

Community Case Studies

Introduction

These case studies accompany the section of the literature review that deals with contemporary development in island, remote and rural communities. These excerpts are quoted directly from the article or book they were published in, with the exception of Samsø, Denmark. Italicized text indicates direct quote. A complete reference accompanies each case. Cases are in alphabetical order by community name.

Akureyri and Eyjafjörður, Iceland

...the amalgamation of various small rural municipalities has been one rational strategy to achieve some economies of scale in community service and thus help prevent rural depopulation and decline...a Regional Growth Agreement (RGA) was established to enhance the... rural region of Iceland dependant on crop farming, raising livestock, horse breeding, fishing, commerce, and increasingly tourism. To increase its attraction as a popular place to live and to encourage economic growth and competitiveness, four "clusters" were conceived, in line with the doctrine of Michael Porter (1998): food innovation...; education and research...; health...: and tourism...While the RGA was concluded in 2007, it generated sufficient momentum to enable the ...region to persevere with private-sector funding and support...

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Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia, Canada

Cape Breton island is located in the North Atlantic Ocean, on the eastern coast of North America. It is part of the Canadian province of Nova Scotia, separated from the 'mainland' peninsula of Nova Scotia by the Strait of Canso...The population...is 132,010, based on the most recent Canadian census (Statistics Canada, 2016) and this has been on a steep decline even in just the past two decades.

The evolution of tourism on Cape Breton Island can be seen largely as an alternative trajectory to extractive resource industries on the island...tourism on Cape Breton has been mainly scenic cruising focused on travelling on driving along the spectacular Cabot Trail, a world class highway, completed initially in 1932, that loops 300 km around the northern tip of the island. With its recognisable scenic vistas, the Cabot Trail is an attraction of its own, but it also connects other important tourism attractions...Cape Breton Highlands National Park,...Bras d'Or Lake,...Margaree River...and bridges many unique Gaelic and Acadian cultural communities along the way...other key attractions linked to Cape Breton's past, such as the Fortress of Louisburg, the Alexander Graham Bell and Marconi national Historic Sites.

More recently, new attractions have come on stream, and they speak to the strength of sustainability on the island. The Bras d'Or Lake, at the centre of the island, has been designated a UNESCO Biosphere Reserve...That designation and subsequent marketing exposure, have resulted in more diverse

population of visitors; visitors interested in increased adventure...A new Marine Protected Area has also recently been designated to the southeast, just off Scatarie Island...and there is a clear recognition that this can support commercial marine recreation and tourism uses with the key species for viewing being blue whales and leatherback turtles. These links to the sustainability of the marine ecosystem are critical to Cape Breton as an island tourism destination.

The progress of two other 'human-made' developments has also increased tourism traffic on the island. The port of Sydney's Joan Hariss Cruise Pavilion...recently named as an Arctic gateway for One Ocean Expeditions...and a series of new golf courses...Various levels of government appear to be well-supportive of the golf developments, with funding for future marketing and promotions...

Tourism in Cape Breton has always had some level of reliance on other development...without those steel and coal industries, there is widespread unemployment and poverty, yet still not much interest in working in the service industry of tourism, due to an expectation of higher wages....there is a strong 'Visiting Friends and Relatives' (VFR) sector in the area...Seasonality is a huge issue for the local industry...attractions such as the Cape Breton Highlands National Park and Fortress Louisburg, which are managed at a higher level by a federal agency (Parks Canada), do not seem willing or able to break out of the seasonality pattern. Various festivals (Kitchen Fest and Celtic Colours) tend to book mark the beginning and end of the season (early July to late October) and this is a huge improvement over the recent past...

There is a lot of fragmentation in the industry. Large attractions appear to do well, especially when they 'piggy back' off the cruise ship growth; but, for the 'Free Independent Traveller' (FIT), there are many missing pieces to the sector. Many in the industry believe that Destination Cape Breton (the regional DMO) only wants to promote the Celtic heritage angle, and there are many other small but significant issues (no shuttle services, poor opening hours of downtown business, and nothing available on Sundays) that plague the sector....the new Unama'ki Tourism Association which, amongst the five Mi'kmaq communities on Cape Breton island, seems to be more productive than Destination Cape Breton, with regards to community development and shaping a multicultural narrative....

...increased optimism due to a 'Trump Bump'. In 2016, a local radio personality created a website: 'Cape Breton if Trump Wins'. This started out as a spoof but really took off...Hundreds of thousands of inquiries flooded in, and when Trump did win the election many of those inquiries turned to tourist bookings...

For Cape Breton to truly be a sustainable and world-class, it needs to fix a somewhat disjointed industry and match expectation with experience. Keep the 'down home' charm (music and drink; ceilidhs and kitchen parties) yet lose the 'down home' headaches (lack of shops and restaurants on Sunday, poor shuttle service).

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Chiloé Island, Chile

The islands of Chiloé archipelago in the 10th Region (Los Lagos Region) of southern Chile have long been famous for their distinctive culture, traditions of mutual co-operation, and self-sufficiency based on rich natural resources. In the early twentieth century...inhabitants carved out subsistence livelihoods based on mixed farming, inshore fisheries, woodcutting, and the collection of plants and animals...Explosive growth of industrial salmon aquaculture has been the dominant economic driver in Chiloé since the 1980's, reducing unemployment to less than 4 per cent, enhancing the tax base in many municipalities, and bringing improvements in infrastructure and services. But for...rural people, the rapid economic development has been a mixed blessing...migration of rural young people into aquaculture centres decimated the agriculture labour force. Industrial working conditions were often unhealthy, and the wages for poorly educated rural youth were low. Rapid growth of urban population outstripped infrastructure and service development, leaving many workers with limited access to decent housing, health care, and education. In 2007-08, a disease called infectious salmon anemia ravaged the salmon farms, causing many to go bankrupt and ushering in widespread unemployment. The salmon farms are now (2012-14) making a comeback, but the long-term impact of the industry in terms of environmental and social well-being is still in question.

Microenterprises and small business comprise a vibrant and important economic sector. Cultural enterprises are highly visible...and form a core attraction of tourism. A strong counter-movement to industrial development was evident...Their belief that salmon farming causes pollution has been verified in scientific studies...salmon farms interfere with the access by artisanal fishers to traditional fishing grounds...Cultural knowledge and skills related to agriculture, fisheries, and handicrafts are also endangered because of the increasingly limited opportunities for rural elders to pass them on to younger generations....these trends diminish possibilities for developing the authentic touristic products and experiences that Chiloé seems well placed to pursue.

A provincial government agency has recently published a document acknowledging the negative impacts of rapid aquaculture developments on Chilote culture. The agency recommended....endogenous economic development, and in particular, emphasized the potential for family microenterprise and community-based development that could be branded using the Chilote sense of identity...

Although cultural enterprises offer an alternative to wage labour in the aquaculture industry, it faces significant challenges: the seasonality of tourism, the lack of access to micro-credit, and limited access to training in business management, marketing, and use of the internet to reach off-island markets. ...Although their financial prospects are modest, entrepreneurs continue in their businesses because of personally satisfying benefits such as independence, flexibility, and time with family...

Chiloé already has well-established artisanal food and craft production, and a lively artistic and musical community. Cultural, culinary and eco-tourism are gaining ground. Chiloé retains significant virgin forest lands and has not lost its working landscape of small family farms which gives it a degree of inherent resilience in the face of a changing global economy.

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Evangeline, Prince Edward Island, Canada

In general, PEI is often an add-on destination because of its location in the Atlantic Region of Canada. Tourists tend to visit the whole region so the night's stay on PEI are less than half of the length of the total trip nights. Many, however, consider this destination as a "must" visit part of their trip plans...[considered an] idyllic setting often associated with rural living and a more relaxed lifestyle. The top five activities of the tourists (which include sightseeing, craft shopping, beach visits, general shopping, and visiting national parks), support this approach. This also fits with Butler and Hall's (1998) findings that tourists favor traditional areas of small farms, accessibility to recreation, and roadside stands at farm gates, such as found on PEI.

The region also has a very distinct French Acadian culture that is used in its tourism plans. This is, however, only one of the provincial rural regions that has targeted specific cultural tourism niches...The Evangeline region provides a living case for examining cultural rural tourism development. This region is located in the southwestern coast of the island about an hour drive from the capital city...It is a rural area only 20 square miles (50 sq. km) with a population of 2,500. Although farming, fishing, and forestry have been its core traditional industries, cultural rural tourism has been developed slowly since the 1960s...history and culture as their main tourism motivators (Tourism PEI 1999).

In 2000, Tourism PEI's findings indicate that 259,600 (22%) of the estimated 1.18 million tourists to the province have participated in Acadian cultural experiences over the island...This Acadian culture is offered in a number of the region's packages.

The region also provides a critical mass of services and facilities to support this tourism. Examples include unique attractions of the locally owned Maisons de Bouteilles as well as accommodations, campgrounds, craft stores, restaurants, and sports facilities. There are also attractions and activities that combine Acadian and other cultures such as summer festivals.

In developing these offerings for the area, the cooperative movement has played a major role. Since pioneer days, the region's residents have achieved many objectives through cooperative organizations. These are groups of volunteers who work as a team to complete projects. Today, there are about 17 active volunteer based cooperatives in the region...with cooperatives employing about 20%, a significant number of the area's labor force. Given the number of ventures of the small population in the region, Evangeline is referred to as the cooperative capital of North America (Arsenault 1998). The benefits of this and community-based systems are introduced to the local youth at an early age and the region's leaders support volunteers in many ways, including recognition awards (Driscoll 1996; Wilkinson and Quarter 1996).

In the Evangeline region, tourism began as a grass roots process about the mid 60s...planning and more coordination occurred among various community groups. Leaders of several rural areas stress that community volunteers are the driving force of any project undertaken (Jolliffe and MacDonald 2000; MacKinnon 1989). Cooperative volunteer groups manage many of the local projects such as the Abram-Village Handcraft Co-op and Le Village de L'Acadie. This helps to harmonize economic goals to be compatible with the Acadian culture and the values of the community, as noted in an interview with Le Village manager...Since residents are involved in their community and feel pride in their heritage, these information sessions and town-hall meetings provide them a chance to gain some ownership of the tourism ideas and to contribute to the plan, as suggested by Lankford (1994).

As an Acadian cultural center, the Evangeline region has also benefited from federal government initiatives, such as the funding from the General Agreement on Promotion of Official Languages for the operation of the Acadian Museum. The region is like many rural communities where development projects often lack funds and information and there are limited resources to assist these

This illustrates Grolleau's (2000) tourism description as being of the area sought and controlled by locals through their own initiative, management, and spin offs rooted in their scenery and culture... The Evangeline region demonstrates that culture is a useful vehicle to provide the context for rural tourism development. The Acadian culture in this case provides a natural resource for attracting tourists. Locals have pride in their ancestry and want to preserve it for the future.

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Fogo Island, Newfoundland, Canada

Fogo Island is home to 10 distinct communities located off of the northeast corner of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. For centuries, Fogo Island's economy, like many other rural communities in Newfoundland, relied on cod fishing. In the 1960s and 1970s, inshore cod landings diminished as large off shore factory trawlers took an ever-increasing share of the declining cod stock. During that time, the Newfoundland government sought to resettle small isolated fishing communities to larger centers to gain efficiencies in service provision. The residents of Fogo Island resisted... Starting in 1967, Canada's National Film Board, in partnership with Memorial University of Newfoundland, created a series of documentary films called the "Fogo Process," highlighting the significant social changes to the island. The films helped organize a collective movement to salvage the island economy, bringing together the then 11 communities to forge a common future path. To that end they established a successful fishing cooperative. However, in 1992, the Canadian government announced a moratorium on cod fishing.... on Fogo Island 40% of the population was left without work. Many residents had to leave the Island, causing further population decline.

In 2006, native Fogo Islander Zita Cobb returned to the island after a successful career in the telecommunications industry. Eager to rebuild the island's economy, while honoring its culture and history of resilience, Cobb and two of her brothers founded Shorefast. In 2010, after years of community consultation, Shorefast began construction of the Fogo Island Inn, a luxury inn designed by Newfoundland-born architect Todd Saunders. Shorefast, along with the federal and provincial governments provided the capital. The inn took longer to build than anticipated, due to Shorefast's unwavering commitment to using local materials and labor wherever possible, and to building the Inn to high sustainability standards. All furniture and textiles were designed and created on Fogo Island, using a unique approach of bringing internationally renowned designers to Fogo Island to draw inspiration from the place, and to work with local furniture builders and crafters to co-create the pieces. In 2013, Shorefast finally opened the doors of the Inn. Some of its first customers were residents of the community, all of whom received a free night's stay. The inn was run as a social enterprise with all profits reinvested into the community. Shorefast, and in particular the Fogo Island Inn, gained international recognition for its novel, place-based approach to rural economic development that puts primacy on nature and culture

The Inn is only one of many Shorefast activities. Other key initiatives include a micro-lending fund and a contemporary artist residency program. In 2014, Shorefast launched another social enterprise, the Fogo Island Shop, which began by selling the furniture and textiles found in the Inn. Each initiative was carefully considered, and each reflected Shorefast's core principle that place has "intrinsic value" and is needed to counterbalance the homogeneity of our globalized world.

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Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan

The town of Gravelbourg (population 1,200) is located in south-central Saskatchewan, over 100 kilometers from the closest city...Two of the most obvious landmarks in the skyline are...the tall spires of the Our Lady of the Assumption Co-Cathedral; to the north is the grain elevator. Together, these two structures serve as the tangible evidence of the dual function that Gravelbourg has served through its unique 100 – year history...Gravelbourg's vibrancy as a community amid an otherwise bleak southern Saskatchewan settlement landscape has much to do with its longstanding place-based and grassroots-driven program of sustainable rural community development...the local quality of life has made the town an attractive place to live and do business, both for long-term residents and newcomers.

Gravelbourg's revitalization process began in earnest in 1998...The agricultural economy was in serious trouble, the on- and -off farm population of the neighboring municipalities was in a long standing state of decline, and there was also the constant threat of the local railway line and the grain elevators being closed. Gravelbourg's downtown was replete with vacant buildings and enrolment was declining in the local schools. Clearly something had to be done.

The first step towards more formal development planning in Gravelbourg was the hiring of the town's first- ever Economic Development Officer...saw the town commit itself to the use of "sustainable community development" models...In looking internally, it quickly became apparent that the town had many cultural and other assets upon which it could build a development strategy. The town's religious heritage and its multicultural composition...Over the next decade and a half, these and other assets have been harnessed to build a strong quality of place...

...in many cases, integration of the arts and culture has been key to mobilizing these assets...One of the most import ways has been...the many efforts made to enhance the aesthetics of the community's built environment...much of the town's appearance...did little to inspire a sense of local pride or to attract visitors or investors...A number of groups have been involved in these efforts...the Save Our Little Elevator Committee (SOLE), the town's beautification group...; the Touch of Europe Committee; the Gravelbourg and District Chamber of Commerce; and the local municipality, the Town of Gravelbourg...

...what came to be known as the Main Street Revitalization Project...replacing lampposts...sidewalk reconstruction...place flowerpots and cleaned up green spaces. Funding for the project came from a number of sources, including a lottery sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, donations from Main Street merchants and property owners, and...the Town of Gravelbourg...The Main Street Revitalization Project also involved the painting of new murals that celebrated the community's heritage...another

beautification effort...a litter- strewn and weed- filled vacant lot located beside the busiest building in Gravelbourg, the post office, was turned into Humphry Park. Named after a local resident, the park's construction was once again primarily a volunteer- based effort, with further assistance provided by town employees.

One of the most significant art and culture-related initiatives has been the revitalization of the Renaissance Gaiety Theatre...this building had fallen into disrepair and was taken over by the Town....After creating a non-profit Community Arts board and completing a feasibility study financed by the Saskatchewan heritage Foundation and the Town of Gravelbourg, a business plan to create the Gravelbourg Community Arts Centre was put into action...On Friday and Saturday nights the theatre is also used regularly for its original purpose, to show Hollywood films. However, rather than a for- profit venture, movies are shown by non- profit community groups as fundraisers...other events were organized by the local Artist- in – Residence, hired by the Town of Gravelbourg through a program administered by the Saskatchewan Arts Board. This individual organized and engaged in a variety of local arts and culture activities throughout her one year contract...in the local schools...at the Community Arts Centre...included weekly coffee house event – an open mic night...and other events where people could hone their skills in such areas as improv comedy and dramatic acting...The Artist- in Residence also wrote a play with a plot based loosely on the community of Gravelbourg and recruited local residents to be the actors in a public production of the show...both shows sold out.

The quality of place attachments provided by the incorporation of arts and culture into the physical spaces of Gravelbourg, such as parks and the local theatre, have been complemented by the holding of many events...the International Food Festival,...the Southern Saskatchewan Summer Solstice Festival...Many local residents enjoy the events as do out of town visitors from as far away as...three hours.

Research participants noted that they and/ or others they knew had benefited from either participating directly in such initiatives...or simply being involved as an audience member...arts and culture initiatives...can provide a social and creative outlet to those who aren't interested in sports,...promote community wellness...a source of revenue generation...enhancement of community pride and heightened sense of community...put the community on the map...responsible for attracting many new residents to the community....

...many local businesses have been bought by newcomers...several prominent businesses in Gravelbourg were started by a former resident...convinced by family members still residing in Gravelbourg to invest in his hometown. After noting how vibrant the community had become in recent years and how determined the residents were to build a strong future for the town, he bought several local buildings and established new businesses...

The various initiatives implemented by Gravelbourg's municipal government, key personnel (the Economic Development Officer and Artist- in- Residence), and the community's many volunteer committees have created, according to many of those who participated in the study, a highly livable, small town that exudes a strong quality of place and a positive sense of place....engaging in such activities is clearly also a time-consuming process that requires a great deal of patience, social capital, and risk taking on the part of local residents. Rural communities, while quite capable of doing things on their own, still require the help of more senior levels of government, particularly in terms of funding. But most important, perhaps, is this final point: for the arts and culture to have a positive impact in a rural community, two other forms of culture are also required, a culture of confidence that breeds a

willingness to try new ideas and a culture of volunteerism that can take those ideas and put them to good use.

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Húsavík, Iceland

The village of Húsavík is located in the south-east part of the Bay of Skjálfandi, in north-east Iceland. The population numbered 2511 on 1 December 2006...The main subsistence activity of the village has been fishing and fish processing, with herring catches and salting growing in importance in the early 20th century, and with the more recent development of demersal fishing for cod, haddock and other species, as well as shrimp. The shrimp fishery has, however, sharply declined in recent years, as a result of diminishing quotas. For centuries the town has been the center of services for the neighbouring farming areas, and today it still includes industries connected to agriculture, among them the largest slaughterhouse and meat-curing facilities in the north-east region of Iceland. Húsavík has a hospital, a college, several shops, a hotel and a number of other services to cater for the needs and wishes of a modern European population and its visitors. The policy of the town council has been to diversify the economy of the village...

..it is whale-watching tourism that has brought most attention to Húsavík in the past decade...Two companies currently offer whale-watching trips to Skjálfandi Bay from late April until October, although the whale-watching season has been getting longer as the number of tourists and the scale of operations have grown. In 2007 just over 40 000 tourists were taken out to watch whales from the port of Húsavík, from a total of 104 000 whale-watching tourists visiting Iceland. Húsavík is not the only place in Iceland to see whales and there are now six other locations, but in no other place has whale watching been such a success story. Both Húsavík [whale watching] companies can be characterized as family owned and operated businesses...

In my discussions with those who work in whale watching in Húsavík, the idea of these boats [refurbished fishing boats] embodying souls of their own and symbolizing coastal culture has been mentioned many times. In fact, the original reason why the owners of the pioneering firm decided to invest in these rugged and authentic fishing boats was a passion for the boats themselves, and their restoration and salvage. They had no plans to use them for whale watching. That idea came up later, in the search for a worthy and viable role for the boats.

Economic diversification such as the development of tourism became more and more appealing to communities that were losing options, and were facing decreasing flexibility and increasing vulnerability as a consequence of changes in the regimes of resource governance. Whale watching can thus be seen as a form of adaptation, and a response to external drivers of change.

The view of the regional Economic Development Office is that whale watching has considerable relevance for the economic viability of the community, not least for younger people who have the education and skills to participate in an internationally oriented enterprise that requires higher education

levels and language skills. Few jobs of this kind have been available in the village, contributing to a drain of human capital from the community.

The new industry was welcomed by the local authorities and residents, who, in general, tend to have very positive attitudes towards tourists and tourism development...the company North Sailing has built its facilities to house offices, restaurants and ticket sales, as well as other services for guests...

Fishermen complain that the foreshore has become overcrowded, and that tourists, busses, private cars and general traffic associated with the new activities have made life more difficult for them, and that they are having problems moving their fishing gear between boats and sheds.

The well-designed Húsavík Whale Museum has mounted extensive multilingual exhibits on whaling conservation, whaling history and whale use, and Keiko the Killer Whale, and it includes a new section on whale biology, the marine ecosystem, ocean currents and the threats of pollution in the world's oceans. This impressive museum is led by a pioneer in Icelandic whale watching, who in 2000 was awarded the UN Global 500 award for his conservation work in Iceland.

This process has not been entirely without conflicts and controversy, and a key element of the success has been the role of certain skilled individuals working in whale watching who have been engaged locally as culture brokers (see Smith 2001: 275), mediating between hosts and guests, the world of fishermen and the foreign world of whale watching.

The "pizza illustration" referred to a case in which a traditional Inuit hunter was condemned by cultural purists for supplying his family with pizza, rather than going out on a traditional hunt. Beach's point was that the change to eating pizza occurred because it enabled the hunter to survive (the most primary relationship), with his family, in his community when the hunting was exceptionally bad. Hence, consuming the pizza slice upheld tradition on one level, whereas it was non-traditional on another. Thanks to the availability of pizza, the hunter lived to hunt again.

Einarsson, N. (2009). From good to eat to good to watch: whale watching, adaptation and change in Icelandic fishing communities. *Polar Research*, 28(1), 129-138.

Isle of Eigg, Scotland

The Isle of Eigg (current population about 100) off the west coast of Scotland, is one of the more high-profile examples of community buyouts to establish a form of community trust ownership. The process of this successful community struggle against the false choice of gentrifications or decline has been thoroughly described and analysed in a doctoral thesis (Morgan, 1998) and a highly praised book (McIntoch 2001). The process on Eigg supports the insight that commons require communing. It cannot be the work of one passionate soul, but rather build on the bottom-up practise of community cooperation and solidarity, including people and organisations beyond the community. Twenty years on, the island has clearly managed to navigate a development path based on community ownership and deep local democracy that avoids both externally driven gentrification and economic decline. Housing costs are about half the market level of affordable housing elsewhere in the region, providing residents with the freedom "to pursue less money-oriented goals". Island residents enjoy security of tenure, encouraging use value oriented investments in the built environment. Tourism is a key livelihood, but remains under local control and is not under pressure to grow or to provide returns to absentee owners or dividends to shareholders...

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North Harris, Scotland

North Harris, with a population of about 800, was well on a path of decline as population halved between 1951 and 2001, services were discontinued or closed, schools closed, and jobs disappeared. The island was purchased by the community in 2003, forming the North Harris Trust, the community body which now manages the estate on behalf of the people of North Harris. The trust is engaged in projects dealing with provision of affordable housing, provision of office accommodation, employment opportunities, land and deer-management agreements, infrastructure development, improving access to more remote areas for visitors and locals, and installing renewable energy.

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Prince Edward Island, Canada

Prince Edward island...its population of approximately 140,000 people...Settlers cut timber for shipbuilding and burned away the rest of the dark woods in order to transform the island into a centre of food production...house holds, pursued diverse production and harvesting activities...From the 1960's on, successive island governments, abetted by federal agencies, forced a shift from small mixed farms and multi-species fisheries to corporate agribusiness and separate, professionalized fisheries and aquaculture....the ecological damage resulting from these development choices was painfully apparent: species extinction, forest fragmentation, groundwater pollution from agriculture chemicals, fish kills and anoxia in streams and estuaries. Standards of living had risen, but per capita income lagged behind the Canadian average...The provincial government admitted that "prince Edward island farmers have found themselves unable to prosper by competing in these globalized, efficiency- driven commodity markets"...policy-makers went on to recommend more ecological alternatives, diversification, value-added niche production, creativity, and co-operation....

The island still grapples with poorly controlled coastal development and the mixed blessings of mass tourism...a movement towards more diverse and human-scaled forms of agriculture and tourism is visible...The island has a long history of co-operative enterprise development....resistance to various forms of industrial development is recurrent....locally owned wind farm development was welcomed by island consumers, who willingly paid a premium price for renewable energy...development of large-scale private wind farms and transmission lines designed to export the power off island have sparked resistance...

...forms of informal sector entrepreneurship can be essential for economic survival in peripheral economies...seasonal wage work during the peak summer season, followed by periods of dependence on employment insurance...Far from being a period of helpless dependence, the season of "worklessness" is, for many participants, highly productive time to tend to family commitments (especially child and elder

care) and community service, self-education, creative pursuits and other projects important to personal health and well-being....Contentment with modest levels of cash income and attention to work-life balance were evident in the results of research conducted in rural Prince Edward Island in 2006 and 2009...In the Tyne Valley area...Unemployment rates can be twice as high and average annual household incomes 10 percent lower than the provincial average...when asked to identify factors that contributed to their quality of life, Tyne valley residents rarely mentioned jobs or income. They focused on aspects of community, social wellbeing such as “safety and security, peacefulness and calm, the feeling of belonging and attachment, the knowledge that you can depend on other community members for help, community pride and spirit, and living in a place that has a pleasant and happy atmosphere”...In the New London Bay watershed, where many residents are university educated and upper middle-class, people prioritized personal well-being while exhibiting a profound sense of place and appreciation for the natural environment. Factors related to community social well-being and positive personal relations also contributed to quality of life, but economic factors were rarely mentioned.

...the small and microenterprise sector on Prince Edward Island is substantial...These include many small-scale fishing, farming, forestry, and tourism enterprises as well as many artists and artisans....Artisans and craftspeople...feel that too few young people are being drawn into their industry, and traditional skills are not being passed on to younger generations. Cultural workers on Prince Edward Island also expressed the need for business skills training and mentorship.

Emerging trends in the evolving economy of Prince Edward Island include a rapidly growing music industry; culinary, cultural, agricultural and eco-tourism supported and promoted by governments, cultural festivals in rural small halls that cater to both locals and tourists; organic agriculture; and Indigenous enterprise. The Fall Flavours Festival involves an island-wide celebration of local food, and Experience Prince Edward Island offers touristic activities that engage visitors with islanders where they work – on small boats, in artists’ studios and potteries, on beaches, and in farm fields. The variety of “experiences” on offer and the success of this style of cultural tourism provide inspiration and encouragement to small islands...

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Samsø, Denmark

Samsø was formed about 9,000 years ago and given its central location in the Kattegat Strait 15 km off the east coast of Denmark, the island became a military and trade center in the region during the Viking and Medieval times. Samsø has a total area of 114 km² (of which 20% is protected) and a population of 3,726 as of 2016. Earliest documentation indicates that Samsø was property of the king, but unlike in the rest of Denmark, Samsø farmers owned their own land and copyholded the fields of the landlord (Energy Island, 2017).

Agriculture has always been and remains today the largest employer (16%) and contributor to the economy. Agriculture on the island has deviated from Denmark’s by focusing on free range and sustainable farming. The industry is seeing growth in specialty and value-added products; especially, since word of its renewable island status spread in the 2000s. The island is a popular tourist destination,

for Europeans especially, and hosts approximately 500,000 visitors per year. Islanders indicate that this number is also on the rise with many guests now coming to visit the Renewable Energy Island (REI) project (Energy Island, 2017; Hermansen et al., 2007).

Art and culture promoted through Samsø tourism reflect the long history of agriculture and connection with the land. Their website highlights artists that focus on landscapes and cows, as well as activities that include cycling adventures, potato sandwich contests, a produce festival and a sustainability festival (Energy Island, 2017).

In 1997, the Denmark Ministry of Energy announced a competition for the most realistic and realizable plan for a local community to transition to 100% self-sufficiency through renewable energy in a ten-year period. The criteria for the plans were use of available technology, local participation, new ways of organizing, financing and owning renewable energy (RE) projects and a strategy to be a demonstration of Danish RE technology to the rest of the world (Henriksen et al. 2012; Hermansen et al., 2007; Sperling, 2017).

Samsø won the competition and while the award itself did not come with a financial prize, much of the success of Samsø is attributed to financial incentives made possible from decades of Denmark's investment in the wind energy industry and policies that promote RE; (Ramiller & Schmidt, 2017; Smink et al., 2010) namely, subsidies for initial investments in infrastructure and household efficiency coupled with utility regulations that effectively create an eight year pay off period for wind turbines (Nevin, 2010; Ramiller & Schmidt, 2017; Sperling, 2017). Estimates on the total external investment through direct grants and/or electricity prices vary from 23 million € (Sperling, 2017) to 57 million € (Hermansen et al., 2007).

Two organizations were founded to help implement the Renewable Energy Island project. Samsø Energy and Environment Office (SEEO) was founded in 1997 to promote RE and educate islanders. Samsø Energy Company (SEC) was founded in 1998 to implement energy projects. Soren Hermenson, who by some accounts is attributed with much of the success of the REI, is a former teacher who volunteered to become the first employee of the project through SEEO (Walsh, 2008). In cooperation, SEEO and SEC managed to mobilize the community through meetings and campaigns tailored to the local context. In a general sense, community energy projects driven by local actors and local interests has become a pillar of Denmark's renewable energy history and has led to widespread adoption of green technologies (Sperling, 2017).

The project has proven to be an economic engine. It is estimated to have created an equivalent of 20 man-years of employment per year in the period 1998 – 2007 (Hermansen et al., 2007; Sperling, 2017). For farmers, the opportunity to invest in wind turbines and benefit from government-subsidized returns on their investments provided a second source of income. The entire project has been attracting an estimated 5000 scientists, companies, politicians, journalists, school children and energy tourists from all over the world to see the sustainable energy island and learn from the local experiences (Hermansen et al., 2007).

Samsø's undertaking has garnered much worldwide attention from media and scholars alike. The vast majority of this attention has focused on the technical and community mobilization aspects of what took place and less attention has been paid to understanding 'how' the results were achieved (Sperling, 2017).

In the ten-year evaluation of REI, the authors note specific areas where the project fell short of its intended goals. Despite ongoing energy consumption awareness and education with the community throughout the project, household energy consumption had not significantly changed between 1997-2005, nor did they reach their stated goals of transitioning the transport sector to biofuels- ferries, cars, factories and heating in more distant areas are still dependent on significant input of fossil fuels. However, this fossil fuel consumption is largely compensated for by surplus electricity production exported to Denmark. Depopulation is also noted as an issue as the project has not reversed the downward population trend as hoped (Hermansen et al., 2007; Nielsen & Jørgensen, 2015; Sperling, 2017). External observers have questioned the sustainability of the transition itself in so far as the absence or decline of the initial financial incentives will make it hard for the community to sustain the new energy system (Ramiller & Schmidt, 2017).

Media coverage has been misleading with its focus on what has been positioned as almost heroic efforts of one individual to mobilize their community. While stories of being on the leading edge of confronting climate change by hosting community meetings ‘over beers’ makes for compelling news, it falls far short of articulating what probably constitutes a perfect storm of conditions that led to the successes Samsø is experiencing. There is much more to the story than mobilizing a community and even more still than all the geographic, economic, policy and financial enablers previously discussed.

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Shetland Islands, Scotland

Shetland is the most isolated archipelago in the United Kingdom. It lies in the middle of the North Atlantic, a full 14-hour ferry ride from the city of Aberdeen on the Scottish mainland...Shetland has what many would consider an unappealing oceanic, sub-arctic climate with long but mild winters, short, cool summers, and copious quantities of wind...Shetland is not a fertile place...Clearly Shetland has some difficulties to overcome when trying to entice the tourist...isolation has also helped Shetlanders to

preserve their identity...in National Geographic's survey....Tourists were attracted particularly by Shetland's "extremely high integrity in all aspects of heritage"...

Shetlandic identity quite readily, comprises a rich skein of traditions and cultural activities. The following three examples are perhaps the most iconic. The first is knitting...Fair Isle patterns are known worldwide...offer free knitting classes to primary school children...The second cultural icon is the fiddle...its own distinctive fiddle tradition, with elements from Scotland and Scandinavia...The final part is fishing...In the summer, local inshore fishing competitions called Eela are still an important feature of community entertainment....Shetlandic identity is unique. It can be characterized as Scottish with a clear Nordic twist.

In a quite radical move, the Council [Shetland Islands Council] set up Promote Shetland, a third- party organization funded by Shetland Islands Council Economic Development Unit, to market the islands...The Council was unhappy with the work of Visit Scotland, Scotland's tourism body...Both organizations, although independent, seem to have a good working relationship, holding shared meetings. However, promote Shetland has a far more proactive role. It maintains an excellent website...which includes a number of webcams...a live broadcast of Up Helly Aa [well known festival]. One of the most innovative creations is a local tourist radio station...which provides Shetlandic cultural material. It can be accessed online...Promote Shetland also supports the policy of Shetland Islands Council to increase the population of the islands...maintains the website that encourages immigration, providing information to potential immigrants on life in Shetland, Shetland's culture and history, finding work or doing business in Shetland, and practical information about moving to the islands.

...Shetland Local Economic Forum in 2002....stated that there was a need to "rethink radically our approach to economic development...The assumption was that oil revenue would soon run out and Shetland would need to develop other means of earning an income, and a recognizable brand highlighting Shetland's manifest cold-island attractions was what was needed. A London company called Corporate Edge was employed to develop the branding...Shetlanders were not enamoured by the generic island branding that was developed...Despite its problematic beginning, the brand has stuck...appears to be taken up throughout Shetland.

Shetland Islands Council has also been intimately involved in supporting cultural activities and cultural bodies within Shetland. The Council partially funds the two charitable organizations, Shetland Arts and the Shetland Amenity Trust...Shetland Arts ...operates...Garrison Theatre...Bonhoga Gallery...rents out an attractive artist living and working space...promotes a year round program of...events. It has an annual budget of £1.4 million and over the last two years its new online box office has seen sales of £1 million, which seems quite extraordinary for a population of 22,000 people...

...Shetland Amenity Trust....Only the Isle of Man and Guernsey have similar bodies....Its role is to preserve Shetland's architectural heritage, as well as conserve and enhance the natural beauty and amenity...Over 100 people are employed by Shetland Amenity trust, which equates to roughly 1 per cent of the working population. The Trust receives its funding from annual grants from both Shetland Charitable Trust and Shetland Islands Council...has been used to leverage funding from national and international sources...Shetland Museum and Archives...is owned and managed by the Trust and funded by an annual grant from Shetland Islands Council. The museum is the "must see" destination in Shetland for anyone wishing to know more about Shetland culture, traditions, and archaeology...It has attracted over 80,000 people every year since it opened...

...this Trust was set up in the wake of the discovery of oil and the existential angst created in Shetland ...The Council bought the land where the Sullom Voe oil terminal was to be sited, this making the Council the landlord. The Council insisted that all the oil companies had to use the same oil terminal and therefore that all had to pay the Council rent...It would be a mistake to regard the Trust as a philanthropic entity. It is seen in Shetland as a repository of Shetlanders' wealth...

Events are seen by Shetlanders themselves as important to Shetland identity...Many of these events are organized by Shetland Arts...they often benefit from some financial support in the form of grants or marketing. Cultural events promote tourism, stimulate investment, and enrich lives...almost every month seems to have its festival...According to a recent report, "Shetland's Events and Festivals are calculated...to have 127,000 attendees and an economic value of £6.2 million...

However not everything in the garden is rosy. The system is fragile. Shetland's vibrant cultural scene depends on public subsidy...This is beginning to become problematic in stringent financial times...Shetland is still a predominantly specialist primary sector economy with tourism, and the creative industries small compared with the impact of the fishing industry and the Council....Shetland will also see the construction of the huge community owned Viking Energy windfarm...over its 25- year lifetime the windfarm will pump and extra £23 million annually in to Charitable Trust's coffers

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Skagaströnd, Iceland

One of the main challenges has been outmigration. The net loss of people during the past 20 years is around 200, with well under 500 inhabitants remaining... With a doubling of population in the 1940s, based solely on immense landings of herring, the place was designated as a future 'capital' of the North. This utopian construct ended abruptly in the late 1960s, as the herring altered its migrating behaviour. This fate was not uncommon for localities in the north of Iceland during this period. Skagaströnd recovered from this economic and demographic setback through a change towards demersal fish and crustaceans, notably shrimp, instead of herring. Also, a local fishing company was founded with some hundred shareholders from within the community.

...severe population decline since the early 1990s... The closure of the two plants affected employment opportunities within the community, particularly for women, and the loss of the trawler has taken a heavy toll of tax revenues and has affected the service facilities within the harbour and the community as a whole. Several attempts have been made to mitigate the consequences and eventually reverse the trend. After the closure of the shrimp factory, three projects which intended to make use of the cultural heritage of the community—textile, sewing and fortune telling—, received some funding. All were initiated by women. The sewing workshop is still running, and the museum of the fortune teller attracts several thousand visitors per year. In 2007, a research-and-development company centred on marine biotechnology started its operation and the state-run unemployment office opened a regional office in the town. Furthermore, an artist residency was opened in 2008 which transformed the former fish factory into an open studio. In 2012 a start-up company was established, where three non-local newcomer professionals manufacture high-quality loudspeakers.

Social resilience and the concept of coping have been interpreted as active, intentional and bottom-up approaches for communities in transition. This requires a strong people–place connection and the general will of the local population to walk a hitherto unbeaten development path—transformability. Both can be found within the community. In particular, local policy makers show general support for innovative and unconventional ideas—engaged governance. A possible threat to this is municipality amalgamation, which is also perceived as one of the biggest threats to the community’s infrastructure. To an outsider, the merging of municipalities seems economically reasonable. However, one should not underestimate the significance of independence and the importance of an active local school for a lively community.

Social resilience is also about responding to an—external—shock. The shock or stressor for this community has been the loss of quotas. Instead of keeping this sector running at any cost, like many other fishing villages have tried, new forms of employment are aimed for. So far, it has been a fruitful strategy to shift from labour-intensive fisheries with a strong focus on quantity to a qualitative, research-based, trajectory. This has turned the former fishing village into a prototype of post-quota development. The community is not in full control of its fate regarding resource use. Fundamental decisions about this are made by the central government.

As explained at the beginning of the paper, coping strategies are centred on the reflexive use of knowledge and the formation of social identity. In Skagaströnd, one of the main drivers regarding identity is the artist residency and the constant cultural exchange created through the inflow of artists. This stimulates a local-global identity establishment. Culture and research define the main coping strategies but are still dependent on the funding situation. Particularly the research and development company is reliant on successful research in the long run.

*Not all projects are of a bottom-up and endogenous nature, embedded in the municipal environment, nor can all ideas be realised without external partners. For some projects, the stimulus comes from the outside, here in the form of the central government or an investor. Most interviewees referred to the latter almost like a *deus ex machina*. Even if such an investor appeared one day, conflicts might occur. This becomes apparent when the possibility of a large-scale industrial project is discussed. Here it is advisable to learn from the past. Previous large-scale plans have not led to diversification and independence, but have caused exactly the opposite, leaving the municipality in the current situation. A large industrial project might work against the locally-developed, small-and medium-scale coping strategies. It might be a solution that would bolster the local economy in the immediate future and would lead to a population increase; yet there are certain imponderability. The main question is to what extent such a large project would eventually help to diversify the local economy, instead of just overheating it temporarily.*

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Slemon Park, Prince Edward Island, Canada

The closure of CFB [Canadian Forces Base] was announced by the Canadian government in 1989, and in April 1991 the former CFB Summerside property was transferred to its current owner, Slemon Park Corporation, a commercial and residential property management and development company...has

developed Slemon Park into a “successful tax- free zone for aerospace companies”. It is now the location of various companies and training organizations in aviation, aerospace, police and security training and other commercial activities...that the Province has a manufacturing sector at all has been due in no small part to “the aeronautics industry...” The province’s higher education college has a facility at Slemon Park and trains graduates in various engineering and aerospace related skills that are prized and sought by industry...

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Trout Creek, Ontario, Canada

approximately 550 residents...amalgamated with the neighbouring community...Perhaps, the most well-known and recognizable landmark in the community is the Trout Creek Community Centre.

...the school was closed in an effort to improve efficiency within the school board, the municipal amalgamations were pushed in an attempt to lower taxes and reduce the number of paid government officials... and the highway was expanded following provincial investments in infrastructure. With three significant changes over the span of just three years, the context of Trout Creek was one of drastic change, largely as a result of political decisions made that were beyond the community’s control. As a result, some have superficially described...the community as an example of decline due to “a province-wide trend that pushes people out of rural neighbourhoods and into urban centres”...

...the implications of leadership emerged in regards to various aspects of the community centre and the management of its programs. There was a general understanding that if there was to continue to be programs, events, and activities in the community, some members of the community would need to step up and take on leadership roles in order to see them carried out.

Furthermore, leadership at the municipal level was also cited by many leaders as a major contributor to the success of community centre initiatives.

Given that many people (particularly youth) leave the community, either temporarily or permanently for a variety of reasons, community events such as their winter carnival and family hockey tournament were viewed as important events for bringing community members (past and present) together. “It’s just like homecoming...people, neighbours, and their whole family come home for the weekend. For people who only come home once a year, it’s that weekend they come home”

More recently, the contractual formalization of the relationship between the Community Centre Board and the municipality was cited as an important development as it assured the support of the municipality irrespective of whether or not the board meets their fundraising goals.

Collectively, the management of the community centre and its programs was discussed as a means of establishing and preserving a sense of community for Trout Creek. Furthermore, the positive relationship between the municipal council and the Community Centre Board has also led to a successful partner- ship

in order to access funding to improve the community centre and create employment opportunities in the community.

Further, while our discussion focused on sport and recreation (as these were the primary activities that took place at the Trout Creek Community Centre) within the community, these activities should not be completely divorced from others, such as arts and cultural activities, which have also been discussed within the realm of rural development (see Fullerton 2015). On the contrary, we argue that sport and recreation may offer an important, but not exclusive, opportunity to contribute to the community process of resiliency, and might be considered as important social activities in changing rural communities, particularly where few other social opportunities exist.

...it appears that the common theme is not necessarily the activity but the process through which community members are able to capitalize on the resources available to them in order to effect change in their social and political contexts.

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Unst, Shetland Islands, Scotland

RAF Saxa Vord was an early- warning radar station operated by the Royal Air Force. It was located on the island of Unst (land area 121 km²; population around 650; part of municipality), the most northerly of the Shetland Islands, in the north of Scotland....was closed by the UK Ministry of Defense in 2006, when it employed 100 locals...The radar facility was bought the following year by Military Asset management (MAM), a private company...MAM was set up to transform closing bases into self-sustaining, profitable enterprises, encouraging and fostering economic regeneration in the process. Saxa Vord is being redeveloped into what is being hailed as Britain's first "residential natural and cultural heritage activity centre"....The facility currently includes a hotel, 20 self-catering holiday houses, a 16 bedroom bunkhouse, leisure facilities, a restaurant, bar, and a guided walks/ evening talks program. Locals are employed whenever possible, and there is direct local involvement in the business...The island is the home of PURE, an operational community-owned renewable hydrogen energy system...A mussel farm started harvesting mussels in 2009...and farmed salmon is thriving...And there is...Unst's fiddler, who exports fiddles and other instruments from Unst...Unst comes across as "one of the few remaining places in Scotland which still has a real community spirit". The schools on Unst offer an outstanding level of education, crime is a rarity, leisure facilities are second to none, and people live and work in a safe and clean environment...

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Additional Resources

Island Institute – What Works Solutions Library

<http://www.islandinstitute.org/what-works-solutions-library>

State of Rural Canada- Mapping Rural Innovation

<http://sorc.crrf.ca/mapping-rural-innovation/>

Global Island Partnerships – Bright Spots

<http://www.glispa.org/bright-spots>