THE FUTURE IS NOW

Towards a community vision for the future of the
English-speaking community of the Magdalen islands

Preliminary report

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Introduction

In recent years, the English-speaking community of the Magdalen Islands has been engaged in a structured approach to community development. This has been guided by knowledge development and mobilization, strategic planning, and partnerships with local stakeholders to develop and implement relevant projects that meet the needs of the community.

Many different achievements have been made to date:

- Health promotion programs have been having an impact on access to services and therefore supporting the health and well-being of community members
- Revitalization projects have rejuvenated local communities (CAMI's historical site, Entry Island)
- A social economy approach has created employment and enhanced skill acquisition
- Collaborations between the municipality of Grosse-Île, CAMI, CEDEC, the school, and partner organizations in the French-speaking community have created a strong network for implementing projects
- Municipal autonomy
- Development and sustainability of Cap Dauphin Fishermen's Coop
- Development and implementation of the CLC (Community Learning Centre)

Yet, challenges remain.

- The population continues to decline and age with repercussions on the school, churches and community services
- It remains difficult to recruit workers for local jobs
- Volunteerism is declining and changing form
- The local economy is largely dependent on the lobster fishery
- Community life could be more dynamic (moving away to PEI, returning for fishing, youth outmigration)
- Environmental degradation and the uncertain effects of climate change threaten the integrity of the landscape and environment that are the foundation of the community

In this context, a need is now felt to take a critical and creative look at the future of the community. This community visioning project called *The Future is Now* reflects the need to ensure the long-term vitality of the English-speaking community of the Magdalen Islands. The intended outcome is a road map laying out where the community wants to be in 10, 20, or 30 years.

Process

Developing a "Theory of Change" is integral to this Road Map. It will be based both on research examining situations in rural and coastal communities (in Canada and internationally) and on the input of key community actors. It will make explicit the ways in which the community believes change will happen (its theory). Therefore, community engagement and participation will be important in understanding local realities and the vision residents have for where they want the community to be going and how they see it getting there.
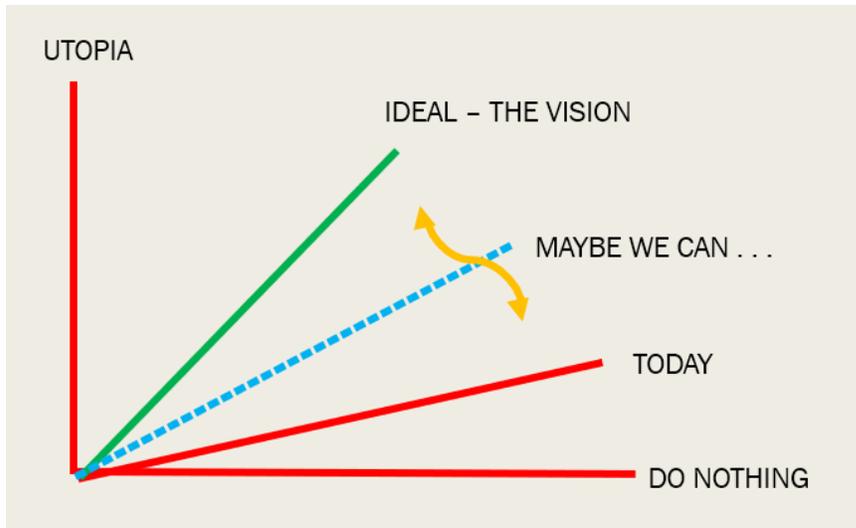
Knowledge development

In this document, we present a first step in this process: the knowledge we have from available statistics and from the research literature. This will be used as a springboard for community discussions that will help to surface a Theory of Change and develop a Road Map. It will also be used to identify policy changes as well as attitudinal changes that could support the community's vision.

First, the research literature was reviewed with a focus on some key themes in the areas of community and economic development, and in education and out-migration among coastal and island communities. Case studies of similar communities in the Global North (Western, industrialized societies) were identified. For the full review, readers can refer to the Appendices.[i] Second, statistics were compiled from a variety of sources, mainly the Census of Canada, but also from school records and other available sources.[ii] When possible, these are presented over a period of time so that changes are evident. In addition, some key policy and structural impediments were identified that are currently considered antithetical to the type of development the island community is striving for; others may emerge in the follow-up phases of the project.

Our approach

The approach adopted for *The Future is Now* is aligned with asset-based community development and place-based development. These ways of looking at community development emphasize the importance of using local assets (existing resources in the local community, such as the capacities of residents and employees, associations and institutions, as well as infrastructures and other assets) and of developing a mindset focused on strengths. Community members know their weaknesses and concerns, but often overlook their inherent capabilities. Place based development aligns with this approach through its focus on leveraging a community's natural, physical and human attributes for development purposes, leading to a development trajectory that is specific to, and rooted in, place.

The goal is to build the vitality of the community, its resilience and long-term sustainability. However, these concepts can evoke the image of a state to be maintained (sustainability) or returned to (resilience). But what is to be maintained, for whom, at what cost and who gets to decide? Island studies have shown that successful island societies (and others too!) are achieved not through their ability to withstand change, but rather through their ability to adapt in the face of change. For this reason, ultimately the goal of community development in this context is to amplify the adaptive capacity of the community in the face of inevitable socioeconomic, environmental and political change.

> *"Embracing change makes island communities able to continue island life; that is, change makes them resilient"* (Kelman and Randall, p. 354).

Why now?

The timing is ideal to engage the community in revitalization. There is a level of concern among community members regarding depopulation and dwindling school enrollment. In addition, the lobster fishing industry is presently lucrative, so many community members have financial resources to draw on. As any seasoned fisherman knows, this may not always be the case, and given the impacts of climate change, future cyclical declines in the fishing industry have the potential to be catastrophic. These types of challenges and opportunities are a galvanizing force for community engagement and community development initiatives; a platform for discussion and action.

Knowledge base

In the sections below, we provide an overview of what we know on a number of themes: demographic trends, education, economic conditions, social and community life, and the environment. For each theme, we present some insights from the research literature, some key statistics on the situation in the Magdalen Islands English-speaking (and broader) community, the main challenges, and finally some opportunities and recommendations. When relevant we insert examples of similar communities elsewhere in the world and what we can learn from them. These can all be used as a starting point for discussing the changes community stakeholders would like to see in the future and how they can be implemented.

Demographic trends

Many rural and coastal communities have been contending with downward trends in population numbers for decades. There are several intertwined factors influencing these declines, as well as some promising examples of communities that have managed to reverse the trend.

Insights from the research literature on out-migration

The literature shows that in rural communities, education is often the main reason for youth out-migration. We will present the situation surrounding education in the next section, focusing here on out-migration. (For more detail, please refer to the literature review in the Appendices).

Young people generally do not want to leave, but see they need to.

- Only a minority of youth actually want to move, but most all understand the need to move
- Those that want to move are drawn to the financial and lifestyle options available in urban settings
- The majority however leave reluctantly or don't leave at all
- This difficulty in leaving is related to place attachment; primarily to family and relations, but also to the landscape and the culture or lifestyle in the rural setting
- Of those that do leave, most hope to return into employment in their chosen field but are often willing to take other employment if it means being able to live in or near their home community
- The highest-achieving rural students are among those with the greatest community attachment and it is their perceptions of local economic conditions that have great bearing on their decision to stay or leave

Women leave rural communities at higher rates than men

- Young women leave rural communities at a much greater rate than males due to the lack of local economic opportunities for them in traditional, gender-biased, local economies
- Schooling is often thought to be 'woman's work' and suited for those with aspirations beyond the local community
- Despite higher educational achievement, females are destined for economic disadvantage due to a gendered resource sector combined with service industry jobs, which continue to disenfranchise women
- Nonetheless, women play important roles in community survival as they build social capital, take leadership roles and influence decision making, directly as well as indirectly

The situation in the Magdalen Islands regarding population numbers

The English-speaking population of the Magdalen Islands has never been very large, and it has been steadily declining over the past half century.

English-speaking population, Magdalen Islands (mother tongue)
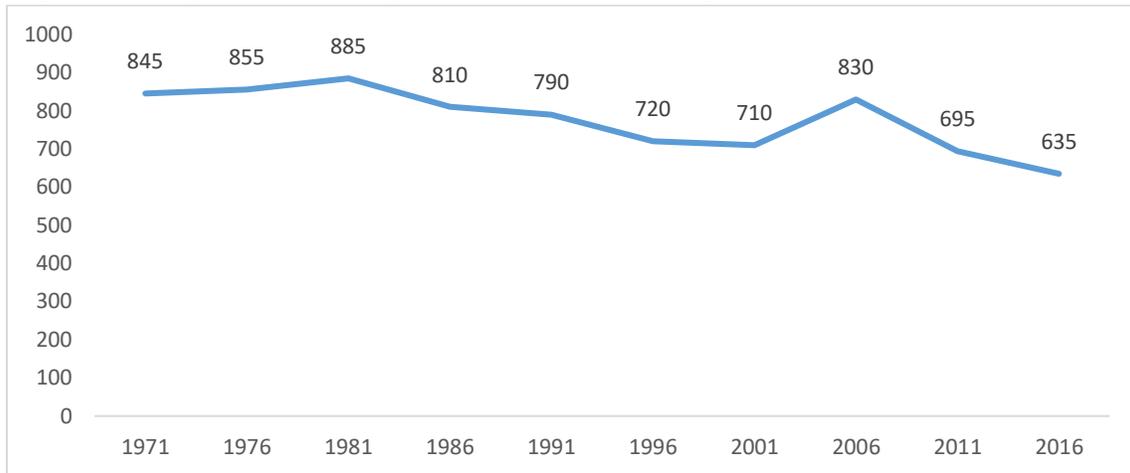
Source: Census of Canada

* There seems no apparent reason for the increase in population reported in the 2006 census. Since fishing season often coincides with the census-taking period, it could be that a larger number of fishers and/or fisher families were present on the islands during the census period and therefore completed the reporting as residents of the Magdalen Islands rather than as residents of PEI or other jurisdictions.

This is also true of the French-speaking population (although the decline is less dramatic and proportionally lower).

French and English-speaking population, mother tongue
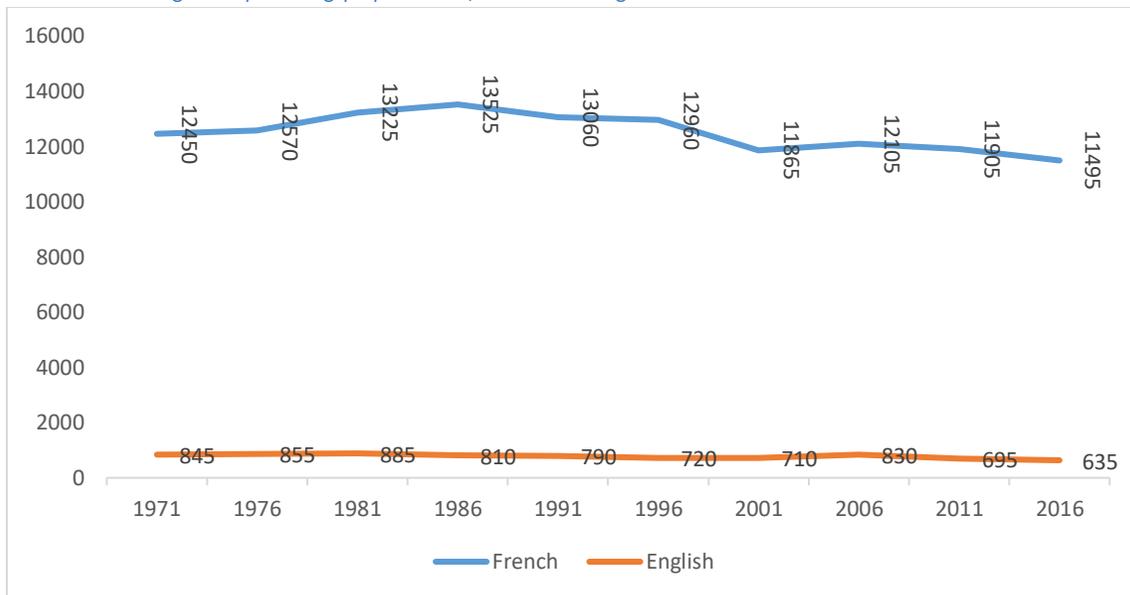
Source: Census of Canada

If the decline continues at about the same rate, we could expect a population of 571 in 2031 (9% decrease from 2001-2016, and another 9% from 2016-2031). In reality, however, this decline is very unpredictable and could be accelerated by a domino effect, as family and friends leave

more rapidly as their social networks leave, and the services needed to maintain a decent living in the community disappear.

Projected decline 2011-2031
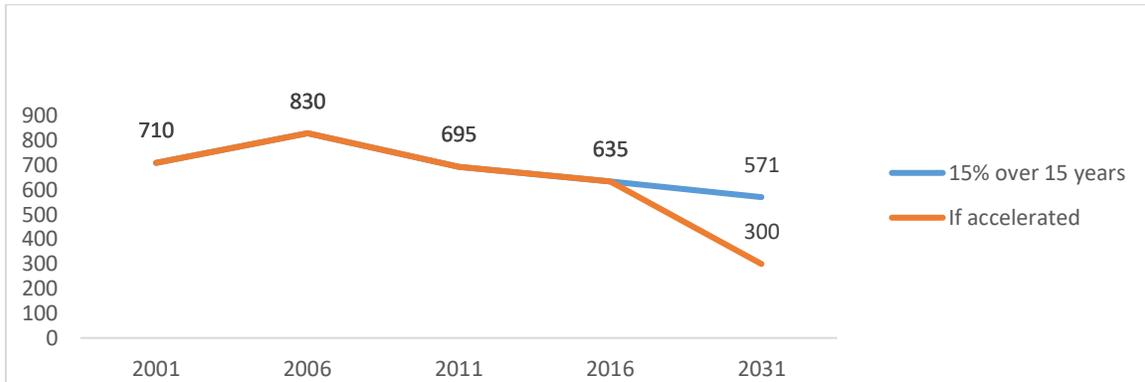
In general, family size and the number of children per family have declined over the years, following a general trend in Quebec society. The effects of this, however, are felt much more directly in a small community, since they have a marked impact on school enrollment and the types of services that can be offered to families. The lower birth rate combined with outmigration is a particularly worrisome trend. The school on Entry Island has already closed and the school in Grosse Ile has only about one third of the students it once housed at the peak of the baby boom in the late 1960s.

The age structure of the population matters for many different reasons. The numbers and proportions of people in the different age groups has an impact on the types of services that are needed, and also on those that can be offered. For example, the types of activities that can be organized for a school population of 80 children and youth are not the same as for 40. The budgets are reduced, the pool of volunteers may also be, and the number of students per grade is smaller. Sports, outings, events and other activities all become harder to organize when the numbers decline.

The data below shows that the number of people aged 65 and over has increased (from 130-175 between 2006-2016) while all other age groups have declined. The number of children aged 0-14, for example, have decreased from 165 in 2006 to 90 in 2016; and adults 25-44 have decreased dramatically, from 210 to 130 in just ten years.

Age structure (English-speaking population)

Year	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65+
2006	165	105	210	265	130
2011	100	90	175	255	200
2016	90	65	130	245	175
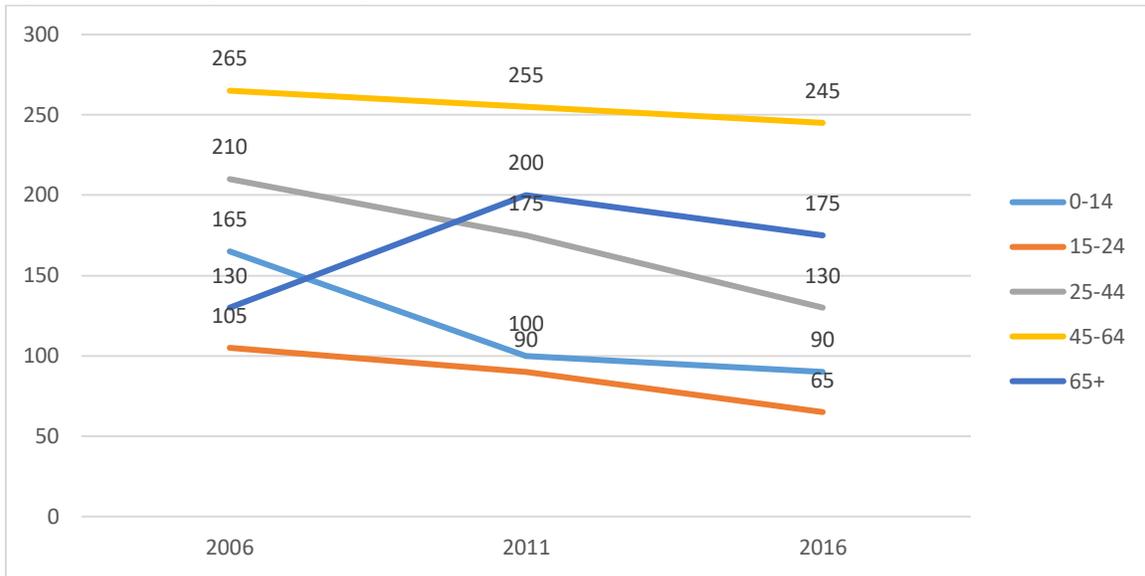
*Data from the Census of Canada, for First-official language spoken (FOLS)

In 2016, the proportion of seniors was much higher among English-speaking Magdalen Islanders than among Francophones, and both are higher than elsewhere in the province.

Proportion of Seniors (65+)
by First Official Language Spoken
Québec, RTS des Îles and the rest of Québec, 2016

	Québec		RTS des Îles		Rest of Québec	
	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers
	14.5%	17.0%	25.2%	22.9%	14.5%	16.9%
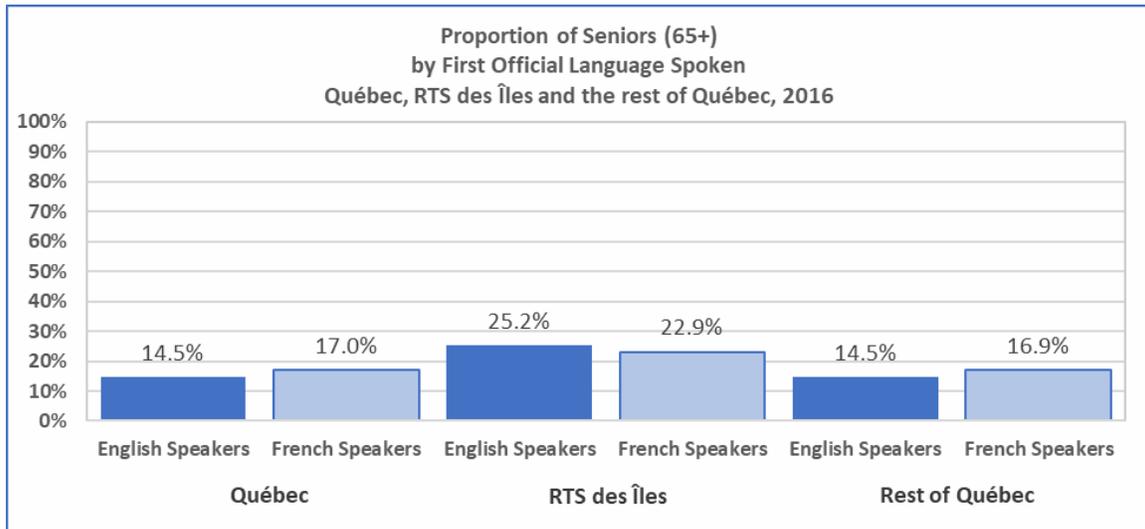
On the other hand, the proportion of children aged 0-14 is lower than elsewhere in the province, but it is slightly higher among English-speaking Magdalen Islanders than among Francophones.

Proportion of Children (0 to 14)
by First Official Language Spoken
Québec, RTS des Îles and the rest of Québec, 2016

	Québec		RTS des Îles		Rest of Québec	
	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers
	15.0%	16.8%	12.9%	11.5%	15.0%	16.8%
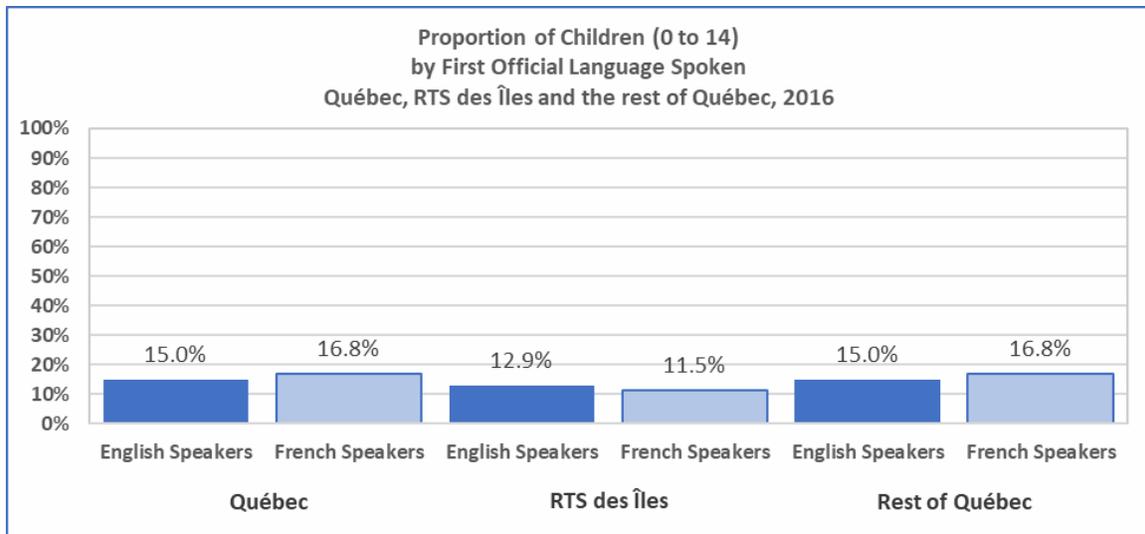
Average family size and average number of children per family have decreased over time, following the general trend in Quebec and all Western societies. As an example, the chart below shows that from 1981 to 1996 the average number of persons per family went from 3.5 in Grosse-Île to 2.7, and the number of children dropped from 1.5 to 1.1 (this data is not available for later census years).

Persons per family and children per family

	1981		1986		1991		1996	
	Grosse Ile	Entry Island	Grosse Ile	Entry Island	Grosse Ile	Entry Island	Grosse Ile	Entry Island
Average number of persons per family	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.5	3.2	3.3	3	2.7
Average number of children per family	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.7	1.3	1.5	1.1	1
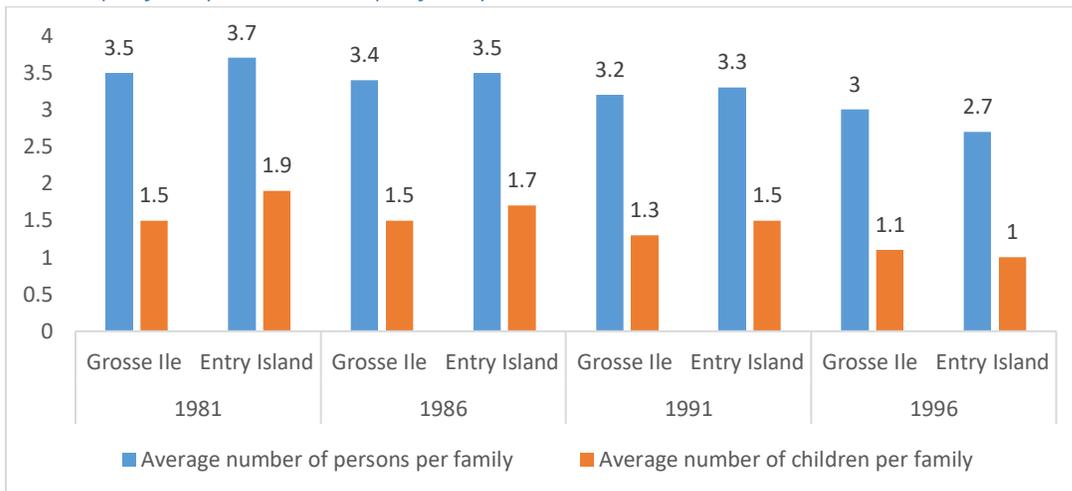
*Data from the Census of Canada, for Grosse-Île and Entry Island. We were not able to access data for later census periods.

Challenges

1. The population is declining steadily over time
2. The decline is most strongly marked among younger generations, while there are greater numbers of seniors and they represent a high proportion of the population
3. This presents some major challenges for community life, services, governance, and more. For example: there are fewer children to keep the school dynamic; there are

more seniors, some of whom may become isolated and others who will require increasing assistance and services; there are fewer residents in the active adult age range to occupy jobs, volunteer, sit on committees and boards, and more.

4. As these realities become more accentuated, the community has less to offer to potential residents, be they returning community members, newcomers, or even vacationers. This leads to inter-community migration whereby English-speakers move from their traditional communities (Entry Island, Grosse Ile) to the main communities on the Islands (Grindstone). This trend, to be closer to employment and other amenities, facilitates integration with the French-speaking majority, and eventually assimilation.

5. This decline could lead to a situation where the community is no longer viable.

Education

Education is important for a wide variety of reasons, both personal and societal. It provides young people with the tools to make choices regarding their future, it prepares them for future careers, it provides life skills, critical thinking skills and a host of other abilities that help us all function in the world where we live. Education is empowering. In addition, education is known to have a positive impact on health and well-being. And, of course, a well-educated population is better able to take advantage of economic opportunities and build a strong local community. However, small rural and coastal communities face particular challenges accessing educational opportunities and encouraging youth to complete their studies.

Insights from the research literature on education

> "*Rural youth are implicitly encouraged to accept an education that is presented as the only "ticket" out of the community's economic and social trouble, and to educate themselves into other places"* (Corbett, 2004, p. 453).

Formal education is not seen as relevant for youth who want to stay

- Formal education is typically suitable for opportunities in larger and urban centers, not in fishing and many other blue-collar professions associated with rural labor markets
- What counts as success in a rural community does not align with measures of school performance
- For those whose families are entrenched in local networks, apprenticeship and less formal ways of transferring knowledge and resources, the world of higher education has been understood as 'irrelevant'
- What is found in rural, Canadian communities is young white men working in resource extraction industries, living lives defined as successful by local standards
- This often works well for the males, but may be harder on the females

> "*…these expert systems … dis-embed and mobilize young people rather than engage them in a process of learning how to live well and carefully within a place*" (Corbett, 2004, p. 466).

Education and out-migration are intimately linked

- The current education system shaped by neoliberalism is designed to 'select and sort' rural youth for out-migration and 'dis-embed' them from their local traditions and culture.
- This is done in formal ways such as the preoccupation with standardized testing as well as use of curriculum written about foreign locations by strangers.
- This is also done informally through attitudes and worldviews that favor careers and lifestyles that exist in more urban settings.

Parenting, schools and teachers have a difficult balancing act in addressing this dynamic

- Parenting is at least as important as what happens in school in terms of influencing and informing choices youth make
- Teachers and administrators understand the priorities of the education system (standard curriculum and testing) and the inapplicability of their outcomes to many of the students (especially male) in the local community.
- They are aware of issues facing the community, they love their community and at the same time may be unclear about their role in changing the community

Education is important for community vitality

- Institutions cannot survive without active community participation and strong leadership is required from community leaders within the group's society.
- Vitality of official language minorities is dependent on the literacy levels and skills possessed by individuals because of the tools and information needed in order for the communities to grow and develop.
- There is a clear association between the likelihood of citizen participation and levels of formal education
- In a setting where resources and opportunities for adult education are limited, it is challenging to develop opportunities for further schooling among adults

The situation in the Magdalen Islands regarding education
The situation in the Magdalen islands is marked by several factors on the local context. There is now only one English-language school (located in Grosse-Île), originally built to contain 120 students. With a declining English-speaking population, the school is far from full, yet attracting new students is difficult since under Bill 101 in Quebec, specific criteria need to be met for students to have eligibility to English-language education.

Since 2000, the number of students enrolled at the Grosse-Île school has fallen from 98 to 34 projected for the fall of 2019.

Number of students enrolled in Grosse Ile School
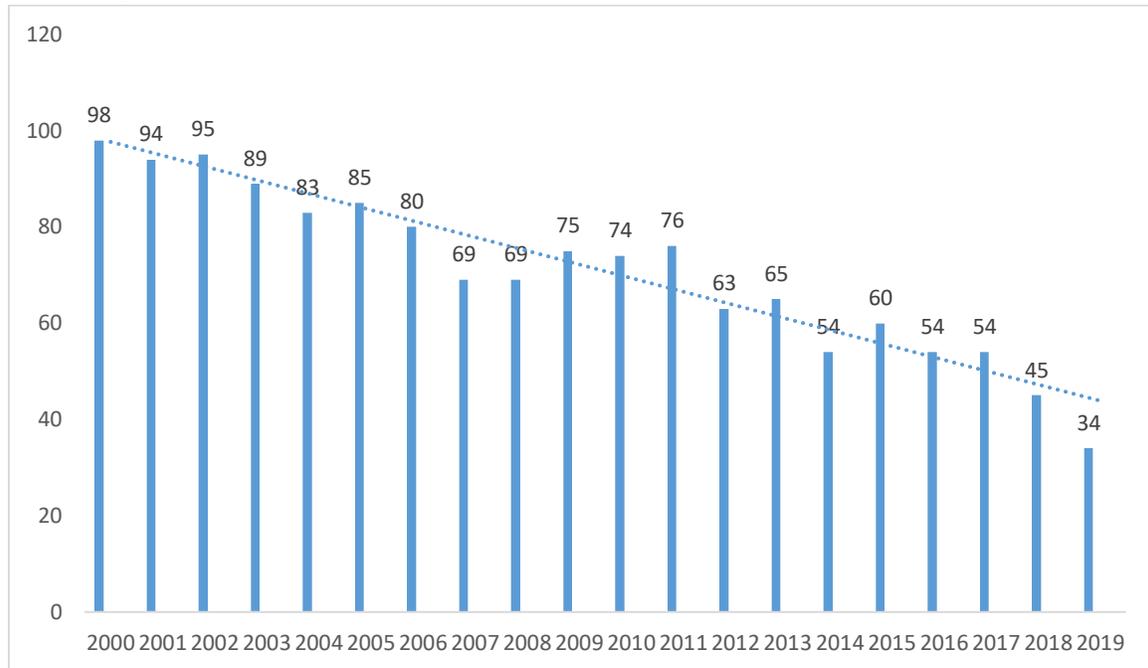
Source: Grosse Ile school, courtesy of the principal

Until the early 1970s it was not possible to complete secondary studies in English in the Magdalen Islands. Currently, students can complete their high school at home, but there are no post-secondary programs in English on the islands (Cegep or university) so students must leave the islands if they wish to pursue studies.

Historically, there has been a strong trend by Anglophones to migrate to the Maritimes, whether to study or to work. Recently, Montréal and other urban centers in Quebec have been increasingly chosen as the destination to go study, where some choose the English colleges to further their education (Arsenault & Chevrier 2007).

Another factor affecting educational attainment is that because the lobster fishery is currently quite lucrative, it is highly attractive to young people looking to earn money and have a respected job (especially boys) which tends to encourage dropping out.

With the help of the school, we compiled a list of students entering grade 7 from 1978-2018. Of those who began grade 7 in Grosse Ile:

- 60% graduated (40% did not)
- 55% are still living on the islands (45% are not)
- In addition:
    - 44% of graduates stayed
    - 74% of non-graduates stayed

This confirms the general trend for those with higher educational achievement (in this case simply finishing high school) to leave the community. It also underlines the fact that overall, the

less educated are those who stay, which over time leads to a population with lower educational levels, while the more educated move elsewhere.

Current statistics (2016 census) show low levels of educational attainment among English speakers on the Magdalen Islands on the whole:

**Proportion with Low Educational Attainment
by First Official Language Spoken
Québec, RTS des Îles and the rest of Québec, 2016**

40.7%	41.2%	62.3%	48.2%	40.7%	41.2%
English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers
Québec		**RTS des Îles**		**Rest of Québec**	

**Proportion with High Educational Attainment
Among the Total Population, by First Official Language Spoken
Québec, RTS des Îles and the rest of Québec, 2016**

29.6%	19.2%	11.5%	11.1%	29.6%	19.2%
English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers
Québec		**RTS des Îles**		**Rest of Québec**	

Source: JPocock Research Consulting, 2016 Census, Statistics Canada. Population in private households - 25% sample. The linguistic concept is First Official Language Spoken with multiple responses distributed equally between English and French.

Challenges

1. Declining school numbers, potentially affecting the quality of school life and access to specialized services for students
2. Difficulty attracting new students because of eligibility requirements
3. Lack of post-secondary and adult education opportunities in English language on the Islands

4. Many students do not have enough French to pursue schooling in French language
5. Attractivity of work in the fishery, which encourages dropping-out (especially among boys)
6. Rules and regulations in the education system create barriers for providing educational services in different ways

Economic conditions

Economic conditions interact with demographic, educational, social, cultural and environmental realities in often complex ways. Therefore, none can be addressed in isolation from the others. A systemic approach is needed for all.

Insights from the research literature on economic development

Successful island economies tend to specialize in one or a few industries that are often natural resource based

- Rather than diversification and economies of scale they engage in what is referred to as "flexible specialization," which means that they specialize in one or a few industries that are often natural resource based, focusing their limited resources while remaining adaptable
- This is more easily achieved the smaller the population and the greater amount of cultural and social cohesion
- Being on the fringe of large-scale industrial activity can be beneficial as it allows for a focus on nurturing cultural and ecological integrity that people from all over the world may be willing to pay a premium to experience

Place-based development has been shown to be a successful approach for rural, island and remote regions

- It takes into consideration culture, environment and community, local capacity, and governance regimes that shift authority and control away from central powers

   "Place-based development, in contrast to conventional sectoral, programmatic or issue-defined perspectives, is a holistic and targeted intervention that seeks to reveal, utilize and enhance the unique natural, physical, and/or human capacity endowments present within a particular location for the development of the in-situ community and/or its biophysical environment" (Markey 2010, p.1).

The situation in the Magdalen Islands regarding economic conditions

Despite high levels of seasonal unemployment, residents of the English-speaking community have high average household incomes.

Average household income
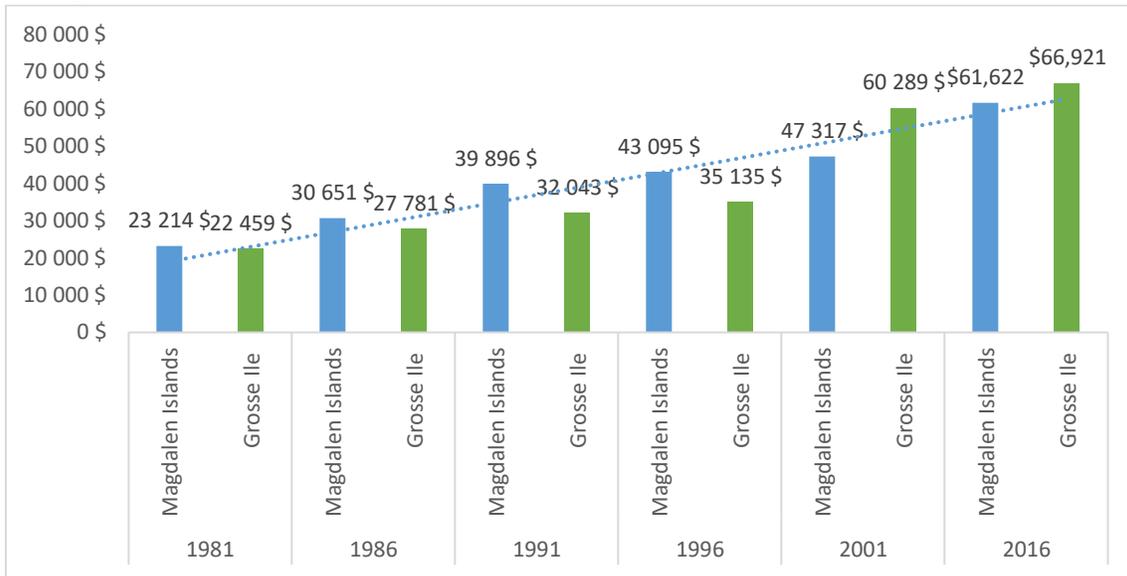
Source: Census of Canada data

*It is difficult to access comparable data for the different census years because of changes in data collection methods (here we do not show 2006 and 2011 data). Nonetheless, we can observe a general trend that has been quite constant up through 2016.

These statistics, which show higher average incomes among residents of Grosse-Île than the overall population of the Magdalen Islands, can be explained in part by the fact that the English-speaking community holds a proportionately higher share of the lobster fishing licenses. According to one resident, about 100 of the 325 licenses are held on Grosse-Île (which represents about 5% of the population). When licenses come up for sale, English speakers buy them up, because often the whole family will help finance the purchase.

This relative affluence makes it difficult to recruit workers for other jobs, for example in the service, not-for-profit, community and other sectors where they would be working fewer hours per week than in the fishing industry and therefore earning about the same amount while working more weeks.

These statistics hide disparities, however: women earn much less than men, and not all households benefit to the same extent from high incomes in the fishery.

In addition, on the Magdalen Islands, the fishing industry is one of the few employment opportunities where knowledge of the dominant language of French is not required for employment, and many island residents are limited to employment that does not require fluency in French. This is changing over time, however, as the general trend is moving toward fewer English speakers who only speak English.

Knowledge of official languages, among English mother tongue
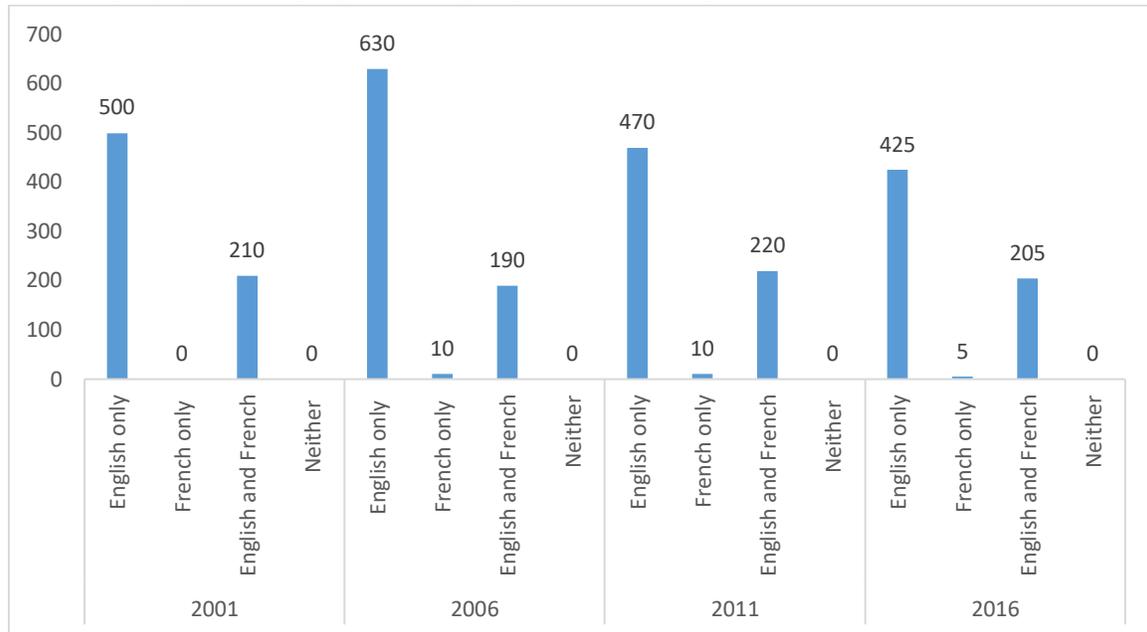
Source: Joanne Pocock, *Baseline Data Reports*, produced for the CHSSN.

Challenges

1. Many people are very reliant on the lobster fishery, so if there is a downturn, they are extremely vulnerable.
2. Many residents do not have good enough skills in French to occupy jobs that require a certain level of bilingualism (inside or outside the English-speaking community).
3. High incomes in the fishery make it difficult to recruit workers for other types of work (even jobs with good conditions and benefits).
4. While average household incomes are high, there are disparities in the community, and women often earn much less than men, resulting in disadvantage.

Infrastructure and Essential Services

Without infrastructure and essential services, recruiting new residents and workers from away faces many challenges.

Insights from the research literature

Some island territories in recent decades are successfully implementing unconventional economic structures.

- These involve some form of community ownership over their resources and/ or local industry, resulting in more autonomy and less impact of globalization.

- For example, non-profit community development corporations, community land trusts, and/ or heritage trusts to protect land and cultural resources from both market forces and the whim of current governments.

Communications technologies are an important infrastructure to build and maintain.

- ITCs contribute to the rebirth of some remote areas by enabling marketing (of place and products), tele-commuting, and education

The role of senior government it critical.

- Without funding and resources for capacity building, most small communities simply would not have the internal resources to undertake meaningful community and economic development.
- Governance via local community groups and associations are key resources in devising and implementing development plans.

The situation in the Magdalen Islands regarding infrastructures and services

The community has a number of public infrastructures: the school and municipal infrastructures. There are also some cooperative and private structures such as Cap Dauphin Fishermen's Co-operative, CAMI buildings, churches, etc...

However, there are few rental homes and transportation options are limited for people without a car and a driver's license. In addition, the gas station is only open part of the year, and local grocery options are limited.

Some essential services are also limited or lacking entirely. For example, daycare is currently unavailable, placing limits on the ability of parents to work outside the home.

Challenges

1. The fact that essential services are lacking, makes it extremely difficult to attract newcomers.
2. There are few houses and/or apartments to rent
3. There are no daycare services
4. The gas station is open seasonally
5. Transportation is challenging since there is limited public transport and distances are far
6. There is no integration process or plan
7. Internet connection is not reliable
8. Generalist organization (related to critical mass)

Social and community life

Social and community life is intimately bound up with the economic situation and its development. It is also affected by the levels of education among community members and their ability to participate fully in the life of the community.

Insights from the research literature on social and community life

The networks of relationships among people who live and work together, and who share norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation are what is referred to as "social capital".

- Groups high in social capital are more resilient and exhibit characteristics such as high rates of participation in community organizations projects and collective action for the public good
- Social capital includes both *bonding* (connections with friends and family) as well as *bridging* (participation in clubs and associations, and other connections between groups)
- Small communities can have high levels of social capital, but they can also be fraught with rivalries and divisions that can undermine collective capacity
- Social capital and volunteerism go together

Bringing people together for a common purpose increases trust, reciprocity and sense of belonging

- A sense of community can be created or promoted by bringing people together in small groups and working with them to create a shared sense of community

The situation in the Magdalen Islands regarding social and community life

Interviews and discussions with residents of Grosse-Île and other stakeholders suggest that social and community life is being affected by many of the preceding issues, as well as some others. These are certainly not unique to the Magdalen Islands, as many represent general trends in Western societies and across the globe.

Increased mobility

- People can easily go to other communities for their needs, including shopping, social activities, and more.

Increased connectivity and on-line communications

- As is the case elsewhere, the internet has changed the way people communicate, entertain themselves, and spend their time generally.
- This has had the effect of decreasing in-person interactions and levels of participation in local activities and events

Greater contact and connection between English and French speakers

- More people are bilingual and able to interact with people from the other linguistic group.
- There is more intermarriage between Francophones and Anglophones
- There is less rivalry and conflict between the two language groups

Decline in volunteerism and civic engagement

- People are less available and inclined to volunteer
- Few people are willing to sit on boards and other governance structures
- There has been a decline in social clubs and committees (women's institute, church group, leisure committee)

Decline in the role of the church

- Weekly or bi-weekly church services are led by lay readers with a pastor travelling to the islands every two months
- Attendance has declined
- Church is no longer central to social and community life

Gender relations and roles are changing

- More women have paid employment today than in the past
- Women do less traditional physical labor now than in past generations (farming, gardening, etc...)
- Women still shoulder a lot of responsibilities (childcare, budget, administration, etc.)

A higher proportion of the English-speaking population lives in lone-parent families than is the case among Francophones: 15.1% compared to 9.1%. This suggests greater vulnerability in Anglophone families and is worth looking into further (for example, English speakers may be able to rely more consistently on extended family for help).
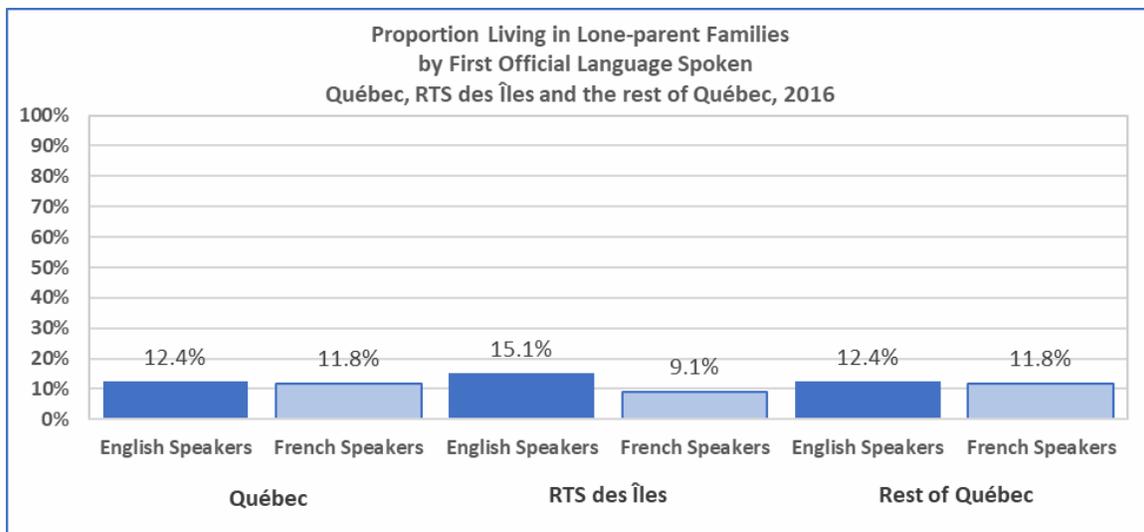
Proportion Living in Lone-parent Families
by First Official Language Spoken
Québec, RTS des Îles and the rest of Québec, 2016

	Québec		RTS des Îles		Rest of Québec	
	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers	English Speakers	French Speakers
	12.4%	11.8%	15.1%	9.1%	12.4%	11.8%

Challenges

1. As people are less engaged in the local community and its structures, it becomes more difficult to organize community activities.
2. Long-standing institutions such as the municipality, CAMI and the church will face difficulties in recruiting the next generation of leaders and ensuring sustainability.
3. Given the education levels of many of those who stay, it will become increasingly difficult to fill positions in an increasingly complex work environment (policies, regulations, project management, accountability requirements, etc...).
4. There are few meeting places in the community that all community members might frequent.

Environmental issues and climate change

A host of environmental issues face all societies, indeed all life on earth today. Recent studies and reports highlight the major threats of land degradation, biodiversity loss, air, land and water pollution, and the effects of climate change. Small rural and island communities will be affected in specific ways, most urgently perhaps by the effects of climate change as extreme weather events become more frequent, ocean levels rise and ocean species (such as fish and sea mammals) are impacted.

Insights from the research literature

Climate change is seen as one of the greatest threats posed to the future of humankind and the world.

- o The changes predicted include rising global temperatures, increase/ decrease in precipitation (depending on region), more severe weather events, sea level rise, less sea ice, and reduced air quality.
- o The exact timing and degree of these impacts is not well defined and vast amounts of research are ongoing. However, changes can already be observed in most regions.
- o These changes may seem small, but they can have significant impacts for communities.

Small islands around the world have a much greater dependence historically, socially and economically on marine territories and marine life

- therefore, they stand to be impacted disproportionality by threats to the oceans

Climate adaptations are critically important today

- Climate adaptations are measures that reduce negative impacts or take advantage of emerging opportunities

- Most policy measures to date have focused on climate change mitigation (reducing greenhouse gases).
- A certain level of change is going to take place due to carbon levels and warming already in place.

Effective adaptation requires coordinated efforts and should be grounded in a solid understanding of a community's capacities and vulnerabilities.

Other environmental threats also exist, such as various types of pollution, oil spills, and more.

The situation in the Magdalen Islands
Fishing industry

- Climate estimations suggest that over the next 10-50 years the Gulf of Saint Lawrence will experience temperature and oxygenation changes at three times the rate of global trends.
- In the short-term we can expect downward pressure on the economics of the fishery due to reduced availability of bait and extreme weather that will interfere with harvesting. In addition, environmental stresses on other species such as whales can cause disruptions in fishing periods and procedures as protection measures are invoked for the threatened (yet non-fish) species.
- Warming generally improves performance of life processes of lobster and is contributing to the current abundance of stocks. However, excessive warming can reduce performance and cause death.

Energy

- Electricity for the islands is being supplied from diesel-fired power plants
- Quebec's *2013 – 2020 Climate Change Action Plan* commits the province to undertake research on road infrastructure and seawalls to protect against coastal erosion
- Hydro Quebec's website indicates that they are looking into transitioning the Magdalen Islands to greener forms of energy through a gradual transition to renewables such as solar and wind, coupled with energy conservation behaviors (Hydro Quebec, n.d.). Large scale wind farms will have an impact on landscape and might have an impact on surrounding fish populations.

Landscape

- Coastal erosion is increasing
- Public security issues are arising related to the increase in erosion
- Water tables and other environmental issues are increasingly of concern

Challenges
1. Unpredictable changes in ocean temperature, weather patterns, fish populations and more

2. Coastal erosion
3. Marine species and populations are likely to experience impacts, with fishers experiencing the unintended consequences of protection measures.
4. If and when sea levels rise, land will be lost

Opportunities and recommendations

We have outlined in the sections above a number of challenges to demographic trends, education, economic conditions, infrastructures and essential services, social and community life, and the biophysical environment. While these challenges are real and often complex to overcome, there are opportunities that can point the way towards more resilient, sustainable and adaptive communities.

First, it is important to emphasize that the English-speaking community of the Magdalen Islands has many assets to draw on, for example:

- The strong connection to place and tradition, a tight-knit community, and love for the local environment
- The Little Red School House is a living homage to the community's history and pioneers.
- Pointe de l'Est National Wildlife Area, Brion Island and Old Harry Beach are points of community pride and could be leveraged to expand the local tourism in ways that are appropriate to scale and culture.
- Being the nesting grounds for multiple bird species including two species at risk, makes the area a draw to bird watchers, a growing segment of the ecotourism market that is well developed in terms of international networks and marketing platforms that can be tapped.
- Gaspésie is a leader in wind energy. The Islands may be well positioned to forge partnerships that might result in local wind energy production, perhaps a community owned energy sector as a number of European island communities are doing with government support.
- Diaspora are also an asset for return visitors, second home owners, retirees and potential investors.
- CAMI has a strong social media following.
- A number of social enterprises (co-operative, non-profit) already exist

The literature points to a number of approaches, models and strategies that could be considered in support of community vitality. The P.L.A.C.E model was identified by a group of researchers who studied the case of Fogo Island, Newfoundland, over a period of six years, which they feel may be helpful to other small, remote communities (Slawinski et al. 2019). It shares many attributes with place based and asset-based theories and goes a bit further in offering specific strategies community organizers can use to help gain buy-in and momentum. This may provide inspiration:

P	Promote community champions; people who really care and want to make a difference
L	Link insiders and outsiders. When you bring these groups together knowledge-sharing happens, new expertise is built, and new inspiration develops.

A	Assess local capacities or assets. Communities take stock of what they have and figure out what is special about where they live. Do not try to imitate other places and create direct competition.
C	Convey compelling narratives. Come up with positive, true stories about the place that resonate with people in the community. Repeat them so they become a foundation of inspiration and confidence.
E	Engage "both/and" thinking. Don't dismiss opportunities that might seem opposed to each other; find a way to engage with both.

Another set of recommendations for community economic development are outlined by leading Island Studies scholar Godfrey Baldacchino:

1. Develop an ecologically and culturally friendly tourism industry that appreciates local and small-scale assets, engages with the local community, and respects the cultural and natural ambiance of place.
2. Pursue second-home residents and urban refugees seeking to escape the rat race; such as artists, professionals and retirees. This attraction is enabled by electronic connectivity which allows them to maintain connections and in some cases employment elsewhere while keeping residence in a peripheral community.
3. Production and promotion of well-branded, good quality, high-value added and locally sourced products, services and natural assets geared for niche export markets, including the tourists and new residents.
4. Injection of new investment: a phoenix-like, resurgent flagship industry possibly replacing a moribund or redundant one.
(Baldacchino 2015 "Placing Identity: Strategic Considerations for Rebounding Peripheries")

People who might be attracted to spend all or part of the year on the Islands could also include community members who have moved away. With employment opportunities, new Canadians could also be attracted to move to the Magdalen Islands.

Travel and tourism have become one of the fastest growing industries world-wide and island and remote regions in particular are receiving a great upswing in visitors and economic activity as a result. This has come with a mix of positive and negative effects, such as environmental footprint, monetization of cultures and traditions, and disruption to traditional livelihoods. These issues have given rise to the call for 'sustainable tourism' which advocates for tourism development that is authentic to communities and done at a scale that does not compromise the environment (physical and human). Opportunities for the Magdalen Islands include ecotourism as well as cultural, birdwatching and rural tourism.

Place based education (PBE) is an approach that could help to find ways to make school more relevant to local realities. At its simplest PBE is a curriculum based on local phenomena designed through student input and community involvement. One of the strengths of place-based education is that is can adapt to the unique characteristics of specific places and in this way can help overcome the disconnect between school and children's lives. Because PBE is based in the community, it will deeply reflect the community, and as such, there are no generic models of the approach. However, there are common elements; namely, local phenomenon as the basis of curriculum, students as creators of knowledge rather than consumers of knowledge, students

playing a central role in determining what is studied, teachers as co-guides and brokers of community resources and learning possibilities, and the wall between school and community being crossed frequently. There are five areas of practice in PBE: cultural studies, nature studies, real-world problem solving, internships and entrepreneurial opportunities and induction into community processes.

In addition, PBE could be a way for education and development policies to be integrated and self-reinforcing through enhanced school-community relationships that not only retain youth, but also strengthen local economies and broaden the imagination of young people in regard to the possibilities of life in their home communities. Environmental issues could certainly be part of the focus of PBE projects.

Concerning climate change, all policy and planning measures should integrate climate change factors in recognition of its far-reaching impacts. In addition, there are opportunities for investing in building a "green economy," for example in renewable energies (wind, solar, biofuel) and establishing designated, protected areas. However, the literature cautions against overlooking or underinvesting in pressing issues such as health, education and basic needs.

Structural impediments (Policy and systemic issues)

In doing community social and economic development, we realize that some issues cannot be addressed by local projects and initiatives alone, since they are influenced by factors related to policies and broader systems. There are a variety of national and provincial policies and systemic issues that affect the situation in the Magdalen Islands, which we outline briefly below. A general observation is that policies developed for urban settings often don't work in regions, and are not adapted for English-speaking communities.

Demographics

Out-migration and lack of in-migration is affected by education policies and services. First, Bill 101 prohibits children from attending an English language school unless they can meet the eligibility criteria (one of the two parents received the majority of their schooling in Canada in English). It is therefore impossible to recruit Francophone children or the children of immigrants to ensure the sustainability of the school. Second, adult education, DEP programs and post-secondary education are not available in English on the islands. As a result, youth and young adults have to leave the islands to pursue studies or complete high school after age 16.

Education

Students who have academic difficulties and those with learning disabilities do not have adequate professional support (diagnosis and support from specialists).

In addition, in the Magdalen Islands, vocational training is not available in English, so that educational pathway is closed off, unless students leave the islands.

Distance education is not coordinated or organized in English.

Critical mass is needed for Emploi-Quebec to offer training courses (often a course requires at last 15 students to be offered, which is extremely difficult for English-speaking students)

The current school system is not creating bilingual graduates. Yet without language skills many jobs are closed off.

Employment and economic conditions

Current employment insurance eligibility criteria make it possible to access EI under age 18 (as of 14 years of age). This creates a disincentive to finish school and an incentive to work seasonally. It appears incongruent that a young employee cannot pay into the Quebec Pension Plan (RRQ) until age 18, but can pay into the EI plan and receive benefits.

The Skills Link (*Connexions Compétence*, skills for at-risk youth and employment integration) and *Projet de Préparation à l'Emploi* (Emploi Québec) have criteria that English-speaking youth often do not meet (for instance because they are receiving EI).

Social and community life

English-speaking community organizations receive recurring funding form the federal government via the Official Languages program. However, provincial funding for social and cultural programs goes disproportionately to Francophone organizations, leaving the English-speaking community struggling to ensure sustainable programs and services not covered under federal funding.


Conclusion

The English-speaking community of the Magdalen Islands is in a paradoxical situation, which is slightly different than many other rural communities. While devitalization is often a downwards trend on all or most fronts, with communities experiencing low incomes, low rates of economic participation, out-migration and more, here we see an upward trend in incomes and organizational dynamics, with a downward trend in population numbers and the engagement of residents in social and community life.

There are various reasons for this. The lobster fishery has brought economic prosperity to some community members and improved the situation of the average household. Combined with employment insurance benefits, fishers and their families can earn a good income. Alongside this, the main community organizations (CAMI, Municipality, CEDEC, etc.) have chosen to collaborate rather than compete, and they have actively worked to develop a shared vision for the community. Moreover, they have been successful in securing funding for many projects, which has helped to maintain the vitality of the community. We also see greater integration with the French-speaking community, with a higher proportion of residents speaking French, and more connections across what used to be a linguistic divide.

On the other hand, there continues to be a population decline and an ageing population overall. The number of school-aged children is extremely low, with mixed effects on school dynamics and availability of services. In addition, drop-out rates continue to be high, and those who do finish high school have no local opportunities to continue their education in English, so they are

forced to move away if they wish to pursue studies. Many do not have a level of French that would enable them to study in a French-language institution. In addition, the social and cultural life of the community is affected by a decline in volunteerism, and in community engagement and participation more generally.

greater integration with the Francophone community
positive organizational development and capacity
good incomes and economic conditions
improved infrastructures

decrease in volunteerism

decrease in social interaction among community members

decrease in community engagement and participation

demographic decline, ageing population, decline in school age children, out-migration

drop-out rates still high, among boys particularly

By addressing the structural impediments that are creating obstacles to change, this situation could be changed for the better. This report has presented some elements for understanding the situation in the Magdalen Islands, and in rural, island and coastal communities more generally, so that actions can be grounded in a solid knowledge base. The next step is to have the conversations that can help to develop a map for how to get from here to the vision community members imagine as an ideal future for the community!

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[i] Completed by Marlene Mulligan, MA student, under the supervision of Dr. Laurie Brinklow, both in the Island Studies program at University of Prince Edward Island.

[ii] Marla Williams provided valuable assistance in compiling many of these statistics. The task is complex because of changing variables and indicators over time, making comparisons between census results difficult, even impossible. In addition, while currently CAMI and other organizations use the linguistic concept of First Official Language Spoken (FOLS) calculations are not available for this in the older analyses. Data is not always available by language group, so for some statistics we provide data for the (then) municipalities of Grosse Ile and Entry Island, since the English-speaking has always been concentrated in those two communities.

Appendix

Literature Review

By Marleen Mulligan, under the supervision of Laurie Brinklow, UPEI, Island Studies

INTRODUCTION

Small, rural and remote regions around the world are transforming due to forces outside of their control such as globalization, neoliberalism and climate change. While often characterized as being in a state of decline due to dwindling populations and employment opportunities, this literature review reveals that numerous small communities are finding ways to capitalize on these forces of change. The review focuses on regions similar to the Magdalen Islands – situated in the western world, shaped by colonial powers, and relatively well off. The common pattern found among the successful cases is a development approach that is internally focused, builds on existing assets (human, physical and intangible) and is scale appropriate with results that are, therefore necessarily unique to each community. These cases all include senior government support, especially in the form of funding, and in some instances, capacity building, that allows community members to carry the torch and take up the work of revitalizing their community in the ways they deem appropriate.

This literature review begins with an overview of various concepts, theories and practices found in the development arena for small and remote communities. This is followed by a set of recommendations. An addendum of case studies and resources accompanies the literature review. Literature on small island and rural regions are weaved together throughout.

DEVELOPMENT OVERVIEW

Development in and of itself is a very broad field under which we find numerous theories, varying philosophies and a long list of models. What this review attempts to do is clarify the common concepts that emerge from the literature. These include small island economies, resilience, sustainability, social capital, volunteerism, place based and asset based community development, climate change and tourism.

Small island economies

> "Tensions between autonomy and dependence take on new significance for microeconomies in the process of globalization. The structural openness of small island territories, the equally structural dependence on 'externalities' is a fact of life" (Baldacchino, 2000, p. 74) .

> "Finding the balance between stubborn adherence to traditional norms and acceptance of the best that the rest of the world has to offer – termed "glocalization" by Robertson

(1995)- is a common conundrum that successful island(er)s learn to master" (Novaczek, p. 148).

Island economies, and especially small ones, exhibit a wide range of economic structures and strategies, only a few of which fit conventional notions of 'economic development'. Successful island economies generally do not reflect to economic attributes such as diversification and economies of scale. Rather they tend to specialise in one or a few industries that are often natural resource based (Baldacchino, 2000; Bertram and Poirine, 2018). This common model found among successful small islands is referred to as "flexible specialisation" in the literature, highlighting the importance of the island's ability to focus its limited resources, but also to be adaptable. The thinking is that while reliance on a narrow set of economic activities does create vulnerability, the gains in trade and scale make it worth it. Findings also suggest that "flexible specialisation" is more easily achieved the smaller the population and the greater amount of cultural and social cohesion. These modern economic structures are shaped by unique historical paths and are therefore not easily replicated or standardized. They tend to be highly interrelated with and benefit from their relationship with a larger, central, metropolitan, patron state which may or may not hold jurisdiction over the island territory (Bertram and Poirine, 2018). Small island societies are generally thought of a places that quickly adopt and replicate new modes of development due to their small size and networks. Novaczek (2015) suggests that being on the fringe of large scale industrial activity can be beneficial as it allows for a focus on nurturing cultural and ecological integrity that people from all over the world may be willing to pay a premium to experience.

Some island territories in recent decades are successfully implementing even more unconventional economic structures. These involve some form of community ownership over their resources and/ or local industry, resulting in more autonomy and less impact of globalisation such as mass tourism, sky rocketing housing prices and displacement of existing residents. According to Clark and Kjellberg (2018) these strategies in essence resist what conventional development would suggest are the only two 'false policy choices'- disinvestment and decline or reinvestment in the form of gentrification, known to result in displacement. Communities who are bucking this trend have created non-profit community development corporations, community land trusts, and/ or heritage trusts to protect land and cultural resources from both market forces and the whim of current governments. In effect, they are exercising the right to counter gentrification (Clark and Kjellberg, 2018; Jennings, 2015). Examples of these strategies (Eigg, North Harris, Samsø, Shetland, and Skagaströnd) can be found in the case study addendum.

Leading Island Studies scholar Godfrey Baldacchino has authored numerous papers and books on concerns of small islands with a focus on their economic development. In his recent chapter "Placing Identity: Strategic Considerations for Rebounding Peripheries", he outlines four strategies for communities "struggling to break out of the downward spiral induced by the "double whammy" of globalization and neo-liberalism, and hopefully succeed in replacing it by a virtuous mix of select visitations, in-migration, and economic activities that generate employment and high local value added, and a general pride in place" (2015, p. 41). The strategies are evident throughout the case studies and are as follows:

- "Develop an ecologically and culturally friendly tourism industry that appreciates local and small-scale assets, engages with the local community, and respects the cultural and natural ambiance of place" (p.43) (See case studies on Cape Breton Island, Chiloé, Evangeline, Fogo Island, Gravelbourg, Húsavík, Prince Edward Island, Shetland and Skagaströnd).

- Pursue second-home residents and urban refugees seeking to escape the rat race; such as artists, professionals and retirees. This attraction is enabled by electronic connectivity which allows them to maintain connections and in some cases employment elsewhere while keeping residence in a peripheral community (See case studies on Cape Breton Island, Gravelbourg and Shetland).
- "Production and promotion of well-branded, good quality, high-value added and locally sourced products, services and natural assets geared for niche export markets, including the tourists and new residents" (p.43) (See cases studies on Fogo Island, Prince Edward Island, and Shetland).
- "Injection of new investment: a phoenix-like, resurgent flagship industry possibly replacing a moribund or redundant one" (p.44). These are often controversial as given the capital investment required, they often involve non-local owners, but where successful, the community transformation can be tremendous (See case studies on Fogo Island, Skagaströnd, Slemon Park and Unst).

Here and in other works, Baldacchino speaks to the importance of cultural development for economic development. He concedes that there is a lack of research on the relationship which in his opinion is because it is difficult to measure. Regardless he and numerous other authors demonstrate the link through their case studies. Jennings (2015) for instance states unequivocally that cultural events promote tourism, stimulate investment, and enrich lives.

While modern information and communications technology (ITC) has revolutionized connectivity, it does not replace physical experience and relationship with people and the environment and has perhaps placed a higher value on those items as people now seek to escape the demands of a connected life. At the same time, ITCs contribute to the rebirth of some remote areas by enabling marketing (of place and products), tele-commuting, and education (Vodden et al., 2015).

Lastly, consistent throughout Baldacchino's (2000, 2005, 2015). decades of work is the clarity that societal resilience in small, remote territories is predicated on the society's responsiveness to threats and opportunities while remaining true to their unique cultural identity and maximizing (or creating) some aspect of jurisdictional authority (eg. tax regime, land use regulations) (see case study for Shetland)

Resilience, vulnerability, sustainability and adaptive capacity

> *"Embracing change makes island communities able to continue island life; that is, change makes them resilient" (Kelman and Randall, p. 354).*

> *"No matter how and how much resilience and sustainability are sought, major environmental and cultural changes will be foisted on islanders in the coming years and decades. These changes may be comparable to the island changes experienced due to the arrival of Christianity, the motor car, air travel and the internet" (Kelman and Randall, p. 354)*

> *"The basic sustainability requirement [of islands] is the social capital – people (including diasporas), institutions, and collective willingness to adapt – that underpins effective collective response to strategic opportunities, and adaptability in the global arena"* (Bertram and Poirine, p. 222)

Resilience and sustainability are terms now used regularly to convey goals that communities and organizations ought to strive for. Volumes have been published on both concepts to the point that they "could mean virtually anything to anyone, depending on how they are (mis)applied in any specific context" (Kelman and Randall, p. 353). Numerous critiques of all of these concepts exist. In the most general terms, these concepts are challenged because the definitions of both sustainability and resilience often imply the notion of a stasis – either to be maintained (sustainability) or returned to (resilience). This begs the question of what is to be maintained, for who, at what cost and who get to decide; thus highlighting the absence of these frameworks to address pre-existing power structures and inequalities. Island studies scholars argue that the notion of stasis flies in the face of empirical evidence that successful societies, island and otherwise, are achieved not through their ability to withstand change, but rather through their ability to change (Bertram and Poirine, 2018; Clark and Kjellberg, 2018; Kelman and Randall, 2018).

Definitions of resilience abound across disciplines from psychology to education and disaster management to engineering. In terms of its application to the future of communities, we look to the definition from the field of social- ecological systems or coupled human and natural systems as they are both concerned with the basis and interaction of the systems that support human life (Kelman and Randall, 2018). "Resilience in resource-based coastal communities, as coupled social-ecological systems, is characterized by a capability to learn to live with uncertainty and change" (Peach Brown et al, p. 169). This resilience is said to be strengthened through diversity which allows for reorganization and renewal, different types of knowledge and the opportunity to self-organize. Scholars who combined insights from resilience in social-ecological systems with those from psychology and mental health found that strong connections between people and place, shared values, social networks, and engaged governance along with the ability to self-organize, among other factors, were found among communities considered to have greater resilience (Peach Brown et al., 2017). Further studies indicate that the process of dealing with change and adversity itself builds resilience (Rich et al., 2017; Slawinski et al. 2019).

The most widely referenced (and critiqued) definition of sustainable development comes from the 1987 report *Our Common Future* commissioned by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). It is as follows, "Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Chapter I.3.27). Thirty years on, we find sustainability used virtually ubiquitously with initiatives at the organization, community and nation level. Criticisms of the movement centre around the conflict between sustainability and a growth mindset which the report suggests could both be achieved if the developed world slowed its progress and diverted resources to developing countries. Therefore, pursuit of equality across communities and generation is foundational to the accepted principles of sustainability, however these often are over taken by the promise that economic growth will raise the tide for all (Du Pisani, 2006; Seghezzo, 2009).

While all communities and nations around the world are facing threats that arise due to unsustainable development (Nagarajan, 2006; Nath, 2018) there is a body of academic literature that suggests small islands are relatively more vulnerable to these threats. Again, there are various definitions of vulnerability across fields. Generally, vulnerability is related to the degree to which an entity is able to adapt whether reactively or proactively (Ford, 2007; Kelman and Randall, 2018). Common reasons cited for island specific vulnerability are "small but growing populations, limited natural resources, insularity, remoteness and isolation, vulnerability to natural disasters and other external shocks, and biologically diverse but fragile ecosystems" (Ratter, p.6). At the same time there are others who suggest islands are not inherently vulnerable (Baldacchino, 2000; Baldaccchino, 2006; Baldachhino & Bertram, 2009;

Prasad, 2004). They contend that islands societies are resilient due to their strength in social capital, flexibility and openness to migration and world markets. By way of evidence, small island economies are found to have significantly higher per capita income than others in their region while those with close political linkages to former colonial powers now exhibit among the highest levels of economic prosperity (Baldacchino 2005; Bertram and Poirine, 2018).

A quick note here on adaptive capacity which appears in the literature on resilience and on climate change. Adaptive capacity is the ability to adjust to change and limit risk within local conditions as well as broader socioeconomic and political realities. This capacity includes "economic wealth, technology, information and skills, infrastructure, institutions, social capital and equity" (Peach Brown, et al., p 169). Building adaptive capacity can be facilitated by community members themselves or by external change agents, using well-known approaches in community development like building on strengths and relationships (Berkes and Ross, 2013).

<u>Social capital</u>

> *"The OECD defines social capital as ''networks, together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within and among groups'' (Brian, 2007,p. 103).*

> *"Cross-fertilization among sectors within as well as beyond community can be surprisingly limited, and a purposeful effort may be required to strike a balance between the bonding characteristics of many small- scale societies and the bridging that opens them up to innovation and external sources of expertise" (Novaczek, p. 149).*

Social capital is a concept that is found throughout the disciplines in social sciences. It has been analysed from an individual perspective, notably by Bourdieu (who informed much of Corbett's work found in the section on education) and from a collective perspective most cited by Putman whose theory is reflected in the definition by the OECD. This work was followed by Agder who delineated types of social capital between bonding, e.g. friends and family relationships, and bridging, e.g. memberships in clubs and associations. Baldacchino (2005) asserts that democracy and good governance themselves cannot explain economic success. Rather they may be the effects of 'deeper forces at work'; namely, social dynamics.

The value of social networks and collective action is particularly found in the promotion of community resilience and response to extreme events, as well as in the context of social-ecological systems dynamics and on small islands, making it particularly relevant to this project. The theory suggests that groups high in social capital are more resilient and exhibit characerises such as high rates of participation in community organizations projects and collective action for the public good. Scale, boundedness, homogeneity and strong sense of place and collective identity are characteristics associated with small islands as well as social capital (Baldacchino 2005; Thomas, 2017). It is important to note that small doesn't necessarily constitute social capital. Small communities can also be fraught with rivalries and divides that can undermine collective capacity (Baldacchino, 2005).

Even though the key role of social capital in both individual and community development is evident throughout the literature, the development of tools to measure social capital is described as 'ongoing and highly unstandardized' (Besser, 2016; Petzold, 2015).

Volunteering and community involvement

The literature suggests that social capital and volunteerism are positively correlated (Besser, 2016); one is an indicator of the other, as well as fuels the other. Bringing people together for a common purpose increases trust, reciprocity and sense of belonging. At the same time, where this exists, there tends to be more volunteering. Volunteering has also been shown to benefit the individual volunteer through skill and network development, as well as improved health and well-being. Many factors influence an individual's choice to volunteer including early childhood experiences, existing social network, marital status, education, and income (Turcotte, 2015).

Trends in volunteerism and community involvement have changed in recent decades. While there is little community level data to draw on for analysis, the national data from the 2013 Volunteering and Charitable Giving in Canada report (Turcotte, 2015) may offer some insights:

-   Women were slightly more likely to volunteer than men (45% versus 42%)
-   Older seniors aged 75 and over were the least likely to volunteer (27%), followed by those aged 65 to 74 (38%). Younger people aged 15 to 19 were, by far, the most likely to do some volunteer work, as two thirds participation (66%). (Many students are required to perform community service to fulfill the course requirements needed to graduate from high school.) Forty-eight per cent of people aged 35 to 44 volunteered in 2013, second highest after youth.
-   Overall the volunteer rate declined four percentage points to 44%, with the largest decline in persons aged 35 to 44
-   Older volunteers are less likely to volunteer but contributed the most hours. They were more likely to sit on a committee or board, provide health care or support such as companionship. They are less likely to teach, educate or mentor, or to coach, referee or officiate.
-   University graduate volunteers were more likely to teach, educate and mentor or sit as members of a committee or board

There appears to be scant current scholarly literature dealing with encouraging volunteerism. There is plenty in the grey literature on the tenants of good volunteer engagement practices such as advertising, having clearly defined roles, showing appreciation and recruiting through existing networks (Imagine Canada). However, the prevalence of volunteerism among a group is of a deeper, perhaps even systemic, nature. The authors of the 2016 study "Understanding and encouraging volunteerism and community involvement" by Stukas et al., published in the Journal of Social Psychology, contend that there is reason to be optimistic about the prospects of building an engaged society and even of recruiting those who are currently resistant. Their study, among other previous works on the matter, finds that modelling by parents and opportunities for youth to get involved go a long way to fostering altruism. Also, that volunteers are often recruited from their social networks indicating that a level of social capital is already in play.

Of particular noteworthiness in their findings is that a sense of community (where it is not already strong) can be created or promoted by bringing people together in small groups and working with them to create a shared sense of community. Cases of participants in workshops and information sessions were shown to have increased willingness to get involved after these experiences with fellow community members; especially, where the subject matter of the engagement is related to improving the welfare of the group. Further, they found that communities may be easier to build when they are homogeneous and promote ingroup helping (Stukas, et al. 2016).

Additional novel information on this subject is found in Besser's study of 99 small towns in Iowa. While the narrow geographic scope of the study makes the findings non-transferable, I feel they provide good prompts for consideration. Besser found that towns with higher overall income had lower rates of community involvement and he postulates that perhaps the community organizations are similarly better off and in less need of volunteers. Also residents in these communities are likely to be more involved in the workforce than communities with lower income levels and therefore have less time for community involvement (The Canadian statistics do not account for income levels.) Based on his literature review, Besser thought he would find that towns with greater numbers of local businesses would have more volunteerism, but instead he found that communities with greater numbers of small farms had more social capital and engagement. Finally, contrary to the broadly held theory that volunteers rates are declining because the "civic generation" is aging, he found there is less social capital in towns with a greater proportion of seniors in the population (Besser, 2009). In other words, a younger demographic could be associated with higher rates of community engagement and social capital which is also reflected in the Canadian trends of high rates of youth and adult (parents) participation in community work.

Place based development

> *…place and place attachment continue to flourish, and even to be renewed, in many peripheral areas…these ties can be a valuable resource that can be harnessed to improve quality of life for residents, to create and sustain vibrant cultures, and to boost socially and environmentally resilient local economies…As with any resource, however, place – and more specifically, place-based identities and sense of place- can be squandered and mis-managed (Vodden et al., 2015, p. 16-17).*

> *"In the field of rural development, and insular development in particular, it is often considered a truism that if isolated areas adopt a policy to harness their creativity and unique culture they can successfully develop their economies" (Jennings, p. 157).*

Current literature increasingly advocates for place based development for rural, island and remote regions due to the failure of top-down, uniform policy measures, and in some cases a lack of state intervention, in addition to increased mobility and globalization (Baldacchino, 2015; Markey, 2010; Vodden et al., 2015). As defined by Markey, "Place-based development, in contrast to conventional sectoral, programmatic or issue-defined perspectives, is a holistic and targeted intervention that seeks to reveal, utilize and enhance the unique natural, physical, and/or human capacity endowments present within a particular location for the development of the in-situ community and/or its biophysical environment" (2010, p.1).

The importance of place is found in research on innovation, the knowledge economy, competitiveness and sustainability (Vodden et al., 2015) and is prevalent throughout island studies scholarship. That is not to say the debate on top-down versus bottom-up development is over, as according to Baldacchino (2015, p. 42) it 'rages' on. In the book *Place Peripheral: Pace-Based development in Rural, Island and Remote Regions,* there are numerous examples of concrete and successful place-based development strategies, as well as cases where conflicts over traditions, commodification of place and inauthentic approaches have added tensions and new challenges for communities to overcome (Vodden et al., 2015). That being said, increasing relevance of place within rural development is established by numerous scholars including Massey whose work 'recognizes that combinations of assets, populations, histories, and circumstances' specific to a place; shape worldviews, actions and outcomes (Markey, p. 1).

These development philosophies are similar to Kretzmann and McKnight's groundbreaking work in the 1990's that advocates for adopting an asset based approach to development rather than the common deficiency or needs oriented policy approach that creates silos, results in a client-service model and undermines community capacity. An asset based approach focuses on what a community has instead of what it needs, and draws on the wisdom of the community and builds capacity (1996). This approach is described in more detail below.

The 'new economy' is also a driving force of place based approaches. According to Market Business News, the new economy "is a buzzword that describes the new, high-growth industries with state-of-the art technologies that are the driving force of GDP growth" (2019, para. 2). It marks the transition from a manufacturing-based to a service-based economy. In response to the new economy, rural development proponents have been calling for changes to policy and planning; namely, a more holistic approach, referred to as territorial which allows for integration of 'economic, environmental, social, cultural and political dynamics in planning at a manageable scale' (Markey, p. 3). Markey posits three prominent features of place based development: greater consideration of culture, the environment, and community; more demand on local capacity; and an increase in governance regimes. This type of development ultimately shifts authority and control from central powers (Markey, 2010). Vodden et al. (2015) would add that tourism and the arts are crucial dimensions of the new rural economy as well.

Asset Based Community Development
Asset based community development theory was developed in the 1990's by Kretzmann and McKnight laid out in great detail in their book *Building Community From the Inside Out*. As described earlier, the thrust of the approach is a move away from deficiency based policy to one that invests in the particular knowledge, skills, physical assets and institutions that are unique to a given community. In a summary of the book they highlight three interrelated characteristics. First, that strategy starts with what is present in the community- capacities of residents and employees, associations and institutions. Second, the process is internally focused; focused on the 'agenda building and problem-solving' capacities of local residents, associations, and institutions. This is not to disregard the role of external actors, but to stress the importance of 'local definition, investment, creativity, hope and control' (1996, p. 27). As a result of number one and two, the process is therefore dependent on relationships. Community builders thus ought to be focused on building and rebuilding relationships among local residents, associations and institutions it they are to be successful deploying an asset based approach (Kretzmann and McKnight, 1996).

P.L.A.C.E

> *The products of regeneration often are, themselves, generative, in part because regeneration is not merely an outcome. It becomes a way of thinking and managing, thereby continuing to grow community well-being. (Slawinski et al. 2019, p. 15)*

Fogo Island, Newfoundland has gained notoriety for its recent resurgence of economic and community outcomes. A group of researchers studied the case over a period of six years and identified a model they feel may be helpful to other small, remote communities (Slawinski et al. 2019). The model has been organized using the acronym P.L.A.C.E shown in the table below (Adley, 2019). It shares many attributes with place based and asset based theories and goes a bit further in offering specific strategies community organizers can use to help gain buy-in and momentum.

P	Promote community champions; people who really care and want to make a difference .
L	Link insiders and outsiders. When you bring these groups together knowledge-sharing happens, new expertise is built, and new inspiration develops.
A	Assess local capacities or assets. Communities take stock of what they have and figure out what is special about where they live. Do not try to imitate other places and create direct competition.
C	Convey compelling narratives. Come up with positive, true stories about the place that resonate with people in the community. Repeat them so they become a foundation of inspiration and confidence.
E	Engage "both/and" thinking. Don't dismiss opportunities that might seem opposed to each other; find a way to engage with both.

Climate change

> *Gradual and incremental changes to the status quo alone will be insufficient in the face of future climate. Meaningful and successful climate change adaptation for the Island will require coordinated, collaborative, complementary, and parallel approaches by the different leads and collaborators identified by this report (e.g., sectors, Provincial Government, municipal governments, individuals, etc.). To achieve this, a clear vision of sustainability, the willingness to disrupt the status quo, a commitment to work together, and the urgency to act swiftly are needed from everyone. Planned adaptation takes time and the work must begin immediately. It is insufficient to "prioritize" climate change adaptation; adapting to climate change must be considered a normal way of life (*Arnold & Fenech, p. XV)*.*

> *There is also growing anecdotal evidence from several European countries that, when an island starts taking some innovative approaches to developing sustainable economic activities and utilising the latest environmental technologies to combat climate change, then there is a corresponding upsurge and celebration of cultural awareness. These jointly create an even stronger identity and sense of place. This positive spin-off often leads to a complete turnaround in the fortunes of an island that was facing terminal decline due to out-migration and other adverse socio-economic factors (Robertson, p. 416).*

Climate change is seen as one of the greatest threats posed to the future of humankind and the world. The changes predicted include rising global temperatures, increase/ decrease in precipitation (depending on region), more severe weather events, sea level rise, less sea ice, and reduced air quality. The exact timing and degree of these impacts is not well defined and vast amounts of research are ongoing. However, changes can already be observed in most regions. These changes may seem small, but they can have significant impacts for communities Most policy measure to date have focused on climate change mitigation (reducing greenhouse gases). While these measures can lessen future climate chaos, a certain level of change is going to unfold due to carbon levels and warming already in place.

This makes climate adaptation critically important today. Climate adaptations are measures that reduce negative impacts or take advantage of emerging opportunities (Arnold and Fenech, 2017).

Much like the community development approaches presented in this literature review, effective adaptation requires coordinated efforts including individuals, businesses, non-governmental organizations, and governments and should be grounded in a solid understanding of a community's capacities and vulnerabilities. When it comes to climate policy and planning, having the best available science for the region is also important (Arnold & Fenech; Ford, 2007; Petzold, 2016). Social capital, as outlined earlier, also has a huge role to play in climate adaptation because it is a key enabling a community to tackle any threat or opportunity (Ford, 2007; Petzold, 2016). According to Ford (2007) who has done a lot of work on climate adaptation in northern Canada, it is crucial to understand a community's vulnerabilities which he suggests doing by examining past climate variations and the responses to them. Through this exercise you can identify risks, characterize how communities respond, determine ability, identify opportunities and constraints and appropriate policies to introduce (Ford, 2007).

When you dig into the plethora of climate adaptation recommendations, regardless of the angle you take, you will find the recommendation for all policy and planning measures to integrate climate change factors in recognition of its far reaching impacts. This implies that considering climate mitigation and adaptation measures in any community development effort would be wise. There can also be financial incentive. The 'green' economy is now estimated to be one of the fasted growing sectors in Canada and according to a recent report there is much more room for growth (Pittis, 2019). There is caution presented in the literature, however to avoid climate change development regimes that emphasize climate change and overlook or underinvest in pressing issues such as health, education and basic needs, as has been found in some locations (Baldacchino and Kelman, 2014) . Numerous examples of innovative adaptation and mitigation efforts on islands around the world are showcased on the Global Island Partnership website[1] as well as throughout scholarly and grey literature. According to Robertson (2018) who has reviewed and written about many of these cases, they illustrate that there is a great deal of voluntary time and effort required from communities and they involve lengthy bottom- up, iterative processes. Development of renewable energy sectors (wind, solar, biofuel) and establishing designated, protected areas are among the most common strategies found in the literature.

A cursory search of grey and scholarly literature on climate action in the Magdalen Islands indicates that the focus is on sea level rise, erosion and compromised ground water. A review of Quebec's *2013 – 2020 Climate Change Action Plan* finds two mentions of the Magdalen Islands. One is to recognize that electricity for the island is being supplied from diesel-fired power plants and the other commits the province to undertake research on road infrastructure and seawalls to protect against coastal erosion (Government of Quebec, 2012). The Ministry of Environment's associated webpage[2] makes reference to a Green Fund that 'supports companies, municipalities and private citizens in transitioning to a low carbon world'. However this, and much of the reference material linked from the website seem to be available only in French. Hydro Quebec's website indicates that they are looking into transitioning the Magdalen Islands to greener forms of energy through a gradual transition to renewables such as solar and wind, coupled with energy conservation behaviors (Hydro Quebec, n.d.).

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[1] http://www.glispa.org/bright-spots
[2] http://www.environnement.gouv.qc.ca/changementsclimatiques/plan-action-fonds-vert-en.asp

Given the importance of the fishing industry to English speaking Magdalen Islanders, I will provide an overview of the forecast for that industry. Small islands around the world have a much greater dependence historically, socially and economically on marine territories and marine life; therefore, they stand to be impacted disproportionality by threats to our oceans (Ratter, 2014). Climate estimations suggest that in ten to fifty years the Gulf of Saint Lawrence will experience temperature and oxygenation changes at three times the rate of global trends (Claret, et al., 2018). The possible impacts of this are numerous and the outcomes uncertain (Arnold & Fenech, 2017; Claret, et al., 2018; Le Bris, et al. 2018). A scan of the scholarly literature on the topic of climate impacts on the American lobster illustrate some important findings and the need for further study on dynamics, such as, the impact of temperature and oxygen levels, ocean currents and predation (Quinn, 2017; Wahle et al., 2013). In the short-term we can expect downward pressure on the economics of the fishery due to reduced availability of bait and extreme weather that will interfere with harvesting (Arnold & Fenech, 2017). We do know that warming generally improves performance of life processes of lobster and is contributing to the current abundance of stocks. However, excessive warming can reduce performance and cause death (Lebris et al., 2018; Steneck et al., 2011). Quinn (2017) found that in the 10–50 year range American lobster larvae may experience temperatures up to 30 ∘C which may be lethal. American lobster stocks in southern New England declined by 78% in 1999 after sixteen years of increasing abundance and they have not yet recovered. After an unseasonably warm summer, a shell disease broke out decimating the stock (Lebris et al., 2018; Steneck et al., 2011). Recommendations call for greater flexibility in regulations and increased involvement of communities in decisions regarding the management of these resources (Arnold & Fenech, 2017; Steneck et al., 2011).

When a community consultation process was undertaken on climate adaptation by the University of Prince Edward Island Climate Lab in PEI, they found:

> "…common barriers to action included: uncertainty, lack of funding, insufficient incentive, lack of guidance, requirement for high levels of coordination, and gradual nature of climate change. Potential solutions include collaboration with experts, data gathering, long-term financial planning, demonstrations of successful approaches, and interdisciplinary collaboration" (Arnold & Fenech, p. XV).

The authors of the report underscore the importance of recognizing climate change as a shared problem and that everyone - individuals, businesses, institutions, non-governmental organizations, all levels of government – must take significant action; status quo will result in high risk scenarios for all.

Tourism

> *Islands must constantly innovate to maintain and grow their position in a changing global marketplace. Islands have the opportunity to reinvent themselves and to utilise technology and innovation to assist in inventing and reinventing themselves as sustainable destinations in ways that encompass their limits to growth (*Graci and Maher, p. *257).*

Travel and tourism has become one of the fastest growing industries world-wide and island and remote regions in particular are receiving a great upswing in visitors and economic activity as a result (Graci and Maher, 2018; Mitchell & Hall, 2005; Vodden et al. 2015). This has come with a mix of positive and negative effects. "Living standards and quality of life can be raised by income; new employment and educational opportunities can be gained; and improved international understanding can be the result of tourism initiatives (Graci and Maher, p. 249). On the downside, tourism can come with a significant

environmental footprint including increased pollution and changes to the landscape, monetisation of cultures and traditions, and disruption to traditional livelihoods. These issues have given rise to the call for 'sustainable tourism' which advocates for tourism development that is authentic to communities and done at a scale that does not compromise the environment (physical and human) (Graci and Maher, 2018).

Some broad considerations on tourism development emerged from the literature. It is a highly competitive industry where destinations can find themselves facing sudden and significant declines due to saturation, bad publicity or global events such as weather or financial crises. Creating a sustainable industry requires ongoing monitoring and renewal efforts to stay abreast of changing market trends. Fairly sophisticated marketing is required to attract travellers and a significant amount of cooperation among the destination community to develop synergies and support this marketing effort is important (Mitchell and Hall, 2005). Finally, it is recommended that communities have well- developed, integrated tourism plans if they that want to create a long-lasting, locally- benefitting industry. Support from governments, NGO's and university researchers is generally required to support the industry (Graci and Maher, 2018; Mitchell and Hall, 2005).

Besides offering nice places to stay, good food to eat and nature to be enjoyed, there are niche market trends in travel and tourism. As mentioned earlier, visiting remote and isolated places is on the rise, within which, cultural tourism dominated the literature. This can include history and museums, culinary delights and festivals, and local art and artisans. Case studies in the addendum showcasing cultural tourism include Gravelsbourg, Prince Edward Island, and Shetland among others. The findings show that by focusing on products that meet needs of both locals and visitors a community can build a year round industry and offers tourists what they crave – authenticity (Novaczek, 2015). In addition, the pursuit of these options can "strengthen public infrastructure and the supporting environments and build social capital, creativity, sense of place and community cohesion" (Graci and Maher, p. 147).

Another area of growth in tourism known as ecotourism is defined as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment, sustains the well-being of the local people, and involves interpretation and education" (The International Ecotourism Society, 2019). One common ecotourism strategy found among island case studies is to seek internationally recognized designations such as UNESCO Biosphere Reserve or a Marine Protected Area (see Cape Breton in addendum), which can be leveraged for marketing and visibility and draws in a segment of tourists that the region previously did not attract (Graci and Maher, 2018; Robertson, 2018). Within ecotourism, and of particular interest perhaps for Grosse- Ile, is birdwatching tourism. This is a niche that is growing in many places throughout the world including Canada, United States and Europe. Bird watching tourists are characterized as affluent and typically stay for only a few days and spend all their funds in the local community, not venturing far from the birdwatching location. Birdwatching often takes place outside of the typical tourists' season, thereby extending the season (Connell, 2009; Kordowska and Kulczyk, 2014).

In the case study of the French Acadian village of Evangeline, Prince Edward Island (see addendum), authors put forward four stages of cultural rural tourism development. At first, a few residents recognize tourism related opportunities and integrate them into their plans. From there, community groups plan and implement tourism strategies as part of economic development. In the next stage, we find community partnerships developing and formal tourism bodies at work. In the final stage, centralized, cooperative, and long-term planning and marketing of tourism occurs (MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2002).

RECOMMENDATIONS

The timing seems excellent for CAMI to engage their community in revitalization. It is ideal because there is a level of concern among community members regarding depopulation and dwindling school population. Also because the lobster finishing industry is presently lucrative, community members have financial resources to draw on. As any seasoned fisherman knows, this will not always be the case, and given the impacts of climate change, future cyclical declines in the fishing industry have the potential to be catastrophic. These types of challenges and opportunities are a galvanising force for community engagement and community development initiatives; a platform for discussion and action.

A key recommendation repeated in the literature is that development be done from the inside- out if it is to be long- lasting and effective. The literature suggests we resist the urge to identify and address vulnerabilities, but rather to create an inventory of assets and build from there. Community members know their weaknesses and concerns, what they often overlook is their inherent capabilities. Place based development aligns with this adage through its focus on leveraging a community's natural, physical and human, attributes for development purposes. Following this approach can lead to a number of outcomes apparent in the case studies. Firstly, scale is a central concern for small islands. By focusing on in-situ assets, the chance of undertaking an initiative beyond the limits of the community and environment's capacity is lessened. However, that is not to say that communities ought not consider strategies that engage external investors. These 'phoenix like' investment opportunities can indeed be transformative but tend to come with the added tension of playing host to external players and their priorities. There are numerous cases in the addendum where communities have done very well through external investment and in these cases the investors display a desire to achieve development that is within the scale limits of the territory, respectful, if not encouraging, of local culture, as well as built from infrastructure that is already in place and not being used.

Secondly, these inside- out or bottom- up approaches build on and extend local skills, knowledge, identity and social capital all of which are important resources for communities in dealing with opportunities and threats. Whether it's for the purpose of responding to climate change or bringing more vibrancy, exploring and celebrating the community's history offers the benefits of receiving lessons that can be applied to the future, and perhaps more importantly, the process itself can have the effects of strengthening identity and social capital. Approaches that produce this affect were seen most often in the case studies that invested in local arts and culture development with the involvement of community members and was also found in the education literature review. Some of the effects include new connections across generations, attention to local traditional knowledge and craft, and a new vibrancy that not only engages and retains citizens, it attracts visitors, new residents and investors.

Thirdly, governments and governance are strong themes in the literature. The role of senior government it critical. Without funding and resources for capacity building, most small communities simply would not have the internal resources to undertake meaningful community and economic development. Further, governance via local community groups and associations are key resources in devising and implementing development plans. This through their local knowledge and ability to engage and coordinate volunteers for community projects. In some cases governance can involve rather unique arrangements like trusts that enable a community to take ownership of key assets and shape the business model to reflect their particular values.

The English speaking community of the Magdalen Islands has many assets to draw on. The strong connection to place and tradition, tight- knit community, and love of the pristine environment are evident through the photo essays on Discover Grosse Ile website and throughout the 2015 *Portrait of*

the English- speaking Community of the Magdalen Islands. A number of community organizations stand out as well. CAMI for its many projects that are already building social capital such as the photo essays and seniors' outreach. The Little Red School House is a living homage to the community's history and pioneers. Some social entreprises exist, such as the Cap Dauphin Fishermen's Co-operative and a recently formed social enterprise. Based on the information found on Cap Dauphin Fishermen's Co-operative's website, this organization exudes innovation and sustainability; an energy and brand that could perhaps inspire and enable other community initiatives. Pointe de l'Est National Wildlife Area and Old Harry Beach are points of community pride and could be leveraged to expand the local tourism in ways that are appropriate to scale and culture. Being the nesting grounds for multiple bird species including two species at risk, makes the area a draw to bird watchers, a growing segment of the ecotourism market that is well developed in terms of international networks and marketing platforms that can be tapped. The Government of Canada website for Pointe de l'Est National Wildlife Area indicates there is support available for NGO's and municipalities for projects that would promote the area[3]. Gaspésie is a leader in wind energy. Given its proximity, the Islands may be well positioned to forge partnerships that might result in local wind energy production; perhaps even consider a community owned energy sector as a number of European island communities are doing with government support. According to their website, Canada Economic Development would support projects like that[4]. Diaspora are also an asset among which you would find return visitors, second home owners, retirees and potential investors.

In addition to building on existing assets in the community, there were a number of new measures that showed up in the case studies that are worth highlighting. Various forms of artist- in- residence programs were evident in many of the case studies looking at community vibrancy and cultural tourism. In Gravelbourg, an Economic Development Officer position was created that became ground- zero for much of their strategies and plans, enabling and supporting existing community groups. Finally, festivals and events were created in many communities which strengthened community cohesion and pride, as well as attracted visitors and economic activity. A final consideration based on the review would be that consistently it is found that a local tourism industry does not generate enough economic activity to fuel an entire community; a more substantial economic engine is often present. Working as a community to create an inventory all the many assets, hidden and in plain view, and engaging some 'fresh eyes' from the outside to do so, appears to be a very promising starting place.

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[3] https://www.canada.ca/en/environment-climate-change/services/national-wildlife-areas/locations/pointe-est.html
[4] https://www.dec-ced.gc.ca/eng/resources/articles/2018/06/50-gim.html

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Education overview

> *"Schooling was not a source of pride; it was a site of irrelevance, boredom, and earnings deferred for uncertain reason"* (Corbett, 2004, p. 459).

> *"…these expert systems that works to disembed and mobilize young people rather than engage them in a process of learning how to live well and carefully within a place"* (Corbett, 2004, p. 466).

> *"A rough life in a known community among family and friends may look better to many youth than taking a very expensive shot at an educational journey that represents an expensive, unproven, and uncertain path"* (Corbett, 2005, p.65).

INTRODUCTION

There is congruence in the literature regarding the relationship between education and rural and coastal communities. The basis of this relationship is the relevance of the formal education to the available opportunities – formal education is typically suitable for opportunities in larger and urban centres, not in fishing and many other blue collar professions associated with rural labour markets. The literature also establishes the existence and impact of the strong place attachment of rural residents including youth. The research suggests that the well- established recommendations for place- based education, place-based development, accessible vocational and post- secondary education, women's development and early childhood development, are likely suitable strategies for CAMI's community. Ultimately these strategies are integrative and self- reinforcing.

Understanding the specific dynamics at play in the community will help determine the paths of least resistance into these domains. As the literature illustrates, each stakeholder (including institutions) have a worldview and set of values shaped both by tradition and modernity that will come into play. Studies on small, coastal communities were found in the literature that can be used to inform and possibly hasten the visioning and planning stages for CAMI and their community members. Below is an overview of the tensions, challenges, opportunities and recommendations found in the literature on education and schooling in today's small, coastal communities.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND OUT- MIGRATION

Michael Corbett's work is particularly salient in the field of rural education and out-migration and is regularly referenced by academics internationally. Corbett is a professor at Acadia University in Nova Scotia and has been studying the formal education dynamics in a rural, fishing community of Digby Neck in Southwest Nova Scotia (NS) since the late 1990's. Much like Grosse-Ile, many youth in this community, especially male, leave formal education early to begin working in the lucrative inshore lobster fishery. His findings are numerous beginning with the well documented notion that in rural, northern, and coastal communities, education and out-migration are intimately linked (Corbett, 2004; 2005; 2007). It is suggested that the current education system shaped by neoliberalism is designed to 'select and sort' rural youth for out-migration and 'dis-embed' them from their local traditions and culture. This is done in formal ways such as the preoccupation with standardized testing as well as use of curriculum written about foreign locations be strangers. This is also done informally through attitudes and worldviews that favor careers and lifestyles that exist in more urban settings (Corbett 2004; Johns, et al., 2000; Petrin, Schafft & Meece, 2014; Prince, 2014; Schafft 2016; Smith, 2002).

> "*Rural youth are implicitly encouraged to accept an education that is presented as the only "ticket" out of the community's economic and social trouble, and to educate themselves into other places*" (Corbett, 2004, p. 453).

Contrary to this modern path to a 'better life' afforded by formal education, accounts of life and learning in rural places demonstrate that what counts as success in a rural community does not align with measures of school performance. What is found in rural, Canadian communities is young white men working in resource extraction industries, living lives defined as successful by local standards, which works well for the males, but may be harder on the females (Corbett 2004; 2005; Lowe, 2015). Corbett found in Digby head that the males in this study understood their skills and know how to be of little value outside the fishery, and they understood the risks involved in the fishery. However, they also understood how difficult and risky it was to take a chance on education which would involve severing local ties (Corbett 2005). The importance of relevance and practicality in youth education and employment decisions is reinforced by Lowe's findings that youth in Alaska were well aware of the risk associated with the lack of economic diversity in their hometowns. Leaving for education and therefore opportunity, becomes necessary, but not necessarily desirable (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2004; 2007; Lehmann, 2007; Lowe, 2015). In short, educational attainment is driven by its relevance to available lifepaths and out-migration; therefore, is fueled by opportunity elsewhere.

Leavers vs stayers
A large portion of youth populations leave their rural hometowns (70% in the case of Digby Neck), all are reluctant to leave and many that do leave take up residence in nearby centres. Moving farther was positively associated with increasing levels of formal educational. Conversely, most men and a minority of women who remained in or near their home community had not graduated from high school. In communities where viable employment options do not require high school completion, dropout rates remain high (Corbett, 2004; Richardson, 2015). Numerous studies on out-migration refer to two groups – leavers and stayers. In the core studies we are drawing on for CAMI's community, greater nuance is described within these populations that I think is important for policy consideration. These studies provide a better understanding of the complex and conflicted nature of youths' education and employment decisions.

There is consensus that only a minority of youth actually want to move, but most all understand the need to move. Those that want to move are drawn to the financial and lifestyle options available in urban settings. The majority however leave reluctantly or don't leave at all (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2004). This difficulty in leaving was found by many authors to be related to place attachment; primarily to family and relations, but also to the landscape and the culture or lifestyle in the rural setting (Bauch, 2001; Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2004; Lowe, 2015). Additional influences include social-economic status of parents and relatives, choice of life partner, having children, relationships with teachers and support with career planning (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Rerat, 2014).

The studies also demonstrate that of those that do leave, most hope to return into employment in their chosen field but are often willing to take other employment if it means being able to live in or near their home community (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015). In fact, most youth who did move, didn't move far and those pursuing post-secondary education often returned home without completing their education due not to poor academic performance, but to difficulty adjusting and 'fitting in' (Lehmann, 2007). For those that decide not to leave, place attachment and perceived suitability for existing opportunities outweigh other conceivable possibilities (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2004; Prince, 2014) . Therefore,

local employment opportunities and/ or one's ability to imagine or create opportunities locally influence youths decisions to leave or stay.

It is worth noting that there has been a body of scholarship that suggested that the "best and brightest" youth from rural areas leave. Studies in addition to Corbett's have found that the highest-achieving rural students are among those with the greatest community attachment and it is their perceptions of local economic conditions that have great bearing on their decision to stay or leave, not specific attention or extra resources deployed by schools to high performing students which has been suggested by other scholars (Petrin, Schafft & Meece, 2014).

Women and out- migration

Consistently across the rural communities studied it is found that young women leave rural communities at a much greater rate than males due to the lack of local economic opportunities for them in the traditional, gender- biased, local economies (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett 2007; Lowe, 2015). Some findings suggest that schooling is thought to be 'woman's work' and suited for those with aspirations beyond the local community. In these communities, higher rates of high school and post-secondary completion are found in the female population. Among the group that remained in Digby Neck, men outnumbered women by more than two-to-one (Corbett, 2007).

In his (2007) paper Corbett challenges the generally accepted ideas that economic success is predicated on educational success, and, the idea that the girls are doing well because of their superior academic achievement. Rather he contends that on the coast of NS, females face more pressure to leave (and don't want to) and that they are destined for economic disadvantage. He provides statistics indicating that the women in his study were earning about half of that of their male counterparts. Further, a gendered resource sector combined with service industry jobs continues to disenfranchise women (Corbett, 2007).

How these rural women use their education locally to benefit their family units and their communities is an area that deserves further research according to Corbett. The stereotype in rural villages suggests that economic productivity and community stability are enabled by the work of men. The work of social capital building done by women may nonetheless be more important for community survival. He referenced one study in the US that found women were better able to transition in a community after the collapse of an industry (Corbett). In a study on women's roles in the PEI fishery Novaczek et al. (2010) found several cases of women's, often indirect, influence playing a very important role even though they did not have a 'seat at the table' when it came to formal decision making. This may be changing in PEI as recently more and more women are buying fleets and captaining their own fishing enterprises (Ramlakhan, 2016).

Kids today
In addition to place attachment and the tensions between relevance and practicality that profoundly affect the choices youth make regarding education, employment and residency, there are numerous global trends and characteristics of modernity that shape their imaginations and future possibilities as well. Like natural habitats, social habitats are significantly compromised, particularly in rural places. Climate change, population and pollution forcing us to deal with complexity. We live in a world where the local is transformed and enhanced by the global and traditional either/or thinking is being replaced by both/and mindsets. It seems everything is fraught with risk, including the academic path of the carefully reared middle class child. Connectivity through Improved highway travel and communication

technology has exploded changing our ability to both experience the exotic as well as remain connected to ''home''. We can, and must, live in many places at once. The youth in Lowe's study referred to the "real world" as the one beyond the borders of their communities. Modern societies are organized around consumption rather than production driving the population decline in rural places, while increased leisure time, discretionary income and global unrest are all facilitating an increase of new residents, often seasonal. Our fascination with self and identity has exploded while allegiance to institutions continues to decline (Corbett, 2009; Crouch, 2016; Lowe, 2015; Richardson, 2015).

Most youth understand they have to leave to get higher education and opportunities outside of the community. This causes anxiety and complicates formation of self-identity. Identity is now less about achieving stability than it is an ongoing and endless round of self-creation, reflection, re-creation and choice. Most youth from what might be called working class or low SES families are pressured to 'get serious' and to do it quickly. For those whose families' are entrenched in local networks, apprenticeship and less formal ways of transferring knowledge and resources, the world of higher education has been understood as an 'irrelevant'. The fear of making a wrong, costly decision may force youth to make tough decisions quickly or to defer the decision. Ultimately, given the strong place attachment of many youth, most decision making strategies may be about remaining close to home. The expansion of the low-wage service economy in nearby rural centres provides something to do in a known place with established networks, providing a measure of stability if not comfort (Corbett, 2009).

Drugs and alcohol
In Corbett's 2007 study he found it common for both parents and students to comment that young people are growing up too fast and are being lured into adult pleasures at too early an age; specifically drug and alcohol use. He suggests that early engagement in work leading to money and mobility, leads to early immersion in the party culture of the community. The ability of particular individuals and families to protect their children from early initiation is in part linked to the way that families understand good parenting. He adds that families that can support an extended adolescence can help avoid this early initiation (Corbett, 2009).

Parenting
The need for formal education has been created by the same global forces that are seen to be jeopardizing the traditional way of life; therefore, education and other state interventions may be seen with skepticism in some communities. Corbett (2009) suggests that rural residents' support for schools may have more to do with supporting community survival than supporting contemporary schooling. Also, it has become increasingly clear that parenting is at least as important as what happens in school in terms of influencing and informing choices youth make (Cook, Mann, & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2009; Rerat, 2014; Smith, 2002).

Parents have to balance the tension between protection and exposure for their children in a context of chronic uncertainty and ambivalence which has come to characterize modernity. Further it may be virtually impossible for parents not to imagine a future for their children that mirrors the world they presently know, in effect, narrowing potential outcomes for their children (Corbett, 2009). In his exploration on child-rearing and education- employment prospects for children, Corbett suggests that parents that employ a pragmatic child-rearing frame (typical in blue collar families) put emphasis on making 'correct' and 'relevant' decisions in regard to what kids 'what you want to do' and this may actually lead to weaker academic performance and a narrowing of educational possibilities. On the other hand, parents that deploy looser exploratory and entrepreneurial child-rearing frames understand that achieving something worthwhile takes time and is a creative process that involves personal growth.

The youth who experience these looser frames appear to be less focused, practical and serious, but also appear to be more likely to explore a broader range of educational, lifestyle and mobility options.

While parenting definitely influences children's approaches to life decisions, Corbett contends that schools can also do things to help students achieve broader perspectives. He believes that inclusive, public schools typical of rural communities are better positioned than specialized, urban schools to provide the new cosmopolitan space for kids to be both local and global as described in the following quote:

> "What I have found rather is that school success appears to be marked by both academic engagement and also by a flexibility and openness to new ideas, people, spaces and places, effectively a cosmopolitan sensibility focused on difference, diversity, space and mobility rather than similarity, continuity, homogeneity and place" (p. 175).

Schools and teachers

Schools have become less accountable to the communities they serve and more accountable to state defined measures of success over the past number of decades. Whether or not they can equip young people with the skills to think and act critically, pragmatically, and collaboratively within a world that presents increasingly complex challenges remains largely in question (Corbett, 2009; Schafft, 2016; Smith, 2002). Understandably then, in our case study communities, the roles of teachers and administrators are characterized as containing tensions. They understand the priorities of the education system (standard curriculum and testing) and the inapplicability of their outcomes to many of the students (especially male) in the local community. They are aware of issues facing the community, they love their community and at the same time may be unclear about their role in changing the community (Corbett, 2004; 2005; Smith, 2002).

Numerous scholars, including Corbett and Smith advocate for place-based education for rural locales. In an email exchange with Corbett on April 19th of this year he indicated that there isn't a best practice in education that can be suggested for communities like Grosse Ile and Digby Neck. In cases where there is a tension between the education system and community building (i.e. relevance to local livelihoods), as well as a lucrative local fishery creating the so called 'boy problem', he offers the following, "…place based education is probably the best set of ideas we have to deal with things. But ultimately, I think, it comes down to strong principals and teachers who are open to listening and acting on community values and social practices." This is aligned with his published recommendations. There is significant scholarship on place-based education (PBE) which at its simplest is a curriculum based on local phenomena designed through student input and community involvement (Smith, 2002).

In an email exchange with Dr. Rose Fine-Meyer, Senior Lecturer in the Master of Teaching program at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, she had the following to say on linkages with PBE and rural communities, "I would suggest to you that there are many links: First in terms of integrating Indigenous knowledges, in addressing eco-justice, in incorporating local stories and links between people and land, and, I believe, supporting students in greater civic engagement. (treaties, access to resources, land uses and control, landmarks, pollution, to name a few)."

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy considerations

Policy makers ought to carefully consider the nuanced linkages of education- employment decisions of youth being influenced significantly by place attachment and a sense of belonging, as well as various effects of modernity and not simply economic influences as most often happens (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015, Corbett, 2004; Rerat, 2014). The literature points to a number of areas of specific policy consideration that honour local youth and promote stronger communities. These include place- based education, place- based development, accessible vocational and post- secondary education, women's development and early childhood development.

Most predominant is local economic development. It is clear that most youth would like to either remain in or return to the coastal communities where they grow up and where their families remain (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Corbett, 2004; Lowe, 2015; Rerat, 2014). It is possible for education and development policies to be integrated and self-reinforcing through enhanced school-community relationships that not only retain youth, but also strengthen local economies and broaden the imagination of young people in regard to the possibilities of life in their home communities (Prince, 2014; Schafft, 2016). Schafft in particular notes that rural development debates have some striking parallels with rural education debates, in particular their lack of academic interest and clarity of policy direction. Place-based education has much to offer on these issues and is discussed further in the following section.

Investing in specific and relevant skills training via vocational and post-secondary avenues was suggested by the youth in the Alaskan study and is found to be associated with employment growth in rural areas (Cook, Mann & Burns, 2015; Lowe, 2015). Delivering this through distance education has been shown to increase youth retention significantly (Bjarnason & Edvardsson, 2017; Bjarnason & Thorarinsdottir; 2018).

Giving youth a voice in community affairs and policymaking is also a theme in the literature and again was recommended by youth It helps to retain youth and improve numerous community outcomes by creating future community leaders and stewards (Lowe, 2015; Prince, 2014; Smith, 2002).

There may be a significant and underutilised set of community assets in the women in coastal communities due what appears to be generations of systemic disenfranchisement (Corbett, 2007). Due to their higher levels of educational attainment, females in the community may already have skills in communication, organization and administration (Corbett, 2007; Novaczek, et al., 2009). Further investigation on successful approaches for women's development is recommended.

The influence of parenting on children's life trajectories is well documented and surfaced in this literature review as well. Whether it is related to educational attainment, employment choice or drug and alcohol use, parents have an critical role to play here (Corbett, 2009). Investment in nutrition and nurturing of children is established as a key factor in community development as well (Bollman, 1999) and strategies found under the umbrella of the 'first one thousand days' may be relevant.

Overall, policy makers need to be aware that successful efforts will be deeply reflective of local opportunities, needs, and constraints, and therefore necessarily deeply dependent upon local knowledge and locally developed initiatives which take time. Generic or prescriptive approaches are known to be ineffective (Lowe, 2015; Schafft, 2016; Smith, 2002).

Place Based Education

One of the strengths of place based education is that is can adapt to the unique characteristics of specific places and in this way can help overcome the disconnect between school and children's lives. Valuable knowledge for most children is knowledge that is directly related to their own social reality; knowledge that allows them to engage in activities that are of service to and valued by those they love and respect (Smith, 2002). PBE gets students and teachers out of the classroom into the community to learn and contribute in meaningful ways that also achieve curriculum outcomes. It connects students to experts in, from and around their community opening up possibilities of their future self (Kydd, 2004; Schafft, 2016, Smith, 2002) in turn, communities benefit from the insight and enthusiasm that students can bring to local issues (Bauch, 2001). Because PBE is based in the community, it will deeply reflect the community, and as such, there are no generic models of the approach. However, there are common elements; namely, local phenomenon as the basis of curriculum, students as creators of knowledge rather than consumers of knowledge, students playing a central role in determining what is studied, teachers as co-guides and brokers of community resources and learning possibilities, and the wall between school and community being crossed frequently (Smith, 2002).

There is a girth of literature on PBE; Smith's (2002) presentation provides a helpful, high-level overview along with numerous examples. He identifies the following five patterns of PBE in practice: cultural studies, nature studies, real-world problem solving, internships and entrepreneurial opportunities and induction into community processes. I will provide some detail on the last three for illustration purposes and because I feel they may be the most relevant to CAMI's community.

In real-world problem solving students are engaged in identifying school or community issues they would like to investigate and address. The problem identification and solution are student led. The teacher facilitates the process, links it to curriculum and resources and troubleshoots as needed. Th experience leads not only to greater understanding of the specific issue for students, but also of the interconnectivity of aspects of the community and instills a sense of ownership and responsibility of the issue. Examples would be fixing up a playground, building gardens, implementing water conservation strategies, or looking at hunger in the community (Smith, 2002). In some instances these projects can be multi-layered and multi-year. In one such project, students took on the task of raising trout to stock local streams during which they learned about water-quality assessment, ecological systems, and environmental remediation. It involved construction of an outdoor science laboratory, including an aquaculture operation. This project had environmental outcomes and resulted in youth employment opportunities as well as multiple relevant, hands-on opportunities for instruction and training in STEM education, natural resource and water-quality management, and environmental protection (Schafft, 2016).

To provide students with chance to think through the relationship between vocation and place, the internships and entrepreneurial opportunities approach links school learning to local occupational opportunities and provides confidence and initiative to remain in their community and be of service. Examples include summer internships, helping students meet neglected community needs via small business start-up, taking on responsibility for a community enhancing initiative such as publishing school or community newspapers. Rural Entrepreneurship through Action Learning (REAL) Enterprises (www.realentrepreneurship.org) is a program that has been running in the US for over 30 years that does this and has numerous resources (Smith). There is also a body of educational practices collectively referred to as "farm-to-school" under which there are PBE approaches that inspire the growth of community-based agriculture and food production (Schafft, 2016).

Turning schools and their students into resources that local governments can tap to help solve community issues also gives students a chance to make a difference and contribute to the well-being of others. In doing so, young people are likely to develop skills and dispositions associated with civic engagement. This type of PBE is what Smith called induction into community processes. He shared cases where a local parks department worked with a class to design a new park, a fire department worked with students to survey residents about changing smoke alarm batteries, and in another case, a math class collected data on environmental impacts such as erosion. All of these would include presenting findings to a decision making body such as municipal council or school board.

Education leadership and partnerships
Rural school renewal is not the imitation of urban reforms, but the joining together of schools and their local communities in the creation of something new that has meaning and understanding for students in rural school settings. This of course is not without its challenges. Governance and providing the community with opportunities to share in decision making will be a factor. Leadership is required for any type of community change including school renewal (Bauch, 2001; Johns et al., 2000). Bauch suggests this work requires the type of leader who can deconstruct old myths and assumptions and construct new meaning and understanding. It requires the type of person who is driven by a sense of moral purpose, rather than institutional constraints and bureaucracies.

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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 handcrafts 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.

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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 thier 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 km^2 (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 be 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 thier 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 and 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 Provence 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 km^2; 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