizations
- While these are not radical departures from the conventional approach to forestry there is clear evidence that they have played a role in a) the implementation of a more integrated approach to the forest (education, recreation, First Nations values, wildlife, etc.) b) reducing conflict over natural resources c) contributing to capacity-building in forest management
- Miramichi example -- however evidence that community capacity can also be a limiting factor in environmental stewardship initiatives.



NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Environments

- Rural and urban attitudes towards the environment not significantly different
 - 85% of all Canadians expressed concern for the environment.
 - Pro-environmental behaviour is influenced less by socialization and attitudes than by available infrastructures - limiting factor for rural population

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- Emily Huddart is another student working with the environment theme.
- She has done some very innovative work on the question of environmental values and environmental behaviours
- Mail survey - national - rural and urban
- Her findings show that contrary to popular belief (and early research) no difference between urban and rural attitude towards the environment
- Pro-environmental behaviour is influenced less by socialization and attitudes than by available infrastructures - limiting factor for rural population



[Bill transition:

- Finally, linkages are all about communication – for trade, for the establishment and maintenance of institutions, for governance, for environmental management, and for local identity and heritage.
- The Communications theme team paid particular attention to this:
 - How communication takes place (or doesn't) in rural areas
 - The relative roles of traditional and newer communication technologies, and
 - The control and influences on those communications – locally, regionally, and nationally.
- In the process they have identified some critical insights regarding both the general structure of communication in rural areas and its special role in the linking of local communities within a regional framework.
- Ivan Emke is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Sir Wilfred Grenfall College of Memorial University.
- He is a communications researcher and practitioner – introducing into our conferences, for example, local radio broadcasts that have involved the whole community in an exercise of learning and cohesion-building.
- Ivan will outline the different functions of communications and show how they are reflected in a multiplicity of communication tools – both traditional and new.]

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

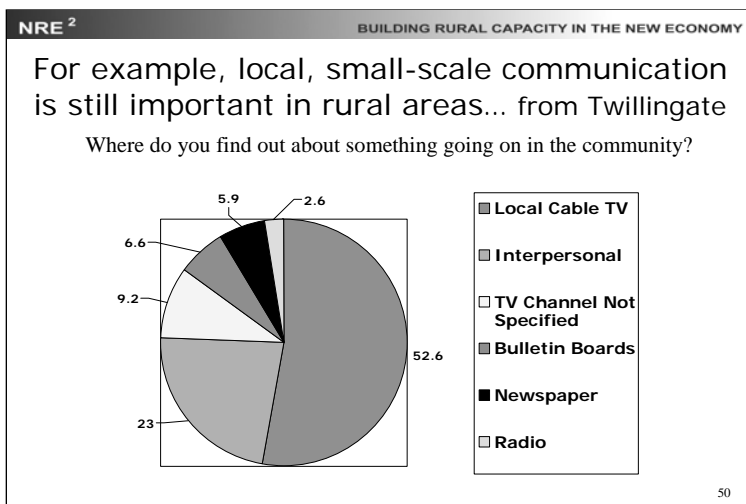
Communication

- A community is created and maintained through a dense network of different types of communication
- The desire to seek out local information
 - To see our own reflections
 - Evidenced by the profitability of the community newspaper sector
- In rural areas, in order to find local information, people may turn to “older” tools

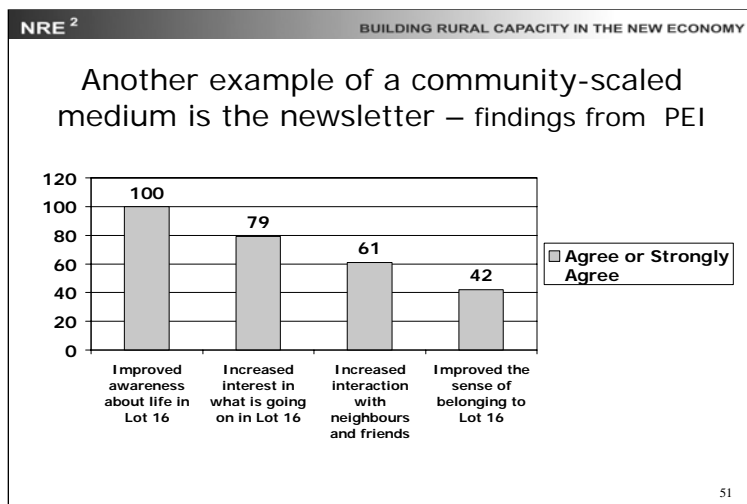



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- In as much as a community becomes a thing in itself – an entity that can work for itself, even think of itself – it does so through communication
- Put in another way, it is through communicating that we create and maintain our social worlds. And, sometimes, through communication we tear them down...
- Different kinds of communication tools may build different types of communities
- Think of our own personal communities – those built by interpersonal interaction, those built through the mainstream media and a common obsession with the Ottawa Senators (not the chamber of sober second thought...), or those communities built through e-mail interactions on our Facebook accounts.
- In these cases, the tools come to influence the kind of community connections that flourish
- the demand for local news and information is strong; to see our own reflections
- Since most media outlets are based in large cities, most urban people get these demands met, and may not even think of media reflection as being an issue
- But wherever we are, we seek out reflections of our own lives, information about what is going on around us, why they are tearing up the ground over on the west side of town, how the mayor voted on school reform, whatever...
- One piece of evidence of the strength of local reflections is shown by the relative profitability of the community newspaper sector (weeklies generally show a higher profit margin than urban dailies).
- In rural areas, people may turn to “older” media, such as print, newsletters, even bulletin boards, as tools of communication



- For example, in a survey of residents of Twillingate, we asked
- Where do you find out about something going on in the community?
 - Cable TV community channel: 52.6%
 - Interpersonal: 23
 - TV (channel not specified): 9.2 (but likely the community channel)
 - Bulletin boards: 6.6
 - Newspaper: 5.9
 - Radio: 2.6
- The internet isn't there anywhere. We wouldn't expect it to be there. It likely won't be there anytime soon, as a source for this sort of information.




- Lot 16 PEI had no communication tools so the community acted to create a newsletter
- Then David Bruce, of RSTP, conducted a survey of the residents of Lot 16, regarding possible effects of this “old” form of communication.
- There were some clear positive results
 - 100% - Increased awareness about life in Lot 16
 - 79% - Increased interest in what is going on in Lot 16
 - 61% - Increased interaction with neighbours and friends in Lot 16
 - 42% - Improved the sense of attachment or belonging to Lot 16
- Pretty significant outputs, for a small newsletter.
- But it was the only communication tool that had Lot 16 as the focus, so we might expect such dramatic results

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

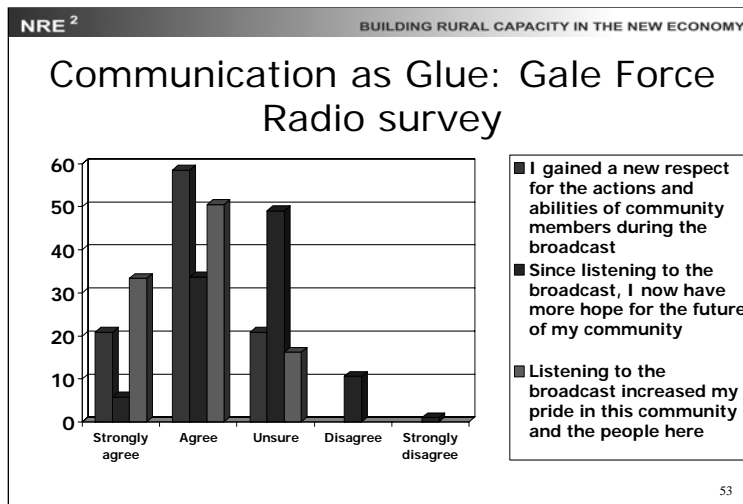
Communication as glue

- Special Events Radio broadcast in Twillingate
- During CRRF conference
- 40 hours of local broadcasting, on Gale Force Radio
- Followed up with a survey of residents, to gauge effects



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- If we get into a metaphoric frame of mind, we can think of communication as operating in three ways: as glue, oil, and web
- Glue holds people together
- Oil facilitates activities and commerce
- Web links communities
- We use these metaphors to tease out a few research findings from some of the projects we've been involved with
- First, Communication as glue;
 - In October 2005, we received permission from Industry Canada to broadcast on FM in Twillingate, NL. We set up during the CRRF conference, as a way of explaining to the good folks of Twillingate what the conference was all about; but also as a way of letting folks there talk to themselves, hear each other discuss issues, sing, read poetry, and so on. We essentially introduced a new communication tool, briefly, and were interested in the uses and effects
 - We followed it up with a Twillingate survey done, to see if there was increased pride in local culture and increased confidence in local leaders after having listened to the broadcast




- Yes indeed, we did find an effect
- This confirmed the anecdotal experiences we had as we were doing the broadcast from the Lion's Club – people coming by to chat, calling, the radio was tuned to our station in local stores, etc.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Communication as Oil

- Communication can facilitate interactions (build social capital)
- Provides increased capacity for interaction
- For example, community newspapers in rural areas
- Newspaper Editors' Survey, 2001 and 2006
- Content focuses on local information, supported by local advertising



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- A second metaphor is Communication as oil (as facilitating activities and commerce, and reducing transaction fees); to build social capital, if you wish to use that phrase
- One of the projects we've been involved with that shows this is a set of surveys of editors of community newspapers across Canada.
- Both surveys had just over 200 editors in the sample
- Findings from the Newspaper Editors' surveys, showing the very high use of local advertising in these publications -- rural businesses may find it hard to use advertising, as many of the media outlets are urban, and so lots of the consumers of the media are not potential customers; local communications channels are a business advantage

| NRE ² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Communication as Oil: Community Newspaper Editors' Surveys | | | |
| | % of total advertising that is local | Top source for news | Second source |
| 2001 survey (n=205) | 54.6 | Private citizens (41.1%) | Local politicians (32.3%) |
| 2006 survey (n=203) | 53.5 | Private citizens (48.6%) | Local politicians (30.7%) |

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- Strong connection to the business community
- Strong connection to the citizens (non-institutional sources of news)

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Communication as web

- Linking communities
 - Regionally
 - Nationally
- Tweed, October 2004
- 3-day radio event, as part of CRRF conference
- Youth involvement is key
- Giving people the taste for local and regional communication



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- The third metaphor, Communication as web (linking communities);
- Let's go back to special events radio for another illustration of this
- In October 2004, in Tweed, Ontario (again during a CRRF conference), we broadcast for three days to the community
- As with other broadcasts, one of the key components was getting youth involved – not only in speaking of their experience, but also to help run the equipment and to provide entertainment
- Through the radio event itself, that experience, some local folks were spurred on to become involved in a nearby community radio station

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Communication as web: Regional radio

- CKOL
 - Based in Campbellford
 - Expands to Madoc and Tweed (repeaters and studio)
 - Interest in Madoc and Tweed energized by conference radio event
 - A link to the local high school
 - Strong community support



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- At that time, radio station CKOL only broadcast from Campbellford, about a half hour away.
- It was a community-based station, although privately-owned, but which used local volunteers and students and has been supported through local advertising.
- The local interest in getting community radio to Tweed was a factor in helping CKOL to expand its service area
- Many of the students who helped out in Tweed came from the Madoc area (which was also the site of the High School, which sent students over to work at the special events station)
- To cut to the chase, now three communities are working together on CKOL (which includes broadcasting from all three communities, and linking with such groups as the Chamber of Commerce and Heritage businesses (the Tweed radio studio is in the museum)
- the three communities are Tweed, Madoc and Campbellford (where the main station is located).
- Another even more recent example of community radio linking rural communities which may historically be competitive comes from the south coast of Newfoundland. Earlier this month, on May 15, Coastal Radio officially opened, which is a CRTC-licensed publicly-owned and community-operated FM radio station that links Burnt Islands, Isle aux Morts and Rose Blanche (and hopes to add more communities soon).
- This links three communities along a shore where competition among communities had been the norm

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

The need for a diversity of tools

- We recognized the value of many tools
 - IT-based tools
 - > Web users
 - > Learning communities
 - But also community bulletin boards
- The challenge is human capital, not technology
- CAP drama as illustration



UFO landing area in rural Ontario...

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- In our research, we have found that many different kinds of tools have value
- We studied IT-based tools, doing a survey of internet users, and also a project which tried to link rural communities in strategically-designed chat sessions
- But we also studied things like community bulletin boards
- In many of these cases, the challenge to a tool's sustainability is related to maintaining and building human capital, in terms of skills, etc., rather than the technology itself
- The currently-embattled CAP program is an example of strategic investment in communication infrastructure, sometimes hampered by a lack of investment in human capital.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

If we were Prime Minister for a day... or maybe a term...

- Increase support for traditional forms of community media (avoid the “gee whiz” phenomenon)
- Increase on-site training support for newer forms of media
- Provide support to connect different forms of communicating
- Develop policies to resist ‘Oligarchy’ ownership pattern in Canadian media
 - Relax community radio station regulations
 - Incubate innovative rural communications projects


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- 1) support development of local newspapers, newsletters, radio programs, CBP sites, and be realistic about the adoption of high-bandwidth web-based tools
- 2) provide training support to maintain and improve newer forms of media
- 3) provide support to connect different forms of communicating – multifaceted approach – including local ‘spaces’ for meeting
- 4) Reduce the tendency for only a few major companies to own most forms of rural media
- Relax regulations
- Innovate. How about communication facilitators as CED workers?
- Go Local Not Global (*Glue, Oil*);
- Open Communicative Spaces for Youth (*Glue, Oil*);
- Connect your Connections (*Web*); and,
- Don't Forget Your Roots.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Communication summarized

- Traditional media still very important in rural
- The need to link communication tools
 - Local newspapers with internet
 - Newsletter and web-based outreach to former residents
- Policy needs to address the importance of old *and* new forms of communication(s)



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- A diversity of communication tools can work (both new and old), but that the critical challenges continue to be related to not just investment capital (in the case of IT-based communication) but also human capital, in terms of knowledge and skills.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Conclusions

- NRE a study in interdependence
- Interdependence manifested through:
 - Trade and exchange (goods, services, finances, people)
 - Institutions
 - Environment
 - Identity

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- Much of our work is a study in interdependency
- Interdependency is manifested through trade and exchange: of goods, services, finances, people
 - The changing conditions of trade means the existing relationships are challenged and restructured
- Interdependency is also manifested through shared institutions
 - Often the institutions do not meet both rural and urban interests or needs.
 - Create stimuli for innovations in governance – both formal and informal
- Interdependency through shared environments
 - Create opportunities for new alliances as well as occasions for conflict and competition over those environments
- Interdependency through shared identities and ideologies.
 - This has not been as developed in our research work, but has been consistently brought to our attention by the engaged style of research which we have adopted.
 - People in Tweed have for years seen themselves as different than those from Madoc (and in many ways they are).
 - Has created significant obstacles to their understanding of the factors affecting their community and the options they considered in the face of economic and social decline.
 - Recent collaboration (inspired by population changes, environmental crises, and our research) has resulted in reorganization of the region – and a reconceptualization of their identity (formally reflected in their campaign re. 'Comfort Country')
 - This new understanding sets the stage for new initiatives
- We feel we have helped to make many types of interdependencies more visible.
- But there remains considerable work ahead.
- Sociology is well-placed to make a contribution
 - Our discipline is about social relations – their structure and related actions.
 - We also have the conceptual and methodological tools to deal with the many ways in which interdependence is denied – from individualism to xenophobia.
 - We hope that our research provides an inspirational example of how that might be done – through collaboration, rigorous research, and active, responsible engagement.

NRE² BUILDING RURAL CAPACITY IN THE NEW ECONOMY

Bridging Communities of Place: Insights from the New Rural Economy Project

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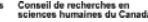
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