

REMOTE CONTROL

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Governance Lessons for and from
Small, Insular, and Remote Regions

Edited by

Godfrey Baldacchino, Rob Greenwood, and Lawrence Felt



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This book is dedicated to a friend and colleague who influenced the thinking, careers, and lives of those around him by showing that more good comes from enabling others than from paternalism and control.

Carlos Alberto Herais, 1947-2005

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The second association is the North Atlantic Forum, which emerged as a biannual conference from the network established by the North Atlantic Islands Program at the University of Prince Edward Island in the early 1990s. This network of small-island and other coastal and peripheral jurisdictions shares much with CRRF in its commitment to building capacity and enhancing democracy in small and peripheral communities and jurisdictions.

We are grateful to the North Atlantic Forum for partnering with CRRF in the 2005 Twillingate conference. Titled “Big Lessons from Small Places: A Forum on Governance in Rural North America and the North Atlantic Rim,” this conference brought together community development practitioners, public policy-makers, and scholars in a spirit of open debate; they shared lessons from their work and ideas about new opportunities and key challenges for small jurisdictions working to maximize their prosperity and sustainability. Thanks to the reinvigoration provoked by this event, an international network of scholars and practitioners has been brought together as contributors to this book.

The authors who contributed chapters to this book have been a very patient lot. Most participated in the conference four years ago, although a few were solicited to write chapters to fill gaps we felt needed to be addressed. The first draft of this book arrived at ISER Books as its long-time managing editor was retiring. We are grateful to Dr. Wayne Fife who, while serving as acting managing editor, got the proverbial wheels in motion and, as newly installed managing editor, completed the journey. We also thank the peer reviewers for their constructive and generous suggestions to improve this volume.

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that make rural communities and small, often island, jurisdictions desirable and viable places for long-term sustainable development.

We hope that the lessons shared in this book contribute to policy and practice that empower people, communities, and regions to make the most of their opportunities, and perpetuate the generosity of spirit and quality of life that these regions offer to the world.

Godfrey Baldacchino
Rob Greenwood
Lawrence Felt
March 2009

Introduction

Geography, Governance, and Development: Challenges Facing the Small, Insular, and Remote

Godfrey Baldacchino, Rob Greenwood, and Lawrence Felt

OUR SUBJECTS ARE SMALL, insular, and remote communities. They range from small provincial governments to municipalities and specialized regional authorities. They typically, though not exclusively, are sub-national and local in their jurisdictional capacity. All tend to be relatively isolated by distance and access to levers of national political power. They are governance organizations in that they provide some level of service, co-ordinate and administer routine activities within their jurisdiction, and operate under reasonably clear norms, rules, and procedures with other, often larger and more powerful, governance bodies such as larger provinces, states, and nations (Bowles and Gintis, 2002). The opportunities and challenges associated with such middle-level governance bodies are profitably understood through the bifocal lenses of *agency* — the capacity to undertake purposive action collectively (Giddens, 1990) — and *place* — in which locally grounded values, preferences, and objectives are meaningfully incorporated into goal-setting and implementation (Pauly, 1999).

This volume explores the opportunities and challenges associated with such middle-level governance organizations in smaller, isolated societies in their pursuit of successful and sustainable socio-economic development.

This introduction reviews the context in which these governance institutions operate in a globalizing world where small and remote communities may be facing real threats of systemic decline. Nevertheless, the *agency in place* of local organizations, locally grounded but mediated within larger governance structures, spawns policy-making, identifies development opportunities, and improves the likelihood of success in their pursuit. Evidence of this effect is provided from a raft of sub-national and sub-provincial rural and island communities, but with a special focus on Newfoundland and Labrador. The organization of this volume also is critically reviewed here, highlighting the value of comparative research for the provision of lessons and best practices that can be distilled to provide general guidance

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and direction in *remote control* to a wide array of small and medium-sized jurisdictions.

LOCAL MAKES A DIFFERENCE

Geography might seem to some increasingly irrelevant in the contemporary age of the borderless knowledge economy. “The world, economically and in management terms, has become a network of . . . prosperous city regions” (Ohmae, 2001: 33). Global competitive trends are leading to the greater concentration of resources associated with the modern economy in large cities and metropolitan areas. These resources include high-tech industries, flexible labour pools comprised of those with information technology (IT) skills, research-and-development institutes, and universities specializing in information and communications technologies (ICT). The trend suggests that new technologies are not altering a pattern of concentration ushered in by industrialization, but actually are helping to fuel it.

Were such a stark assessment valid across the board, its implications would spell the demise of peripheral locations. Any community unable to muster a significant critical mass of knowledge will find itself hemorrhaging talent, entrepreneurship, investment, and other resources to the benefit of more attractive metropolitan zones or their immediate suburbs. The young and better-educated will relocate first, often never to return except to visit relatives and friends. A decreasing population reduces the negotiating clout of the peripheral community, making the resort to political solutions for addressing the adverse conditions less likely to be successful. Given the fall in local demand for goods and services, employment opportunities also will fall; actual entrepreneurs will move away; potential ones will look askance. The availability and efficiency of state-of-the-art public infrastructure (as in roads, health care, education) will decrease (Baldacchino, 2006: 91). This is a vicious “cycle of decline” for peripheral (often remote or insular) communities (e.g., Royle, 2007: 208-9).

Is such a dynamic both inescapable and irreversible? That conclusion certainly is borne out by overall demographic statistics, concentration of knowledge industries, and investment flows. And yet, those larger processes of international interdependency — often subsumed within a generic reference to *globalization* — are not monolithic, unilateral, or totally disempowering, particularly as one approaches local, grassroots levels. Globalization also serves to create opportunities, heighten differences, and enable, if not directly promote, agency, even resistance, at lower political or spatial scales. There are, in the words of Ronald Burt (1992), “structural holes” that represent “gaps, detours and intermediaries” within the overarching global network (Sennett, 1998: 84). These are areas of potential initiative, strategic planning, and social capital building in which individuals or groups can opportunistically utilize the uncertainty, ambiguity, and decentralization of global trends to their own advantage.

Roland Robertson (1994) has popularized the term “glocalization” to deftly capture the dialectical nature of the globalizing process. He argues that globalizing and localizing are not necessarily oppositional and, in fact, both could expand simultaneously, largely as a result of the opportunities associated with the “structural holes” described by Burt. In some cases, the strengthening of the “local” leads to resistance to what are perceived as undesirable results associated with globalization; in others, agents acting in the name of the local may use their strengths and capacities to identify global opportunities and pursue them successfully through policies of locally driven economic and social development. Within the larger environment, there are emergent opportunities linked to location, organizational scale, and political context that can be seized.

Thus, the local may potentially make a difference. Identifying and successfully exploiting opportunity are not automatic, however. Liberalization and “debordering” hold a *potential* for successful local initiatives for individuals and groups; they do not guarantee it. Rampant and standardizing globalization does create in its wake “opportunity niches” (e.g., Kipnis, 1998) that may or may not be recognized or mobilized by local actors. Rather, any success in these ventures would depend considerably upon the agency of local organizations within larger governance structures and their capacity, formally or informally, to acquire sufficient independence to act (Cheshire et al., 2007). It is critical, therefore, to understand how the “local” can be deployed for maximal benefit within the context of the “global,” and the role that local, place-based governance assumes in achieving such a goal. The problem is particularly acute where “local” is composed of small, largely rural populations isolated by distance and/or natural barriers such as oceans or mountains, and cheated both of economies of scale (e.g., Dommén and Hein, 1985) and of institutional “thickness” (e.g., Amin and Thrift, 1994: 14-15).

In such circumstances, how can local capacity be developed? What are likely to be the most important agents? Would it be local *government* — which refers to particular kinds of top-down public institutions (such as the sovereign state, a provincial legislature, a municipality) vested with formal authority to take decisions on behalf of the entire community? Or would it be local governance actors — myriad other organizations and institutions, typically embedded in community, church, business, and civil society, constituted from the bottom up — that can also take decisions affecting others? How should these two decision-making systems ideally interact and complement each other? Since *localness* is a relative term embracing several levels, from company and community to region, what roles and contributions can each of these levels contribute? And finally, could isolation, smallness, and marginality in an increasingly global world — geography, in short — in fact prove to be advantageous? And, if so, how? These are the questions the authors in this volume examine, if not fully answer.

Recognizing the centrality of the local and finding ways to strengthen these communities is neither new nor unique. Rural development researchers, policy-

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makers, and practitioners of various ideological hues frequently discuss the need to decentralize decision-making and build local capacity (e.g., Easterly, 2001; Sachs, 2005). They recognize the challenges for rural citizens in provinces and countries that increasingly are dominated — politically, economically, culturally, and institutionally — by a reinvigorated “urban bias” (e.g., Lipton, 1977, 2005). Despite countless top-down, planning-inspired programs for sectoral development in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining — the traditional staple industries that formed the basis of rural settlement — employment in these sectors continues to decline. The pressures of global competition and productivity gains through technological advances mean that these industries paradoxically continue to maintain or increase their contribution to the gross domestic product, while rural, resource-dependent communities descend more visibly into crisis (e.g., Caballero and Hammour, 1998). Governments and community organizations sing the tune of community development, but all too often it is palliative care dressed up with well-meaning goals for diversification and economic renewal, but which seldom are believed (even by the participants).

While rural and community development practitioners work to make the most of the challenges faced by rural communities and regions within provinces, states, and countries, governments in various small jurisdictions worldwide are working to come to terms with similar challenges relating to their small size, diseconomies of scale, transportation challenges, and peripherality. A number of these territories today have found more tools in the governance tool kit than most rural citizens and leaders are likely to consider in the realm of possibility. Iceland, with 300,000 people and an area smaller than the island of Newfoundland, enjoys all the powers of a sovereign nation and continues to depend on the sustainable management of its fishery. The Isle of Man, a Crown Dependency of Britain, has much greater fiscal autonomy than a Canadian province, with only 75,000 people. The Åland Islands, a Swedish-speaking archipelago in the Baltic, has far-reaching home rule powers as an autonomy within the Finnish state, as well as a negotiated separate protocol that accompanied Finland’s accession to the European Union in 1995, and all this for a resident population of just over 26,000 (Baldacchino and Milne, 2000). *The Economist* magazine, that scion of liberalism, has been obliged to recognize the superior economic performance of small jurisdictions in the global economy — from Bermuda to Luxembourg, from Liechtenstein to Cayman — defying the myth that bigger and central is necessarily better in forging competitiveness (*The Economist*, 2003). A more recent feature in the same magazine has lauded the contribution of offshore finance centres — often located appropriately on offshore islands — to global competitiveness (*The Economist*, 2007).

THIS VOLUME AND ITS CONTEXT

It follows from the above that any analysis that strives to identify how the local can be used advantageously in a global world must seriously consider a comparative approach. To that end, a conference, “Big Lessons from Small Places: A Forum on Governance in Rural North America and the North Atlantic Rim,” was held in north-central Newfoundland at Twillingate in October 2005. At the conference, various jurisdictional resources were explored in their own contexts; the manner of their implementation and the ensuing outcomes were then compared and contrasted. Every community, region, and jurisdiction has its own peculiarities of history, geography, and culture. By comparing the experiences in one context to the experiences of others, tentative lessons can be derived, and interesting parallels discovered and critiqued. These lessons can provide the foundation of successful policy alternatives. They can inform new practices and inspire alternative visions for the future.

The chapters in this volume build on two realms of comparative research, analysis, and practice: innovative governance and development practices from sub-provincial rural communities; and similar experiences from small, sovereign or sub-national, island jurisdictions. Indeed, these two realms have intersected as a result of the Twillingate conference, and both jurisdictional realms have benefited. On the one hand, the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation (CRRF) has, since its establishment two decades ago, brought together Canadian and international researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners committed to rural development, and supported such projects as that for the New Rural Economy (NRE) (e.g., Reimer et al., 2006). On the other hand, the North Atlantic Forum builds on the North Atlantic Islands Program, which, since 1992, has engaged researchers, politicians, government officials, business people, and community representatives across island jurisdictions as diverse as Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Islands, the Åland Islands, and the Isle of Man (e.g., Baldacchino and Greenwood, 1998).

This volume remains squarely concerned with how governance impacts development. Mainstream economists wrestling with widespread underdevelopment increasingly have come to realize the centrality of the democratic institutions, and legal systems that establish property rights while protecting individual liberties, to any success in raising living standards through self-sustaining economic activity (e.g., De Soto, 1989). In developed countries, where these basic liberal democratic prerequisites are in place, we often underestimate or completely ignore the importance of governance for development. Particularly since the neo-conservative revolution of the 1980s, developed countries and international institutions have put free enterprise on a pedestal, as if Adam Smith’s invisible hand ever operated anywhere in an actual economy. (The massive investment power and leverage of multinational enterprises certainly does not bear this out.) The reality of global political

economy and local practice, however, is that while entrepreneurship, innovation, skilled workers, and sound management are the engines of wealth creation, it is consensual participatory democracy, sound public policy, effective community engagement, and the law that create the highway and the rules of the road.

A crisis in the legitimacy of “doing politics” in the traditional way largely explains why governance has assumed such a central role in contemporary policy debates. *Governance* concerns the use of institutions, structures of authority, and wider forms of collaboration and negotiation to reach decisions that determine the allocation of scarce resources and the co-ordination or control of various activities in the society or economy. The concept refers to an often chaotic multi-level engagement across state and civil society stakeholders, on various issues, and at various levels — rather different from top-down, sectorally sealed, directive government.

This book emphasizes lessons in governance from and for the sub-provincial level — regions, municipalities, and similar middle-level governance institutions. Our challenge was to set out practical solutions that can be implemented within existing communities, provinces, or jurisdictions. The concept of subsidiarity, long enshrined as a key policy guideline for the 27-member European Union (EU), maintains that decision-making and the resources to implement decisions should be located at the lowest geographic level for the best possible governance and outcomes. Vigorous debate continues over the “democratic deficit,” lines of accountability, and powers best located for particular aspects of governance. At which level should particular decisions be taken — municipal, county, provincial (where they exist), national, or (in the case of the EU) the supranational level (e.g., DeBardeleben and Hurrelmann, 2007)? However, the principle of commitment to the devolution of authority stands as a guideline to inform the desired direction of flow in the allocation of powers. Apparently, “the ‘up-scaling’ of community-based approaches has run well ahead of knowledge as to how they might work” (Marshall, 2008: 75).

The principle of subsidiarity is in direct contradiction to the formal allocation of powers in the Canadian Constitution. While Canada is a federal system, with provinces superior in their areas of constitutional authority, the “doctrine of paramountcy” applies: the exercise of a federal power trumps provincial power in areas of shared jurisdiction. Municipalities remain strictly creatures of provincial legislative authority, with no constitutional protection (e.g., Stephaniuk, 2007; but see Magnusson, 2005). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development has made it clear, in the context of a recent global study, that Canada’s system of municipal government is weaker than that of other oecd countries, and that this presents a failing in the country’s overall governance practices (OECD, 2007).

Nevertheless, it is clear that local municipalities, regions, and small (often island) jurisdictions have far more room to manoeuvre than they normally realize. They often have embedded powers that can be harnessed to advance development that they may currently not even be using. Often, they can stretch their jurisdic-

tional authority to advance their development goals in strategically creative ways that are outside their formal allocation of powers; in other words, deploying “agency in place,” tapping governance opportunities resulting from their “opportunity niches” and “structural holes.” And, perhaps most importantly, confident leaders who can work in partnership with other levels of government and with non-governmental partners can forge new systems of governance that fly in the face of the conventional strictures of the modern state as well as larger supranational, even global, political institutions.

GOVERNANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

While this volume draws, as it must, on a considerable comparative spectrum, a majority of the contributions take the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador as their starting point; and this is done not only because the original conference that served as the focal point for this volume was the northern Newfoundland outpost community of Twillingate. Despite an oil boom that has enabled Newfoundland and Labrador to lead the country in economic growth during recent years, this Canadian province continues to struggle in achieving levels of employment and income comparable to other Canadian jurisdictions. While a groundfish collapse in 1992 created particularly challenging times in many parts of the province, the intractability of employment and income shortfalls has a much longer and entrenched history predating the province’s joining of Canada in 1949 (Government of Canada, 1977, 1980).

Such recalcitrant underperformance has led to a large volume of academic and government studies, plus two Royal Commissions (1986, 2003). More traditional explanations are commonplace in the literature. These include small and dispersed populations, low education levels, distance from markets, and inability to extricate the economy from its resource base, as well as issues of governance, particularly though not entirely focusing on the province’s resources of fish and oil (e.g., Noel, 1971; Cohen, 1974; Prattis, 1980; Lynch et al., 1997). More recently, academic work has turned to the internal processes within communities and their relationships to largely imposed development and/or resource management initiatives. This work has highlighted the resilience and complexity of communities and regions in the province, particularly in resisting or modifying often ill-informed and insensitive programs and policies enacted by distant seats of governance and their attendant bureaucrats (Sinclair, 1985; Felt and Sinclair, 1995; Newell and Ommer, 1999; Ommer, 2002; Vodden and Woodrow, 2004). One clear emphasis flowing from this research is a call for a shift in governance to more collaborative, place-based fisheries management structures, incorporating local residents with their knowledge and expertise (Neis and Felt, 2000; Coward et al., 2000; Sinclair and Ommer, 2006).

More general governance issues have been increasingly important as well, though they deal largely with federal-provincial relations. In addition to fisheries, it has been advocated for some time, by academics and provincial politicians alike, that some alteration in the rules of governance is long overdue if Newfoundland and Labrador is to escape its economic plight. The most recent Royal Commission report (2003) has enumerated a number of areas where greater jurisdiction and accountability are necessary for the province.

Since 2005, an additional emphasis on federal-provincial fiscal relations has arisen. As early as the 1980s, the Newfoundland and Labrador government unsuccessfully attempted changes in ownership and governance issues surrounding fish stocks, oil and gas ownership, and provincial marine management. More recently, the province has attempted to negotiate an arrangement known widely as the Atlantic Accord whereby the province would be allowed to retain certain royalty payments from offshore oil without having it affect transfer payments from the federal government to the province. Transfer payments are grants to provinces historically related to their insufficient tax base for achieving levels of services and programs comparable to other Canadian provinces. An agreement allowing the provincial government to retain certain levels of royalty payments from oil companies (producing oil within provincial boundaries) without affecting transfer payments was signed by a previous federal government and allegedly agreed to — according to Premier Danny Williams — by the current government. Such an arrangement was deemed necessary to build infrastructure and make investments promoting longer-term economic development. Without it, as soon as any “extra” money came in — such as from royalty payments — it would be “clawed back” (in the province’s visceral phrase) through reductions in transfer payments, leaving the province arguably in a worse position since revenues from a finite resource (oil) were being taken back, thus denying the province the extra revenue it needed. In an ongoing, acrimonious, and highly public debate with the Canadian Prime Minister, Williams claims the Accord is no longer being honoured, with billions of dollars not retainable by the province without reductions in transfers. Further complicating the situation is the Equalization Program: a federal initiative meant to redraft the enabling legislation underlying transfer payments.

Interestingly, with the exception of one contracted research paper published as part of the Royal Commission report (Felt, 2003), this discussion of governance and economic development has not contained any significant mention of smaller, sub-provincial forms of governance as important contributors to social and economic development. While this omission may be understandable in that arena, this volume’s particular contribution becomes even more timely and relevant, given the increasing importance of middle-level organizations within an increasingly integrated planet. From the comparative work presented at several jurisdictional and governance levels, conclusions on transferable lessons and best practices probably

can be distilled that could provide general guidance and direction to a wide array of small and medium-sized jurisdictions.

ORGANIZATION OF THE TEXT: CELEBRATING SUCCESSFUL STRATEGIES

While metropolitan areas remain hot spots for economic development, innovation, knowledge transfer, and employment creation, ample evidence suggests that successful strategies can be and have been developed to overcome the disadvantages of current market dynamics and to make the small, isolated, rural, and local nature of many regions an asset. Islands and rural regions can become exemplars of how to transform small size, periphery, and relative isolation into a powerful combination for sustainable growth and prosperity. Some have already done so, using a nested agency in place, in innovative ways that should be acknowledged, celebrated, and critiqued. These locations have taken initiatives that have rarely benefited from a transfer and exchange of knowledge and ideas on “good practice” from other, similarly straddled locations. The winning tools and strategies being deployed by these middle-level governance structures include: a “scaling up” of municipal units; a development of tourist and computer-driven industries; a strategic engagement with their diaspora; a branding of niche products and services; a facilitation of “boutique,” small-scale manufacturing; a limitation on local firm rivalry; and, overall, a creative deployment of the “resourcefulness of jurisdiction” (Baldacchino and Milne, 2000).

The papers in this collection flesh out these strategies. They do so by unpacking and challenging received wisdom; charting out the parameters of effective government; teasing in the critical role of empowered local communities and the engagement of civil society with the multiple levels of decision-making of the state. The book at hand is organized in three discrete but interdependent sections. Part I sets the stage by considering wide-ranging conceptual, literary, and case material that analyzes governance practices in various contexts. The chapters here discuss lessons from the perspectives both of the small island and of remote rural economies, challenging the wisdom of established development frameworks. Part II scrutinizes the challenges of municipal governance per se, with a special focus on Iceland. Part III presents fully developed examples of indigenous, collaborative, and cross-cutting governance in case studies from such far-flung locales as Prince Edward Island, Fiji, Tasmania, and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon.

While much of the material focuses on the experience of Newfoundland and Labrador, this is done within a framework of robust conceptualization and valid comparison. If Newfoundland and Labrador is to benefit from sustainable development, it is more likely to do so by better appreciating those aspects of governance that determine how state and community connect effectively in policy-making, and by observing critically how similar small, remote, and island communities have handled a similar engagement. Conversely, successful lessons from the Newfound-

land and Labrador context may proffer useful material to be considered by similar peripheral, remote, or island communities around the world.

In Chapter 1, David Freshwater and Stephen Tomblin lock horns with standard models of rural-urban interaction, arguing that they fail to describe the full set of relations, or the variety of contexts, in which rural-urban interaction occurs. Their proposal for more effective development “at the fringe” includes the creation of a governance structure that explicitly incorporates the two-way flows between rural and urban citizens and communities, and that recognizes the role of volunteerism, civil society, and the realities of interaction and interdependence.

Making sense of change, mitigating threats, and exploiting opportunities is the key theme of Chapter 2. From his European perch, John Bryden catalogues some of the principal global challenges facing rural communities today, ranging from the decline of agricultural supports within the European Union to climate change. He identifies foundations for healthy and sustainable rural communities and offers a vision of strategic and proactive transformation, built on particular relative strengths.

Meanwhile, research into social and economic development is replete with references to community development and community capacity. Identifying the core constituents of these crucial terms would go a long way towards facilitating a valid comparison of capacity frameworks, understanding the processes involved, and improving the policies and programs designed to enhance such capacity at multiple levels. Tara Lyons and Bill Reimer take on this task in Chapter 3, basing their material on the considerable knowledge gained from the New Rural Economy project, which has been investigating capacity in rural Canada since 1997.

In Chapter 4, in one of their two comparative contributions to this collection, Brendan O’Keeffe and David Douglas analyze the planning process for the design of rural development in the Republic of Ireland and in Newfoundland and Labrador. They do so by adopting a rural development perspective, and with an emphasis on governance. Their conclusions suggest that, albeit for different reasons, significant diseconomies and shortfalls are likely in development efficiencies and potentials for both island jurisdictions, as a result of policy overlaps and insufficient policy co-ordination.

Finally, within the Canadian federation, asymmetry has defined a raft of jurisdictional powers and duties, the shape of central institutions, and the application of national laws or programs — and not just to accommodate Quebec. Godfrey Baldacchino, in the final chapter of Part I, situates Newfoundland and Labrador’s Atlantic Accord of February 2005, which granted the province control over its oil and gas revenues, within a context dominated by an unleashing of asymmetrical federalism in Canada. The trend is visible around the world in various sub-national island jurisdictions — like the Canadian provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador and Prince Edward Island — that are part of federal states, where autonomies are accommodated within a larger state.

Municipalities represent the lower levels of government and flesh out the principle of subsidiarity. By operating at the local level, municipalities allow for a greater participation of citizens, more inclusive communication, more efficient resource allocation, stronger cohesiveness among institutions and organizations, and the opportunity for local leaders to champion local issues. This is the focus of Part II.

In reviewing municipal government in small and remote regions, Becky Lipton, Victoria Hagen, Bill Reimer, and Benoy Jacob in Chapter 6 caution against a glib and simplistic understanding of “autonomy.” Rural municipalities, they argue, clamour appropriately for the delegation of authority to take decisions; but, unlike their urban counterparts, small municipalities in the rural and remote regions of Canada must bear in mind that they may lack the ability to independently implement those decisions.

The next two chapters present lessons drawn from studying Iceland, a sovereign island state, still largely dependent on fisheries, and with large rural areas and scattered communities — features that make it an obvious candidate for critical comparison with Newfoundland and Labrador. The experience of municipal government between the two jurisdictions could hardly be more dissimilar, however. Studying two “second cities” — Corner Brook (NL) and Akureyri (Iceland) — Lawrence Felt in Chapter 7 observes that municipal capacity remains largely underdeveloped in Newfoundland and Labrador, where the provincial government is unwilling to transfer political power and a constituency is suspicious of higher taxes and deteriorating public services. Grétar Thór Eythórsson, in Chapter 8, takes the Iceland case further, documenting the slow but steady historic expansion and subsequent voluntary consolidation of municipal government there, in a context where strong multilateral support continues for a devolution of power from the central state.

In Part III of *Remote Control*, the complex intersections of government and governance are presented. Chapters 9 and 10 look at comparative models of good governance. Land-use planning and development controls are the twin foci for the inquiry by Denbeigh Armstrong and Elaine Stratford, who scrutinize these issues in the two island jurisdictions of Tasmania (Australia’s only island state, equivalent to a Canadian province) and Prince Edward Island. They argue that an observance of internationally agreed-upon sustainability principles is a prerequisite for sustainable economic development; and this is especially crucial for small islands with finite natural assets like land, waterfront, or forest. The management of yet another crucial island resource, fisheries, is discussed in Chapter 10 by Irené Novaczek and Nick Lewis with respect to Prince Edward Island and Fiji. Novaczek and Lewis suggest how a historically rapacious and unsustainable top-down and nationally driven fishery policy should connect with bottom-up community efforts — involving indigenous people with indigenous knowledge of resource stewardship in both

island jurisdictions under review — in a unique co-management model that has a better chance of success, before it is too late.

As populations change and possibly decline, managing external relations and tapping the diaspora of people outside the region can be a key strategy to economic survival and future development. The smaller a jurisdiction, the more crucial to its survival will be its ability to tap the hinterland that lies beyond. The term *diaspora* has been defined as a spreading of people originally belonging to the same culture. Diaspora applies also to out-migration, which has been a significant feature of life in Newfoundland and Labrador for at least a century. Some out-migration has been short-term (including seasonal travel to work “down the Labrador” or in lumber camps), but most involves travelling to live and work off the island: on the boats on the Great Lakes, in the Canadian armed forces, in mining communities, in high-steel fabrication in New York, and, most recently, in that second-largest urban concentration of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians: Fort McMurray, Alberta. Do these outlanders only keep in touch with “home” via VOXM (a St. John’s radio station) and *Downhome* magazine? Françoise Enguehard, who hails from North America’s smallest archipelagic jurisdiction of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (a French overseas collectivity), looks at the specific case of fruitful connections rebuilt between Newfoundland’s northwest “French shores” and home communities in Brittany, Normandy, and the Basque Country of France. She suggests ways in which Newfoundland and Labrador might take better advantage — in an organized way — not just of the wide dispersal of its former residents, but also of the wide ancestral heritage of its current citizens, country-wide and throughout the world.

Similarly comparative, in Chapter 12 Brendan O’Keeffe and David Douglas review of the implementation of rural development planning in the two island jurisdictions of the Republic of Ireland and Newfoundland and Labrador, relating their earlier analysis of rural development and regionalism to the potentials and difficulties inherent in the governance of these two jurisdictions.

In Chapter 13, Kelly Vodden outlines the many linkages and fault lines between environmental, political, industrial, and social change affecting Canada’s coastal communities, from Vancouver Island in the West to Cape Breton and northeast Newfoundland in the East. The emphasis here is on collaborative, multi-scalar governance in action and how this contributes to sustainable development and capacity-building among coastal peoples.

Rob Greenwood, in Chapter 14, has the final word, tying together the rural research network of CRRF and the small jurisdictions of the North Atlantic Rim. Here, he seeks lessons for Newfoundland and Labrador from the overall contents, and tenets, of this volume. He argues that, for Newfoundland and Labrador as a province within Canada, and for communities and regions within the province, good governance is critical to long-term sustainability. Communities, regions, territories, and provinces — like all small jurisdictions — can position and lobby for more powers, but they must also make best use of the powers they have. Only by explic-

itly considering how they govern in any policy area, by analyzing how they devolve authority within their jurisdiction, and by examining how they partner outside their jurisdiction can so-called peripheral regions make the most of their opportunities. This is a message that emphasizes a proactive, creative, and assertive approach to governance; one that aims to instill a sense of efficacy to achieve “remote control.”

CONCLUSION

The challenges and opportunities presented by globalization require new approaches to governance. Rural communities, island people, and those inhabiting peripheral regions within larger jurisdictions require increased capacity to act on their development priorities, options, and opportunities within the given contexts of their geographies. The existing allocation of powers and resources in Canada favours the federal and provincial governments. Nordic countries, including Iceland, without a federal division of powers, have much stronger local government. Traditionally centralized states, such as the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, are experimenting with greater devolution of authority to sub-national regions. Changes in the allocation of state powers do not proceed smoothly, however; and those who must cede some of their power to more decentralized authorities seldom do so willingly. Others still would resist the amalgamation of municipalities that would see their local government become simply part of a larger unit, gaining access to more resources but possibly losing influence on their allocation.

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador, in particular, can enhance its chances of success through comparison of what works and what doesn't, and under what circumstances, with similarly placed jurisdictions around the world. The province can also, in this way, increase the awareness of alternatives for the future among its citizens and policy-makers: possibly the only effective way to nudge the status quo towards sustainable governance in the long term.

This volume, and the Twillingate conference that engendered it, may have pioneered the bringing together of the rich conceptual and analytic literature and experiences of islands, rural regions, and other peripheral communities. The book's title expresses appreciation for the varieties of *remote control* represented by these places. The potential for a mutually profitable exchange with these regions is remarkable. The lessons documented and learned provide specific, applicable insights on the principles and practices of good governance, regional development, and sustainable economic growth. This collection, focusing on local governance and those factors affecting its agency and capacity to identify and pursue opportunities to promote place-based social and economic development, should be most welcome for the understanding it can contribute, as well as for those reflections on policy formulation that it might suggest.

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Part I:

Contextualizing and Conceptualizing Issues While Challenging Existing Frameworks

