

# 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.

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# **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**

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# Preface

This is an important book and it arrives at an important time. The authors have done both students and practitioners of regional economic development a great service by providing an accessible, balanced, and insightful book on regional economic development from a broad all-encompassing perspective.

The authors go to the heart of the matter in their very first sentence: “Canadian communities and regions face a wide array of challenges, opportunities, and struggles in a changing social-ecological environment.” To be sure, Canada has been confronting regional economic development challenges virtually from the day it was born. Consider the following: Canada is the second largest country in the world; its national political institutions are designed for a unitary state, it is a federation without an Upper House in its national political institutions with a clear mandate to speak to Canada’s regional socioeconomic circumstances in shaping national policies; Canada is home to vastly different regional economies; the federal government’s regional development efforts have waxed and waned over the years; Canadian provinces have embraced province building to a far greater extent than states in other federations have; and Canada’s urban–rural divide has become increasingly apparent with Statistics Canada recently declaring that “Canada goes urban.”<sup>1</sup>

The government of Canada has sought to “fix things” through its spending power, as Chapter 2 explains. We have seen, over the years, Ottawa trying “this and that” to see what may work. I know of no other policy field that is so littered with acronyms from ARDA, FRED, DREE, RDIA, DRIE, MSERD, ACOA, to WD – and the list goes on. It is worth reminding the reader what the Economic Council of Canada had to say about the federal government’s approach to regional development:

Doctors used to try to cure syphilis with mercury and emetics. We now know that mercury works but emetics do not and moreover that penicillin is best of all. We suspect that the regional disparity disease is presently being treated with both mercury and emetic-type remedies but we do not know which is which. Perhaps one day an economic penicillin will be found.<sup>2</sup>

While we are still searching for penicillin to solve Canada’s regional development problem, Ottawa appears to have thrown in the towel in its efforts to alleviate

regional disparities. Motivated by national unity concerns and partisan political considerations, the federal government now has regional development agencies in place for every postal code in the country so that communities from Toronto to Bouctouche can access Ottawa's regional development programs. In brief, Ottawa's approach to regional development is now to be all things to all regions and to all communities large and small, have and have-less.

The above aims to make the point that this book is both important and timely. Policy makers need rigorous and fresh thinking to address Canada's evolving regional development challenges and this book does just that. It is no exaggeration that governments know that there is a regional development problem, but they do not know how to address it. The main regional development challenge today, as this book explains, is how best to deal with declining rural areas.

The book makes a substantive contribution to the literature for several reasons. The editors were able to assemble an impressive team of contributors drawn from a variety of backgrounds. The contributors include leading academics, aspiring academics already showing promise, and practitioners. I have often argued that students of regional development all too often ignore practitioners or those on the ground trying to make things work. This book also covers the full gamut of issues confronting Canada's regions and communities and sheds new light on both age-old problems and new concepts.

The authors deal with what is old (past regional development efforts), what is new (new regionalism) what is borrowed (integrated policy and planning) and what is blue (challenges confronting rural Canada). Among other issues, they document how Canada's approach to regional development has lived through various fashions and fads, from the growth pole concept to identifying comparative advantages at the regional level. They also dissect what new regionalism has to offer for policy makers. The authors explore fully the rural dimension to Canada's regional challenges and offer a substantial contribution on how to address it. They then very competently tie everything together in the concluding chapter, which offers important lessons learned for both students of economic development and policy-makers.

Given Canada's current political and socioeconomic environment, this book has been crying out to be written for some time. The authors have responded with an important contribution that will likely be widely consulted and will meet the test of time.

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## Notes

- 1 Canada, "Canada goes urban", Statistics Canada, undated, [www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm](http://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm).
- 2 Canada, *Living Together* (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1977).



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# 1 Introduction

*Sarah Minnes and Kelly Vodden*

## 1 Introduction

Canadian communities and regions face a wide array of challenges, opportunities, and struggles in a changing social-ecological environment. This is especially the case in natural-resource-dependent regions, spread across rural and northern Canada, which struggle with economic and political restructuring and the implications of neoliberal ideologies for service delivery and infrastructure provision, economic development, protection of natural and cultural wealth, and other key facets of development. Rural Canada is home to a significant part of the Canadian population, with 17% of Canadians residing in non-metropolitan areas<sup>1</sup> (Bollman, 2016). There are 5,162 municipalities, the most prevalent form of local government, in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016). Of these, the 15 largest are home to 37% of Canada's population, most located along the country's southern border. Yet the vast majority of Canadian municipalities have relatively small populations and are located well beyond metropolitan areas. In 2016, 86% of Canadian municipalities had populations smaller than 5,000 and 66% were located in areas with moderate to no metropolitan influence (Statistics Canada, 2016). Finally, these communities and the environments that surround them make vital contributions to environmental stewardship and to economic and cultural life. Rural Canada is responsible for approximately 30% of Canada's Gross Domestic Product, and is home to residents and settlements that often hold strong senses of community and are intertwined with the natural environments of which they are part (Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation, 2015).

In short, rural Canada matters. However, with forces such as climate change, rapid technological innovation, urbanization, and globalization, there is a need for new development approaches that can build on and further enhance resilience in rural communities while recognizing their place in wider, interconnected regional contexts that include both rural and small town and urban settlements. Increased interest in regional resilience has accompanied a rise in awareness of the uncertainty facing such regions, and has also come as a response to increased focus on regional growth (Yamamoto, 2011). In order to adapt successfully in a changing world, resilient regions require the ability to

anticipate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from disturbance, while maintaining or improving their situation over time (Simmie & Martin, 2010; Wolfe, 2010). There is a growing awareness that addressing challenges and harnessing opportunities requires regional approaches, particularly for rural communities. Such approaches are particularly promising to address problems such as the loss or degradation of services and infrastructure (Roberts & Townsend, 2015), the identification and pursuit of collective economic opportunities, and/or opportunities to adapt to environmental change.

In Canada and across the globe, regional development has been discussed as a tool for improving sustainability and resilience, whether in the context of the shifting political economy in Europe and North America, among industrializing countries previously striving to reach the Millennium Development Goals, or among countries in the north and south working to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (Briceño-Ruiz & Morales, 2017; Hanson, Pupilampu & Shaw, 2018; Scott, 2009). In this volume we conceptualize regional development as a purposeful and systematic intervention through public policy(ies), programs, projects, and practices to influence the development trajectory within a relatively large but sub-national spatial context, toward a set of desired economic, social, cultural, physical, environmental, and political goals that enhance well-being and prosperity in communities and regions.

The region as a concept is a long-contested one, with regions often being nested within other regions, and regional boundaries being defined by multiple factors. For example, regions can be based on political boundaries, environmental features such as watersheds, or on socioeconomic factors such as where residents in the region work, recreate, and/or purchase goods and services. However contentious and even shifting, these regional definitions have significance for government policy and programming, investments, social relationships, and culture, among other considerations. They are also integral to personal and community identities and to development policy and practice (Douglas, 2006).

In Canada, uneven patterns of development, resource distribution, and political initiatives have resulted in regional distinctions across groups of provinces and/or territories—such as western, central, Atlantic, or northern regions. For example, the Atlantic provinces, and especially Newfoundland and Labrador, have had consistently high rates of unemployment and out-migration. Significant disparities also occur within provinces, creating sub-provincial regions that frequently garner attention due to their special circumstances. Since the majority of Canadians live in the southern part of the country near the United States border (Statistics Canada, 2008), regional disparities occur and distinctions are often made, for example, between northern and southern parts of the provinces. It is this sub-provincial regional scale that is our main focus in this volume.

Canada's economic history has been defined by dependence on natural resource staples, particularly in the rural "periphery". Raw materials from these regions have been combined with technology, markets, and finances that have supported the extraction and export of these natural resources,

which remain under the control of powerful external actors, whether they be located in decision-making centres of each province, in the capital region of central Canada, or in global centres of industry and finance. Subsequently, Canada has faced challenges associated with the boom and bust of commodity-dependent resource economies and with limited industrial diversification, particularly in the regions from which natural resources are extracted. Known as the “staples trap”, such resource dependence has also had consequences for levels of education, entrepreneurialism, and social stratification, among other characteristics often found in rural resource regions. These inherent challenges have been exacerbated by the erosion and loss of services over the past three decades due to trends such as urbanization, centralization, and downloading of senior government responsibilities onto local authorities (Markey, Halseth & Manson, 2008). As Savoie (1992) points out, however, these regions also tend to have unique strengths, such as higher quality of life and more robust informal economies. The development circumstances of today’s rural resource regions and related rural–urban relationships are, therefore, complex and embedded in political economies that cross temporal and spatial scales.

Canada has a long history of using regional development as a tool to address inequities associated with this development trajectory and thereby build the country and all of its provinces and territories (Savoie, 2017). This is reflected in the nation’s constitution, which commits the federal government to equalization and reduction of fiscal disparities. While regional development has been pivotal to Canada’s history (see Chapter 2), the nature of it continues to change and is frequently called into question. We expect this to continue into the future.

Canadian regional development today involves multiple actors operating within nested scales at local, provincial/territorial, national, and even international levels. Policies, programs, institutional structures, practices, and organizational arrangements are also increasingly diverse and often reliant on the organizing abilities and actions of local actors rather than the centralized, institutionalized actors of the past. New regionalist approaches engaging with this emergent complexity, and apparent shifts in the locus of agency, draw on concepts such as multi-level collaborative governance, relational assets, integration, innovation, and learning regions. While these concepts have become global in their formation and application, 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 based. This lack of critical analysis provides one of the major motivations for this book.

This book contributes to our understanding of the recent era of regional development in Canada (see Chapter 2), through the lens of new regionalism theory. New regionalism highlights approaches for creating more regionally resilient futures supported by informed development policy that is, among other things, flexible, adaptive, and context-appropriate. At the same time, our work subjects the application of new regionalism to research-based critiques through

an exploratory examination of its practice (and in many cases its absence) in a selection of Canadian contexts. This volume represents the results of more than five years of empirical and theoretical analysis of changes in Canadian regional development and the potentials of new approaches for improving the well-being of Canadian communities and regions.

The main questions of the research presented in this volume are:

1. How has Canadian regional development evolved over the past two and a half decades (since the creation of existing federal regional development agencies, as discussed in Chapter 2)?
2. To what extent have Canadian regional development systems incorporated the ideas of new regionalism in their policy and practice?
3. What can we learn from the Canadian contexts about the merits or flaws of new regionalism?
4. What innovations have been developed in Canadian regional development that can contribute to the broader body of regional development theory and practice nationally and internationally?
5. To what extent is regional development in Canada characterized by knowledge transfers and shared learning and what factors or mechanisms constrain and/or facilitate learning, knowledge flow, and collaboration within Canadian regional development networks?

By answering these questions, we aim to inform policy-makers and provide concrete contributions to regional development analysis across Canada, and in other jurisdictions where lessons from the Canadian experience may be applicable. At the same time, we aim to inform and update regional development theories and concepts that are taught in our universities and colleges, and upon which future research and analysis will build. The literature review provided in each chapter takes an international scope in regards to new regionalism and provides comparative coverage of theoretical debates and policy practice.

It should be noted that although Indigenous governance in relation to Canadian regional development is not extensively discussed in this book, it is acknowledged by the authors as an important area of research for further investigation. This is especially the case as new governance, land use, and resource management arrangements are established under the many land claims negotiations currently taking place between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government. Each one represents a new approach to regional development as Indigenous peoples re-imagine and implement their visions of themselves, their environments, social organizations, and governance. Furthermore, through the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015) calls to action, governments, educational, religious, and civil society groups and citizens across Canada (including rural communities and regions) are exploring how to engage in reconciliation with Indigenous communities. Activities emerging from reconciliation will have implications for existing governance structures, processes, and partnerships across the country, particularly

for settler communities in rural areas that share resources and services with their Indigenous neighbours.

## **2 Examining new regionalism within the Canadian context**

New regionalism is a multi-faceted concept that emerged in the 1990s in response to the socioeconomic and political restructuring that took place throughout the 1980s. The former decade was a time that saw the ascendancy of neoliberal concepts, policies, and practices along with increased attention to localized responses to national and global trends. These changes required a reconceptualization of the “old” regionalism (further explained in Chapter 3) (Lovering, 1999; Wheeler, 2002). New regionalism has been posited as incorporating various concepts, such as new urbanism, smart growth, and sustainable communities, with a focus on the regional scale (Gibbs & Jonas, 2001; Hettne, 2005; Savitch & Vogel, 2000). It is acknowledged as taking place in a fundamentally different and changing world (Savitch & Vogel, 2000), and as having characteristics such as being rooted in place, focusing on competitive advantage, being co-constructed (i.e., combining top-down and bottom-up involvement), and having a focus on open governance processes that foster trust, collaboration, and empowerment among a range of development actors (Wallis, 2002; Zirul et al., 2015).

The research team took a comprehensive approach to the conceptualization of new regionalism in relation to Canadian regional development (which is outlined further in Chapter 3). The project focused around five main themes of new regionalism identified in the literature. These themes included: i) collaborative, multi-level collaborative governance; ii) place-based development; iii) integrated vs. sectoral and single objective approaches; iv) rural–urban interactions and interdependence; and v) fostering knowledge flow, learning, and innovation (see Figure 1.1). A full description of new regionalism is provided in Chapter 3 and more detail about each of the five themes is presented in Chapters 5 to 9. We sought, therefore, to examine the extent to which power and decision-making are shared among different groups engaged in regional development policy and practice at all levels: a key ingredient of collaborative, multi-level collaborative governance (Chapter 5). We also aimed to see if policy-makers and practitioners on the front lines are now re-focusing on place itself as a starting point for development (Chapter 6). We explored the extent to which a wide variety of sectors and issues are integrated into regional development practices (Chapter 7), along with how rural–urban relationships are understood and the impact these relationships have on development (Chapter 8). Finally, we were also interested in the extent to and ways in which knowledge and innovation are part of the development process (Chapter 9).

## **3 The research sites and scale of analysis**

In conducting the research presented in this volume, we identified Canadian case studies with particular potential to provide insight into the five themes



Figure 1.1 New regionalism framework

of new regionalism. Case study selection was based on literature reviews and the extensive experience of the research team. We conducted case studies in four provinces (British Columbia (BC), Ontario (ON), Québec (QC), and Newfoundland and Labrador (NL)), and in at least one sub-provincial region within each of these provinces. These include the case study regions of the Kootenay Development Region, BC; Eastern Ontario, ON; Rimouski, QC; Kittiwake, NL; and Northern Peninsula, NL.

We selected the sites through a combination of factors, including feasibility and strategic characteristics. The five case study sites were well-known by the principal researchers since their university affiliations and residences are located in the chosen provinces. In addition, they have a history of previous research conducted in the sub-regions chosen. This familiarity provided a foundation of knowledge from which to build. The provinces and sites also represent varied resource, political, social, and geographical locations in the country: from the maritime, fishing, and often isolated communities of NL, to the unique social, cultural, and political context of QC with its agriculture and forestry focus, the mixed economy of ON, and the forest, mining, and energy-dependent mountainous regions of BC. We provide a full description of our methods, including case study selection criteria in Chapter 4.

While these four provinces, their respective regions, and related research findings are the focus, we have also supplemented them with literature and insights from other Canadian regions, provinces, and territories to provide a



more comprehensive Canada-wide perspective. For example, Chapter 5 sheds light on the governance approaches used for the Yukon Regional Round Table in the Yukon Territory. Furthermore, we have situated our research and findings in an international context, by drawing from and seeking to contribute to the global body of literature on new regionalism and through comparison of our findings with relevant international case studies, such as the explicit attention given to integration within Ireland's National Planning Framework, as shown by a case study example of Integrated Resource Development in Duhallow, Ireland (Chapter 7).

Much of the new regionalist literature has focused on city regions and global macro regions (e.g., South-East Asia, Central Europe) as units of analysis. These efforts include noteworthy interdisciplinary and international research to provide perspectives of new regionalism from the north and south (Briceño-Ruiz & Morales, 2017; Hanson, Pupilampu & Shaw, 2018; Scott, 2009). Global in scope, these contributions focus on regionalism, regional relations, and institutions at multiple levels. However, the focus is largely on cross-border regions and coverage of the practice and implications of new regionalisms at the intra-national level is limited. This book provides the lens to analyze new regionalism at the local (sub-provincial) scale and the implications of such larger shifts for local communities. The focus of this book is on rural regions, thus making a novel contribution to new regionalism thinking, considering the largely urban-centric focus of studies informed by this framework to date (Savoie, 2017).

In addition to gaps in the new regionalism literature from a local, micro-regional scale, we provide a perspective from primarily rural regions while also examining and drawing attention to the important and changing relationships between urban and rural communities within these regions and between rural and metropolitan regions. As will be outlined in Chapter 3, regional development offers promise for increasing the resilience of rural and small-town communities. Given the ongoing importance of rural, remote, and small-town Canada to the nation's economy and identity, our research paid particular attention to rural regions and rural-urban relationships within regions.

#### **4 Book outline**

Following this introductory chapter, we provide in Chapter 2 an overview of the historical and current perspectives of regional development in Canada. Chapter 3 describes new regionalism and provides definitions of the concept, history, critiques, and more on the themes and conceptual framework of new regionalism as used in the research that has informed this book. Chapter 4 outlines the exploratory, mixed methods, case study approach used throughout the research project to examine the application of new regionalist perspectives, ideas in the Canadian context, and the critiques and responses associated with these methods. Chapters 5–9 describe in detail the literature

and relevance to regional development behind each core theme explored in the research project: governance; place-based development; integrated development; rural–urban interactions and interdependencies; and learning, knowledge flows, and innovation.

The theme chapters discuss the evolution of each theme in the regional development literature, outline key debates and developments, and provide an analysis of the evolution of the theme (specifically in Canada). Research findings are presented with reflections about their relevance to the literature, policy, and development practice in rural Canada. We provide specific case examples within each theme chapter to illustrate the findings and provide material for reflections on the future directions.

In the last chapter (Chapter 10) we integrate the analysis of the five themes underpinning our conceptual framework (Figure 1.1) with the case study regions. This provides a comparison of overall findings regarding the presence of new regionalism and its applicability to the current Canadian context. We also provide overall lessons learned and the implications of the research for policy design and professional practice. We consider the book's contributions to academic concepts and emergent regional development theory, and discuss opportunities for future research initiatives. Supplementary materials to this book and a full database of related research activities, including full regional profiles, research reports, and further case studies, can be found on the project website: <http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca>.

## **5 Findings in brief**

Our findings suggest that select elements of the new regionalist paradigm can be seen in Canadian regional development in recent decades. We also identify, however, significant gaps between the expectations, theorization, and, in some cases, rhetoric of new regionalism and policies and practices at federal, provincial, and local levels as witnessed in rural regions of Canada. In short, empirical evidence of new regionalism is uneven and partial. We found instances of collaboration across and within levels of government together with other regional development actors, for example, but evidence of policy co-construction was limited (Chapter 5). While identity plays a critical role in fostering regional development processes, it remains largely emergent and/or is actively resisted within our research sites and therefore its power as a significant force for place-based regional development is suspended (Chapter 6). Further, integrated approaches were largely lacking, with a focus on innovation and infrastructure for economic growth rather than well-being and quality of life drawing from diverse rural and regional assets (Chapter 7).

In Chapter 8 we outline issues related to urban-centric regional politics and the need for increased attention to rural–urban relationships. Some attention has been paid to diversifying rural–urban relationships; however, the focus is primarily on city regions (which is consistent with trends globally). This raises questions about the nature of these relationships and the future of

rural communities that may be seen as subservient to or in service of urban growth centres, and is particularly troublesome for communities that lie outside of rural–urban commuting zones. Further, institutional and economic relationships are emphasized while interdependencies related to the natural environment and shared identities receive limited recognition despite their importance. At the same time, examples of innovation and mobilization illustrate the potential for regional partnerships and the value of supportive rural development policies with a focus on the regional scale (Chapter 9).

As previously outlined, we conclude that there is a demonstrated gap between regional development theory and the theory in use in Canada. Incremental and uneven changes are occurring across the country’s diverse and changing regional development landscape that variously align with new regionalist approaches and claims. A foundation for regional governance within a collaborative, multi-level collaborative governance framework exists in many jurisdictions, for example. However, this foundation is fraught with cracks of various sizes caused by funding cutbacks and attitudinal, structural, and policy barriers that may make it difficult to build upon without significant attention and support. This includes the need for stronger, more robust regional planning, co-constructed, partnership-driven models of rural and regional development policy, and enhanced training and capacity building efforts and other supports for existing local development groups and other actors to encourage and support participation in such efforts. Our approach and findings further highlight that regional development includes not only the narrow pillar of economic development upon which mainstream models have sought to build viable regions. Rather, it arises from a broad foundation of the social, economic, cultural, and environmental aspirations and practices that draw strategically from the suite of place-based assets that exist in rural regions and across the country.

Implications for policy, research, and practice outlined in Chapter 10 include a need to better understand and realize the diverse roles that various actors have to play in addressing the disparities, challenges, and opportunities related to regional development in the world’s second largest country. Greater attention is also needed to rural–urban relationships, which should aim to foster recognition and healthy relations of interdependence in a climate that is all too frequently characterized by “us vs. them” attitudes and urban-centric ideas and discourse. Finally, our findings suggest a need to further encourage but also actively engage in regional development learning and knowledge sharing in Canada, an important aim to which this book seeks to contribute.

## Note

- 1 Non-metropolitan (also called rural and small-town) refers to “areas outside Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and outside Census Agglomerations (CAs). Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) have a total population of 100,000+ and Census Agglomerations (CAs) have a population of 10,000–99,999. Both include neighbouring municipalities where 50+% of the employed population commutes to the CMA or CA” (Bollman, 2016, p. 3).

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# Notes

## Preface

- 1 Canada, “Canada goes urban”, Statistics Canada, undated, [www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm](http://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2015004-eng.htm).
- 2 Canada, *Living Together* (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1977).

## Chapter 1

- 1 Non-metropolitan (also called rural and small-town) refers to “areas outside Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and outside Census Agglomerations (CAs). Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) have a total population of 100,000+ and Census Agglomerations (CAs) have a population of 10,000–99,999. Both include neighbouring municipalities where 50+% of the employed population commutes to the CMA or CA” (Bollman, 2016, p. 3).

## Chapter 2

- 1 An economic development approach where it was assumed that by supporting the concentration of business and industry in a specific location, growth would spread to its surrounding region (Savoie, 2003).
- 2 The RDAs have been referred to in some official documents and in practice as Rural Development Associations and as Regional Development Associations in others (Vodden, Hall, & Freshwater, 2013).

## Chapter 4

- 1 Economic zone and Rural Secretariat boundaries no longer represent regions with relating governance organizations (as discussed in Chapter 2) but they continue to be used in the province for statistical purposes (see <https://nl.communityacounts.ca>).
- 2 All interviews were audio-recorded, except in Ontario, where interviews were not recorded but detailed notes were taken. Québec interviews were conducted in French and translated to English for data analysis.

## Chapter 5

- 1 This section is an excerpt from the project's Collaborative Multi-Level Governance primer, found on the project's website: <http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca>
- 2 The names of many government departments have changed since the Northern Peninsula Regional Collaboration Pilot Initiative began in 2009.

## Chapter 8

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

## Chapter 9

- 1 This chapter is also based on findings and research from the *Advancing Innovation in Newfoundland* project (Hall & Walsh, 2013; Hall et al., 2014) and the *Social Dynamics of Economic Performance in City-Regions Newfoundland and Labrador Component* (e.g. Greenwood & Hall, 2016).
- 2 The NL case study region is Kittiwake region, however as discussed in Chapter 4 additional research with a focus on the themes of innovation and governance was also undertaken in the Northern Peninsula region of NL.
- 3 In Western Canada, offices are called Community Futures (CFs); in Ontario, they are called Community Futures Development Corporations (CFDCs); and in Atlantic Canada, they are known as Community Business Development Corporations (CBDCs). We use CF for consistency.

## Chapter 10

- 1 Statistics Canada uses municipalities as census subdivisions. Those that are not part of a Census Metropolitan Areas CMA or Census Agglomerations (CAs) are assigned to one of five metropolitan influence zones (MIZ) categories (strong, moderate, weak, no metropolitan influenced zones, and territories outside CAs), determined according to the percentage of employed labour force that commutes to work in the core(s) of any CMA or CA, which is often related to distance from a CMA or CA (Statistics Canada, 2016).

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