Canadian Regional Development
A Critical Review of Theory, Practice, and Potentials

Développement régional canadien
Un examen critique des théories, des pratiques et des potentiels

Regional Profile of the Kittiwake Region

May 2013

CRD Report 12

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Skeard, Daniels, Gibson, Vodden. 2013. Regional Profile of the Kittiwake Region. Working Paper CRD-12. Memorial University of Newfoundland, Corner Brook.

Introduction

The Kittiwake region is located on the north eastern coast of the Island portion of Newfoundland and Labrador. The region consists of approximately 120 communities, spanning west to Lewisporte, east to Charlottetown, and north to Fogo Island (see Figure 1). Most of these communities are located in coastal areas and are considered to be rural in nature. Only six communities within the region have a population of over 2,000, with Gander being the largest community and the primary service centre for the Kittiwake region (KEDC, 2007, p.2). The region also encompasses three inhabited islands that are accessible only by ferry: Fogo Island, Change Islands, and St. Brendan's (KEDC, 2007, p.2).

Figured 1: Map of Kittiwake Region

Brief History

The region's history is vast. Many communities have their own diverse history, which collectively paints a picture of the historical basis of the Kittiwake region. Aboriginal occupation is the first noted settlement in many parts of the region. Around 5,000 years ago, what we now call Bonavista Bay was inhabited by Aboriginal settlers. The area was appealing due to its abundance of resources such as seal, salmon and caribou. Additionally, the geological make-up of the area was a resource for early Aboriginal settlers as it provided the means to manufacture stone objects and tools (Burnside Heritage Foundation, 2012). In Notre Dame Bay, the Boyd's Cove Beothuk site is the larger of the two sites in Notre Dame Bay (Pastore, 1999). The site is located on top of a 6 metre high glacial moraine and spans approximately 3,000 square metres. After an assessment of the area in 2007, Indian Bay was noted as "an area with considerable potential to yield both pre-contact and historic archaeological sites" (Schwarz, 2009, p.6). Moving away from sole Aboriginal occupation, Change Islands was settled in the latter part of the eighteenth century by those seeking to take advantage of the fish resources in the area in the English Labrador fishery, but prior to this until 1783 Change Islands was an unpopulated part of the French Shore (Change Islands Centre for the Arts & Traditional Culture, 2012). Fogo Island, was first settled in the 1680s by fishermen who "sought refuge from the French raiders terrorizing the East Coast and Beothuks who harassed the Europeans on the mainland of Notre Dame Bay" (Explore Newfoundland and Labrador, 2010, n.p.). The Twillingate area is where merchants from Poole, England, including the Slades, Nobles, Earles and Duders, established trade in the mid 1700s (Explore Newfoundland and Labrador, 2010). In 1794, Reverend George Smith arrived in Bonavista Bay in hopes of spreading Methodism into the area (Piper, 2000). In fact, Carmanville takes its name from Reverend Albert Carman, acknowledging the significant role played by the Methodist Church in settling the region (Decks Awash, 1983). The town was renamed after Carman in 1906, however, the area had been settled by English residents since 1825 (Canadian Webs, 2012). Similarly, Lumsden which was originally named Cat Harbour was renamed in 1885 for Methodist minister James Lumsden (Explore Newfoundland and Labrador, 2010). Gander Bay, which was once part of the French Shore was overlooked by settlers until the early 1800s- perhaps because Newfoundland was valuable to the fishing industry, and Gander Bay is "shallow and too far from the fishing grounds of Hamilton Sound to have been seen as a suitable area for settlement" (Decks Awash, 1983, p. 9). Many communities in the region can also boast of a rich heritage that includes Aboriginal settlers; Gander Bay and Clarke's Head are two such areas (Decks Awash, 1983).

Physiographic Description

The region consists of 119 communities (six of which have a population of over 2,000) and a population of approximately 46,000 spanning over about 14,000 square kilometres of land (Kittiwake Strategic Economic Plan, 2009). The region also lies within the boreal shield ecozone (Vodden, 2009, p.115). This ecozone includes stretched of trees, water bodies such as lakes and rivers, as well as exposed bedrock. While this ecozone has been exposed and opened to use transportation networks, many parts of it still remain sites of scenic wilderness (Bell, 2002). There is a continental climate found in this ecozone, meaning that it includes long, cold winters and short, warm summers. The vegetation found within the ecozone includes conifers and broadleaf trees as well as lichens and shrubs in areas of exposed bedrock (Bell, 2002). The wildlife representing the ecozone consists of various mammals including the black bear, lynx, marten, woodland caribou, and moose as well as bird species such as the blue jay and loon (Bell, 2002).

Demographics Profile

Recent demographic changes tell a story of a region facing demographic challenges, including the out-migration of skilled labour, a declining birth rate, and an aging population. All of these factors challenge the future sustainability of the region (KEDC IBP, 2012).

According to Census data for the 2006 Census period, the region had a population of 46,850, a decline of 3.6% from the 2001 Census period (Community Accounts, 2012). In 2006, the median age for the region was 44, while the median age for the province was 42. The median age is projected to rise to 51.6 in 2021, higher than its Newfoundland and Canadian counterparts at 49.3 and 42.2 years respectively (KEDC IBP, 2012, p.10). In 2010, the region experienced 370 births, a 7.5% decrease from 2009 when there were 400 births.

The population decreases experienced in the Kittiwake region are not universal; a number of communities actually reported increases in population. Communities experiencing increases include: Gander (11.1%), Lewisporte (5.3%), Terra Nova (22.1%), Appleton (6.9%), Centreville-Wareham-Trinity (3.5%), Glovertown (2.9%), Glenwood (3.8%), Lumsden (2.3%), and Hare Bay (1.1%) (KEDC Newsletter, 2012; Statistics Canada, 2012).

One of the major demographic trends that will affect the region is an increasing rate of decline among the working age population. During this period, a large portion of the baby-boom generation will move into retirement combined with fewer young workers available to enter the labour market and replace retiring workers (KEDC IBP, 2012, p.11).

Table 1. Population Change in the Largest Kittiwake Communities, 2006-2011

Community	2011 Population	2006-2011 Population Change
Gander	11,054	11.1%
Lewisporte	3,483	5.3%
Twillingate	2,269	-7.3%
New-Wes-Valley	2,265	-8.9%
Glovertown	2,122	2.9%
Gambo	1,984	-4.2%

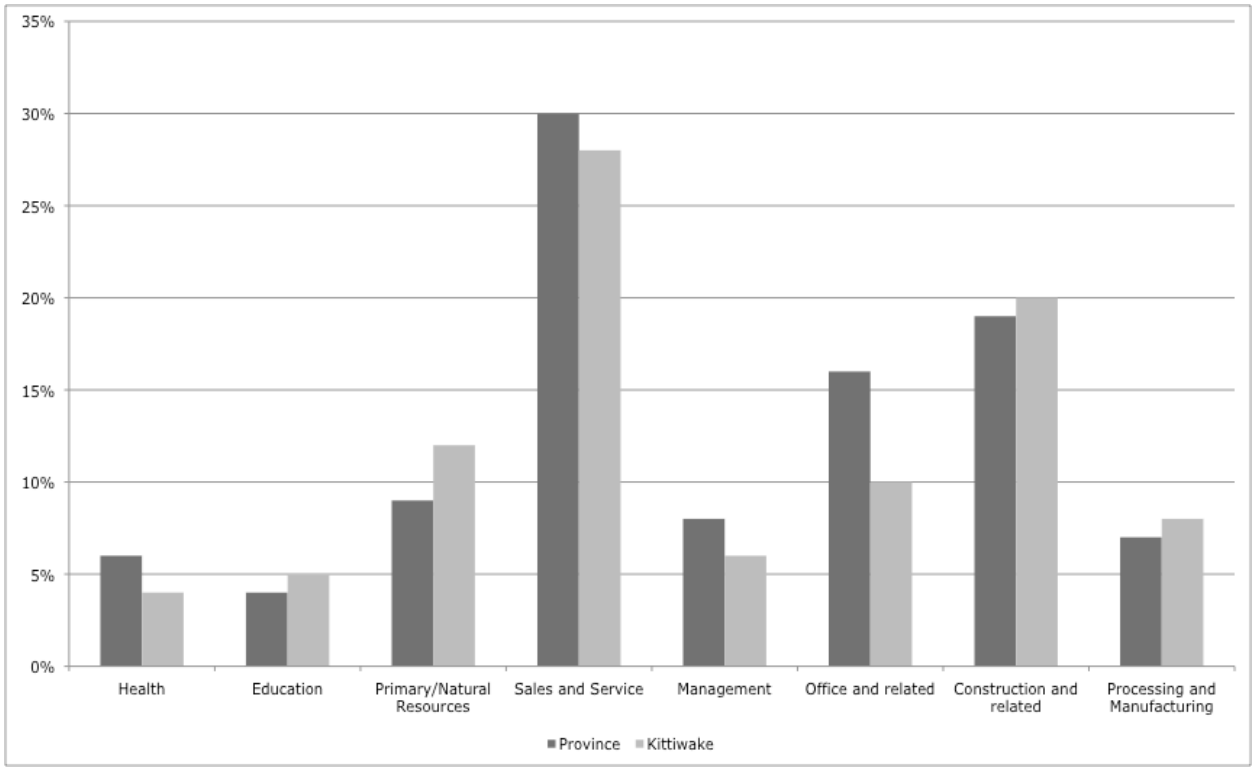
Source: Statistics Canada (2012)

Employment Characteristics

Like many regions in Newfoundland, the regional economy is heavily influenced by the fishery. This influence is most heavily experienced in communities with smaller populations. In 2006, there were 19 communities in the region with a registered fish processing facility (Kittiwake SEP, 2009). However, the largest sectors for employment within the region are retail trade, health and social services, and manufacturing/construction. The service hub for the region is Gander, which is the primary supplier of services and retailers to the region (Kittiwake SEP, 2009). In 2006, these industries accounted for 46% of all businesses in the region (KEDC IBP, 2012). Forestry-related activities such as logging and sawmill production are also noted as important to the regional economy, with several of the province's larger sawmill operations occurring in the region (KEDC IBP, 2012. P.10). According to the KEDC's Integrated Business Plan, in 2006, 9.5 % of all firms in the province were in the Kittiwake Zone, a figure that was consistent with the region's share of the provincial population (KEDC IBP, 2012, p.10).The 2007 gross personal income per capita in the region was $21,800, slightly below the $24,900 figure for the province (Community Accounts, 2012). After tax personal income per capita for the same year was $14,800 for the region and again slightly higher provincially at $16,400 (Community Accounts, 2012).

Skilled labour shortages have emerged as a pressing concern for the Kittiwake region in terms of the economy and employment. In highly skilled or hard to fill positions, shortages of labour are apparent. Consultations with businesses both within the region and across the province through the Business Retention and Expansion Program highlight the difficulty of finding and retaining staff for highly skilled positions (KEDC IBP, 2012).

Table 1. Comparison of Economic Sectors in Kittiwake Region and Province, 2006



Source: Community Accounts (2012)

Local Government

The region is home to 119 communities, including incorporated municipalities, local service districts, and unincorporated communities. Two of the nine Mi'kmaq bands in the province are located in the Kittiwake region: Gander Bay and Glenwood. Both of these communities have their own councils (Vodden, 2009).

Within the region there are some instances of municipal amalgamation, one of which is illustrated by the case of Fogo Island. In 2010, the Town of Fogo Island municipality was formed consisting of all four island communities. In February 2011, after five years of discussion and negotiation, a council of nine people was elected to represent the Town of Fogo Island (Vodden et al., 2012). Prior to amalgamation, Fogo Island possessed the only regional council on the island, however, it passed a motion in 2006 to abolish itself and now is a part of the designated governance structure for the municipality. According to Vodden et al. (2012), the Fogo Island Regional Council "assumed the assets of three local service districts and all powers of a municipal council in unincorporated areas" (Vodden et al., 2012, p.177). Also, they assumed ownership and responsibility for regional waste disposal sites (including an existing incinerator), recreation facilities (a softball field and stadium), responsibilities for animal control, activities to enhance fire fighting services in the region, and regional planning (Vodden et al., 2012, p.177). The transportation committee was also taken over by the group. In essence, the new

amalgamated town has assumed all municipal responsibilities on the island (Vodden et al., 2012, p.177).

Another amalgamation within the region occurred between the previously individual towns of Centreville, Wareham, and Trinity in 1992 (Town of Centreville-Wareham-Trinity, 2012). Post-amalgamation, the municipality is referred to as the town of Centreville-Wareham-Trinity (or CWT for short). In 1989, a feasibility study was conducted on order from the Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs to understand how the three towns were functioning at the time, and how (if amalgamated), the conditions in each community would be affected or enhanced (Manuel & Saunders, 1994).

The Kittiwake Region is home to one joint municipal council: the Bonavista North Joint Council. It includes representation from Centreville-Wareham-Trinity, Greenspond, Indian Bay, Lumsden, Musgrave Harbour, and New-Wes-Valley. Joint councils are useful for allowing smaller communities to act together with a single, unified voice when lobbying government. The joint council was formed with the knowledge that due to a shrinking population and declining tax base, communities were soon going to need to share services in order to upkeep the level of services experienced by residents. Economic development and infrastructure were also noted as being of significant concern for local residents.

Regional Actors

There is a plethora of actors that shape economic and social development in the Kittiwake region. These range from individual municipalities to the federal government level, encompassing a broad range in between. These actors represent a variety of interests, such as economic development, cultural and historical preservation, tourism development, and municipal-based activities and collaborations. Below is a brief description of some key regional actors.

Regional Economic Development Boards

Regional Economic Development Boards (REDBs) were established across the province after a 1992 recommendation in a strategic economic plan for the province and another recommendation in the 1995 report of the Newfoundland and Labrador Task Force on Community Economic Development (Vodden, 2006). By 1997, REDBs had been implemented in 20 regions in the province. REDBs operated with a mandate that includes five core functions: developing and coordinating the implementation of strategic economic plans; coordinating business development support in each zone; supporting organizations and communities within the zone; coordinating social and economic initiatives relating to regional economic development; promoting public participation and community education related to regional economic development.

One of the major economic actors in the Kittiwake region is the Kittiwake Economic Development Corporation (KEDC). KEDC is the REDB in the region, meaning its mandate and values (the five core functions) are aligned with those of REDBs across the province. As of early

2013, financial support for RED boards in the province was discontinued by both the federal and provincial governments (Gibson, 2013). KEDC ceased its operations and activities in 2013, leaving a substantial loss to the region.

Rural Development Associations

Rural Development Associations (RDAs) were established in the 1960s and 1970s to pursue a variety of community development issues, including infrastructure and other economic development projects. These associations were typically between adjacent communities seeking the same means (Vodden, 2006). In the Kittiwake region, there are seven RDAs contributing to economic endeavours and development within the region: Alexander Bay-Terra Nova Development Association, Cape Freels Development Association, Fogo Island Development Association, Gambo-Indian Bay Development Association; Gander Bay-Hamilton Sound Development Association, and the Twillingate-New World Island Development Association.

Community-Based Associations

There is a number of community-based organizations in the region, ranging from "tourism and industry associations to development corporations, which play a role in economic development at the local level" (Vodden, 2006, p.17). These associations are inherently important in preserving a local aspect of community and regional development. They allow residents greater participation in decision-making and shaping of economic and social activities and incentives.

Many of these community-based associations were created to deal with issues of preservation and tourism. Banting Heritage Trust was created "to promote the development and heritage of the Banting Memorial Municipal Park and Interpretation Centre and related work interests" (Town of Musgrave Harbour, 2012) and Cape Freels Heritage Trust was formed in an effort to create and maintain the Barbour Heritage Village. Similarly, the Kittiwake Coast Tourism Association (KCTA) is focused on tourism and was created as a marketing organization for Kittiwake tourism operators and tourism products. The Road to the Beaches Tourism

Association is also an actor in the region and is a branch of the KCTA. The Millennium Institute for Rural Advocacy is another tourism-based organization. Feeling underrepresented by the KCTA, the MIRA aims to market the Bonavista North area of the Kittiwake region to potential tourists by highlighting aspects that are unique to the area, such as development of the oldest Aboriginal site in the province and the original set for Random Passage. Other groups, such as the Fogo Island Survival Committee/Save Fogo Island Committee strive to maintain a way of life like supporting local fishers and urging those who have moved away to return.

This is not an exhaustive list of stakeholders and players within the Kittiwake region. Rather, it represents a sample of key groups that are actively participating in economic and social development in Kittiwake.

Regional Collaborations and Interdependencies

Functional regions are geographic areas that encompass multiple communities to explore the dynamics between how the labour market functions between said communities, noting that each one has a role to play in the local economy. They provide a unique perspective on the ways in which current economic conditions are linking communities together (Vodden et al., 2011, p.4). In the Kittiwake region, there are three complete functional regions and part of a fourth. The Fogo Island, Gander, and Twillingate - New World Island functional/labour market regions are fully encompassed within the Kittiwake zone, while a portion of the Grand Falls-Windsor also lies within Kittiwake's boundaries. For further information on functional regions in the Kittiwake region, and the province, see Freshwater et al. (2011).

Aside from functional regions, there are also actors at the regional level who maintain regional activities and collaborations, such as KEDC.

Physical Infrastructure and Networks

Physical infrastructure, in the way of transportation, is essential for connecting communities within the region and the region to the rest of the province and the world. The transportation infrastructure in the Kittiwake region is comprised of road networks, ferry services, and an international airport.

The road infrastructure in the region consists of the Trans-Canada Highway and a series of secondary roads. According to a KEDC report (2007), the road network in the region is viewed as requiring infrastructure upgrades, particularly to high traffic areas. The deteriorating road conditions influence both residents and tourists alike. In fact, KEDC notes some recreational vehicles have had springs break while travelling on the roads, requiring parts being sent from out of province for the repairs.

In addition to the road network, the communities within the region are connected through ferry services. Similar to the road network residents have publically bemoaned the state of the ferry service. The Farewell-Change Islands and Fogo Island ferry service was noted to have a number of problems affecting not only local residents, but tourists as well. Issues such as a lack of drinking water both on the ferry and at the ferry terminal, the lack of a canteen service on the vessels, a lack of phone service at the terminals, inadequate fare signage and payment methods, loading and unloading protocol for boarding vessels, and the vessels proposed in the Vessel Replacement Strategy (KEDC, 2007). Since these issues were raised, the Department of Transportation and Works added a water cooler and the re-posting of a tender for canteen services. Also, the KEDC notes that the impression given by the Minister of the Department was positive and that the issues would be investigated and dealt with.

The Lewisporte-Labrador ferry service was also noted as having issues. The ferry service does not cater to the tourism industry, it is instead used for shipping freight. The Sir Robert Bond ferry that services the run is simply not adequate for tourist usage- it is lacking in the hospitality

aspect. This is the only connection between central Newfoundland and the mainland and Labrador, and as noted by the KEDC if the service were to ever cease, Quebec would gain an economic advantage for selling their products to Labrador (KEDC, 2007, p.9).

The Burnside-St. Brendan's ferry service is primarily used for residential commuting and minimal tourism-related activities. The ferry service has sometimes been interrupted due to mechanical issues, severely inhibiting the residents of St. Brendan's ability to travel. In fact, sometimes the ferry has been out of service for a week and in the event of such disruption, the town council is supposed to make the request to government for a helicopter service that costs $300/hour and up to two days to implement. Residents have voiced opinions that in the case of disrupted ferry service, a helicopter or another vessel should be implemented automatically (KEDC, 2007, p.10). Aside from mechanical problems, the vessels currently servicing the run also have mobility issues, such as lack of washroom facilities and the access to the seating area requires climbing stairs, which can be problematic and even dangerous for older passengers (KEDC, 2007, p.10).

The region is uniquely positioned with an international airport based in the region. The Gander International Airport has served both a historic and a contemporary influence on the region. The airport historically played a service role for trans-Atlantic flights (Gander International Airport Authority, 2013). Today, the airport is home to scheduled domestic air travel, commercial shipping, flight training school, and the Canadian military. The Gander airport is home to Canadian Forces Base Gander 9 Wing, with approximately 125 military personnel stationed (National Defence, 2013). In April 2012, it was reported $10 million was allocated for repairs to infrastructure at the Gander airport. The upgrades to runways and building infrastructure are ongoing.

Changing transportation networks have altered regional identities and lifestyles, particularly the shift from boat to road transportation in many outport areas in the 1960s. For example, Handcock suggests, that the term "Eastport Peninsula" came into use during this period after the road network connected the the seven communities of Burnside, Eastport, Happy Adventure, Salvage, Sandringham, Sandy Cove and St. Chad's, with Eastport as the central location in the road system (Handcock, 2002).

Additional infrastructure in the region includes 4 hospitals/health care centres; 2 long term care/nursing homes; 14 personal care homes; 27 schools; 3 private colleges; 1 public college; 16 public libraries; 16 CAP public internet sites; 8 arenas; 17 museums; 15 fish processors; 3 marine service centres; 1 airstrip; 1 ACOA office; and 3 Service Canada centres, Community Partners sites, Outreach sites (Community Accounts, 2012).

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Canadian Regional Development
A Critical Review of Theory, Practice, and Potentials

Développement régional canadien
Un examen critique des théories, des pratiques et des potentiels

The *Canadian Regional Development: A Critical Review of Theory, Practice and Potentials* project is a multi-year research initiative funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The project is investigating how Canadian regional development has evolved over the past two decades and the degree to which Canadian regional development systems have incorporated ideas, policies and practices associated with "New Regionalism" into their policy and practice.

The project is conducting an empirical assessment of Canadian regional development using a multi-level, mixed methods case study approach in four provinces: British Columbia, Newfoundland and Labrador, Ontario, and Québec. The assessment of regional development across the case studies is based on the five key themes of New Regionalism: i) collaborative, multi-level governance; ii) integrated versus sectoral and single objective approaches; iii) fostering knowledge flow, learning and innovation; iv) place-based development; and v) rural-urban interaction and interdependence.

Kelly Vodden (Environmental Policy Institute, Grenfell Campus and Department of Geography, Memorial University) is leading the project, together with co-investigators David Douglas (School of Environment Design and Rural Development, University of Guelph), Sean Markey (Geography, Simon Fraser University), and Bill Reimer (Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University). In addition, graduate students at all four universities are engaged on the project.

Further information on the project can be obtained at http://cdnregdev.ruralresilience.ca. The project has been financially supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Leslie Harris Centre for Regional Policy and Development.

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