

Collaboration and Regional Economic Development: A Comparison of
North Country, New York and Four Counties, Ontario

by

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Britt Bruce". The signature is written in black ink on a light-colored background.

Signature

Abstract

Encouraging the use of collaboration in regional economic development has been increasingly prevalent over the past few decades by both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders. This push has two origins. First, regional level stakeholders are coming to understand the limits of what they can achieve as individual organizations. This has made collaboration at a regional level attractive. Second, provincial, state and federal levels of government increasingly prefer to interact with only one entity at a regional level, making consolidation of effort through collaboration key. There is an expectation that regional collaborations between multiple cities and counties will help to mobilize more resources, than a single municipality would be able to do alone. This study explores collaborations that connect diverse stakeholders (public officials, private organizations, and non-governmental entities) related to regional agriculture initiatives and regional economic development in the North Country in New York state and Four Counties in Ontario. Both regions have strong agricultural economies, are vast areas geographically, and have low population densities.

Thirty-four semi-structured interviews were conducted, focusing on factors key in success or failure; barriers to cooperation between different organizations and communities; and challenges in implementing regional development initiatives. The capacity of the case regions to participate in regional collaboration has been varied. To date, regional collaboration has been more developed in the North Country compared to the Four Counties, primarily due to the state organized regional council process that has given the region structure for its economic development initiatives, as well as a deeply embedded history of acting as a region. Key factors for success in economic development collaboration in these two case study areas included; utilizing communication technology, embracing regional attributes, diverse membership, flexible structure, appropriate use of leadership, and insufficient financial capital. Barriers to collaborating included; communication technology, diverse membership, outlook toward collaboration, insufficient human capital, and insufficient financial capital. Therefore, several factors were seen to be necessary for success, but also barriers depending on the regional context. With the exception of the contradictory role of technology, these findings are supported by the literature. This study also identifies several benefits highlighted by county level stakeholders of not collaborating at a regional scale, such as enhanced relationship building with local producers and lower-tier municipalities, and avoiding unnecessary layers of bureaucracy.

This study reveals that regional collaboration is not a universal solution to economic challenges for all jurisdictions. Collaboration at an intra county scale may be more desirable and successful. This study also identifies several characteristics that facilitate collaboration that are not in line with the literature including a vast geography, no urban centre, and insufficient resources. This is significant, as these characteristics are often considered barriers to economic development and collaboration. This study serves to expand the literature on experiences of collaboration in rural regions; enhancing the understanding of disadvantaged regions' experiences with economic development; and broadening the analysis of collaboration to not only include government actors, but also not-for-profit and for-profit businesses, non-governmental organizations, and civil society organizations.

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List of Abbreviations

NCREDC-----	North Country Regional Economic Development Council
NCA-----	North Country Alliance
DANC-----	Development Authority of the North Country
ANCA-----	Adirondack North Country Association
JCIDA-----	Jefferson County Industrial Development Agency
FCIDA-----	Franklin County Industrial Development Agency
NNYADP-----	Northern New York Agricultural Development Program
NCCC-----	North Country Chamber of Commerce
CCEANNY-----	Cornell Cooperative Extension Association of Northern New York
SWEA-----	Southwest Economic Alliance
WOWC-----	Western Ontario Warden's Caucus
FCLMPB-----	Four County Labour Market Planning Board
CFDC-----	Community Futures Development Corporation
GBEDP-----	Grey Bruce Economic Development Partnership
HBDC-----	Huron Business Development Corporation
LCFC-----	Local Community Food Center
RTO-----	Regional Tourism Organization
SEDC-----	Saugen Economic Development Corporation
CSFS-----	Center for Sustainable Food Systems

1 Introduction

1.1 Regional Economic Development

Encouraging the use of collaboration in regional economic development has been increasingly prevalent over the past few decades by governmental and non-governmental stakeholders alike (Gordon 2009). This push has two origins. First, regional level economic development stakeholders are beginning to understand the limits of what they can achieve as individual organizations. This has made collaboration at a regional level attractive, as it is often interpreted as an appropriate middle ground where local actors can maintain their autonomy, but where national governments can still have an impact on a wide geography. Second, provincial, state and federal levels of government increasingly want to interact with only one entity at a regional level to increase efficiency, making collaboration through consolidation of effort key. Indeed Goldenberg (2008), in a review of regional development programs, suggests that programs of this type have been developed across Canada, the United States and Europe. These programs are wide ranging and include Ontario's Rural Economic Development Program, the European Union's LEADER+ Initiative and the United States Rural Economic Area Partnership Zones program (Goldenberg 2008). Each of these initiatives is tasked with developing capacity at a regional level to affect economic development through collaborative and community-led action. There is an expectation that regional collaborations between multiple cities and counties will help to mobilize more resources, than a single municipality would be able to do alone. A key potential benefit of such activities is retaining financial capital within the region, as well as the transfer of cultural capital in the form of knowledge, and the cultivation of social capital through relationship building. Therefore, understanding how these collaborations unfold, through on-the-ground case studies, is valuable. This study investigates collaborative regional development

initiatives in the agricultural and economic development sectors that connect diverse stakeholders (public employees, private organizations, non-governmental entities, and economic developers) in the North Country in New York State and Four Counties in Ontario. As the number of initiatives and interest in regional economic development and agriculture continues to increase, there remains uncertainty as to the best practices required to facilitate successful collaboration. This study aims to elucidate success factors, barriers, and lessons learned in regional economic development collaborations, as a means of establishing best practices that could inform future regional economic development initiatives.

The emphasis on regional economic development in policy is tied to an increase in both endogenous and place-based policies that recognize the region as a locus for action (Nijkamp and Abreu 2009). Endogenous economic policy was a response to exogenous theory that saw growth as being driven by external inputs, which often failed to deliver benefits at the local level (Hubbard and Gorton 2011). Endogenous theory therefore encourages the mobilization of local, and in this case regional, resources for use at the regional level, in the hope of generating greater economic multiplier effects (Hubbard and Gorton 2011). Moreover, Warf (2010:2385) suggests that to maintain a comparative advantage, “it is necessary to identify regional assets that are relatively fixed and public investment and policies that support and improve those assets”.

There are several interrelated concepts and processes that are of interest in relation to this study and regional economic development. These include neo-endogenous development and new regionalism, rescaling, multi-level and regional collaborative governance, path dependency, the so-called ‘death of geography, social capital and collaboration. Two key themes in agriculture are also addressed: feeding the locals versus selling the locale, and the ‘region’ in local food systems.

1.2 Overview of Research Approach

This study explores regional development initiatives in the agriculture sector and beyond. It identifies successful and unsuccessful cases of regional development in these sectors. This study's understanding of success is presented at the beginning of Chapter 2. Semi-structured interviews were used, focusing specifically on factors explaining success or failure; barriers to collaboration between different organizations and communities; and challenges in implementing regional development initiatives. Gaining insight into these factors and processes will help stakeholders understand the best ways to undertake a regional economic development process in the future. The research objectives presented below are addressed through a comparative case study analysis of the North Country region of upstate New York, and the Four Counties region of southwestern Ontario. The North Country region is a seven county region in Northern New York State, one of 10 regional councils that New York State has been divided into since 2011. The Four Counties is a four county region in southwestern Ontario and is one of 25 workforce-planning regions across the province. This region is named as such after the regional workforce planning board that services the region. Both regions are predominantly rural, sparsely populated with very small urban centers and diverse industrial and economic interests.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To determine the extent to which regional organizations that promote agriculture and economic development are collaborating in Four Counties, Ontario and North Country, New York;
2. To establish whether organizations are collaborating successfully (attaining funding, implementing projects and fostering creation of social capital), in the above regions;
3. To uncover factors that contribute to successful collaboration processes;

4. To identify barriers to successful collaboration and;
5. To provide recommendations to enhance the regional collaboration process.

Objectives 1-4 are addressed in Chapter 5. Objective 5 is addressed in Chapter 6.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The rest of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter Two presents key concepts and literature in both regional economic development and agriculture. Chapter Three describes the methodology, research design, instruments and procedures for the study. Chapter Four provides an overview of the case study regions. Chapter Five discusses the agriculture initiatives and economic development initiatives from each region. Chapter Five also presents key findings and evidence related to the above research objectives. Chapter Six provides concluding comments and suggests avenues for future research.

Note on Related Research Projects

This study is a by-product of a joint research project conducted through the School of Environment, Enterprise and Development at the University of Waterloo, and the School of Environmental Design and Rural Development at the University of Guelph. The Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA) funded this project, entitled “Evaluating Regional Economic Development Initiatives” (EREDI). I was a member of the EREDI research team between March 2013 and August 2014. I wrote parts of this thesis during participation in the above research project.

2 Perspectives on Collaboration and Governance in Regional Economic Development

2.1 Definitions Guiding the Thesis

‘The Region’

For the purposes of this thesis, ‘a region’ is defined as a political-administrative boundary that is made up of three or more political jurisdictions, with an urban-rural population mix. Regions were also chosen for this study based on the existence of an established economic development organization that services the entire regional area. I acknowledge there is a multiplicity of ways to conceive of ‘the region’ including physical geography (as in bioregions), administrative boundaries, political boundaries, census boundaries etc. However, the definition used in this study for a region is based on criteria developed by the broader EREDI project. It is important to note that these various understandings of a ‘region’ may result in overlapping boundaries when applied in practice, i.e. it is unlikely that a ‘bioregion’ will have the same boundaries as a political administrative region in the same area.

‘Collaboration’

The definition of collaboration utilized throughout this thesis is based on Himmelman (1996:28) who argues that collaboration entails “exchanging information, altering activities, sharing resources and enhancing the capacity of another for mutual benefit and to achieve a common purpose”. It should be noted however that interviewees might not have understood collaboration in this way; therefore activities pursued “collaboratively” in the view of the interviewees may be situated elsewhere on Himmelman’s (1996) continuum of relationship strategies. This continuum is explored below.

‘Success’

Prior to completion of the data collection phase of this study, success in regional economic development was to be determined based on the completion of projects that engaged multiple actors and that generated a developmental outcome such as employment, increased standard of living, and decreased outmigration. However, I recognized that this primarily economic understanding of success neglected non-tangible social outcomes that may have accrued from collaboration. Therefore, collaborative ‘success’ has been expanded to also include social, non-tangible outcomes from collaborative projects including enhanced relationship building and the creation of social capital through increased communication between neighbouring parts of the regions.

2.2 Key Themes in Regional Economic Development

Bradford and Wolfe’s (2013) exploration of Canadian regional development agencies investigates how national governments operating in a number of spatial scales develop regional policy. They argue that Canadian federal policy has changed from a top-down approach in the 1960s and 1970s, to a multi-level strategy, in the last three decades. Historically speaking, the Canadian national government has been involved in regional economic development since the 1930s. Provincial governments have increased their capacity for regional economic development since the 1960s (Bradford and Wolfe 2013). This may be related to a desire to stem the development of disparities between regions (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney 2006). However, practical success in achieving this has been mixed. According to Hanssen, Nergaard, Pierre and Skaalholt (2011), the region as a site for economic activity was rediscovered in the 1980s. This partly has to do with cases of successful and established regions such as Silicon Valley and Baden-Wurtemberg becoming symbols of the economic importance of regions. The

resurgence of the region is also partly attributed to the decline of Fordism (Lovering 1999; MacLeod 2001; Storper 1995): “amid the protracted struggle to configure an after-Fordist regime, many of the advanced industrial countries are experiencing a renaissance of cities and regions” (MacLeod 2001:804). Although there are a variety of definitions of regional economic development in the academic literature, for the purposes of this study, I will draw on the definition provided by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD n.d.: 1). Regional development is understood “as a general effort to reduce regional disparities by supporting (employment- and wealth- generating) economic activities in regions”. It is important to note that regional economic development can be both a product and a process (Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006). The *process* of regional economic development includes for example, the initiatives under study for this thesis, with the *products* of regional economic development being what these initiatives aim to achieve such as increased standard of living, increased youth retention, lower unemployment rates, increased tax base, and increased external investment.

There are several purported economic (tangible) and social (nontangible) benefits of pursuing a regional strategy, as shown in Table 1. The majority of the purported benefits of regional economic development are intangible and relate to the shift to ‘softer’ factors in economics and geography for explaining economic growth (Sunley 2000). Due to the competitive nature of economic development, there are also several barriers to undertaking a regional economic development initiative. Similar to the benefits described above, a majority of the barriers to this approach are also intangible and relate to how people and organizations work together. Regional approaches are also becoming increasingly attractive to local stakeholders in rural areas as bottom up approaches are often more in tune with rural realities than top down approaches (Goldenberg 2008; Ryser and Halseth 2010). Regional approaches therefore,

facilitate decision-making by regional actors that are most likely to be impacted by policy change, with less direct influence from the state (Hanssen et al. 2011).

Table 1: Benefits and barriers to pursuing regional strategies

	Economic	Social
Benefits of Regional Strategies	Pooling resources for cross-jurisdictional problems Cost sharing on economic development activities	Building trust Increased coordination and conflict resolution Increased use of relevant local and regional knowledge
Barriers to Regional Strategies	Financial and time commitments	Distrust of neighbouring regions Negative outlook towards working together Unequal power relationships between sub-regions Capacity of staff resources

Source: Adapted from Gordon 2007, 2009, Hanssen et al. 2011, MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002, Markey, Connelly and Roseland 2010, and Ryser and Halseth 2010

The capacity for rural regions to undertake a regional economic development strategy has also been questioned. There is a concern that such approaches lead to the off-loading of responsibility to rural areas that are not equipped for it (Ryser and Halseth 2010). When approaching regional economic development from a theoretical point of view, there are multiple concerns raised in terms of what regional economic development theory has and has not addressed. One such concern in the regional development literature is the disproportionate focus placed on urban regions at the expense of understanding the experiences of rural regions (Gülümser, Baycan-Levent and Nijkamp 2010; Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006). This gap is addressed by the present study, as the regions examined are largely rural. It has also been noted in the literature that research on ‘regions’ has tended to only take into account the experiences of economically ‘successful’ regions, at the expense of understanding economically disadvantaged regions (Asheim, Smith and Oughton 2011; MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002). Without taking into account the experiences of unsuccessful regions, it is difficult to “identify the conditions which enable some regions to adapt successfully while others fail” (MacKinnon,

Cumbers and Chapman 2002: 307). This study aims to address this, since the experiences with regional economic development in one of the case study regions can be understood as both economically and socially successful, while the other region's experience has been less successful to date, according to the definition of success laid out at the beginning of this chapter.

A prominent critique in the regional economic development literature is the lack of consensus regarding what constitutes a region (Dawkins 2003; and Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006). Further, there is a tendency for authors to take 'the region' for granted (MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002). As argued by Allen et al. (1998:2), "there is no complete 'portrait of a region' ... 'regions' only exist in relation to particular criteria. They are not 'out there' waiting to be discovered; they are our (and others') constructions". Further, the history of the chosen regions is an integral influence on how regional economic development and collaboration manifests in the present (MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002). There is often a lack of consideration given to how external factors impact internal processes of regional economic development, especially higher levels of government and the role of the state (Danson 2002; Lovering 1999; MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002; Ryser and Halseth 2010). It is crucial to keep this in mind as regions do not exist, succeed, or fail, in a vacuum. For this study, and the larger EREDI project of which it is a part, what constitutes a viable case study region is defined at the beginning of this chapter, and again in Chapter 3.

Regional economic development strategies have undergone several changes since their emergence in the 1950s. The different typologies utilized in regional economic development strategies from 1950 to the present are shown in Table 2. These planning approaches are not 'hard' categories, as each one slowly evolved into the next.

Table 2: Typology of planning approaches in North America and Europe, 1950 to 2000

	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Planning Approach Used	<i>Generalized Master Planning</i>	<i>Strategic Planning</i>	<i>Structure Planning & Strategic Planning</i>	<i>Strategic Planning</i>	<i>Integrated Strategic Planning Place Based Development</i>	<i>Neo-endogenous development</i>
Typology Elements	Industry, infrastructure and market development Universally applicable economic development instruments	Regions build goals and objectives around their specific contexts Less deterministic Role of regions becomes important	Geography of economic activities More adjustable structure for decision-making	Widened to include social and environmental issues Utilized by organizations, businesses and regions	Multiple issues addressed simultaneously (social, economic, environmental) Unique place-based characteristics used to attract external investment	Utilizing economic, social and cultural resources in an area to develop network capacity Use of regionally specific resources Incorporates extra-locally accumulated capital factors derived from either ex-situ or in-situ sources
Role of Government	Controlled by national government to address deficits in housing, building supplies, consumer goods	National government heavily involved in creating goals for economic development plans Industry brought in for deliverable support	Regional plans meant to support national economic policies	National government has less direct influence on planning process	National government taking on a mediator role (between the local/regional and the global)	Local actors empowered to drive change internally, while acknowledging their dependence on national governments for resources (i.e. funding)

Source: Adapted from Amin 2000, Bradford 2010, Morgan, Lambe and Freyer 2009, Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006, Ray 2000, 2006 and Ryser and Halseth 2010

According to Goldenberg (2008), the rise of integrated strategic planning in the 1990s can be attributed to the fact that historical approaches were not capable of dealing with the modern challenges facing regions. Also related to the rise of integrated strategic planning for rural economic development is the importance of place-based economies (Ryser and Halseth 2010) in

which unique place-based characteristics are a key determinant in attracting specific kinds of external investment (Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006). Speaking specifically to the Canadian context, Bradford (2010:6) suggests that “for communities, emphasis shifted to asset-based development that empowered local actors to drive change from within”. Bradford (2010:1) further argues that, since the 1950s, regional economic development strategies at the level of the Canadian federal government have changed from “centralized and top-down structures to decentralized, collaborative processes”. This process can be otherwise considered a shift to neo-endogenous development.

There are several interrelated concepts and processes of interest in relation to regional economic development and this study that are further explored below. These include neo-endogenous development and New Regionalism, rescaling, multi-level and regional collaborative governance, path dependence and anchor institutions, the so-called ‘death of geography’, social capital and collaboration. Key themes related to agriculture include feeding the locals versus selling the locale, and the ‘region’ in local food systems.

2.2.1 Neo-endogenous Development and New Regionalism

Endogenous development is the antithesis of exogenous development and argues that localities contain the inherent ability to ‘improve’ themselves, however that improvement is defined (Ray 2000, 2006). Being synonymous with “bottom-up” and “participative” development, endogenous development is a reaction to the overdependence of some localities on external forces for development and investment attraction (Ray 2000). In this way, endogenous development is fundamentally tied to the emergent process of New Regionalism which is concerned with utilizing region specific capabilities to influence development trajectories. Endogenous development incorporates local knowledge as well as local actors across public,

private and voluntary sectors in the implementation of economic development strategies (Ray 2000). This process is also linked to the role of the state changing to an entrepreneurial role (where cities directly compete with one another), from a managerial role (focused on ensuring resource redistribution) (Harvey 1989; Ray 2000). The 'neo' component of neo-endogenous development recognizes that the immediate extra-local environment plays a key role in locality development strategies (Ray 2006). Therefore, while endogenous development argues that localities are inherently capable of solving their own development challenges, neo-endogenous development argues that extra-local actors do not need to be excluded if they have something to offer a locality.

The concept of endogenous development gained traction in the 1980s when economists began to understand the relevance of location to economic activity at a strategic level (Feldman and Martin 2005:1236); "even as the Internet provides real time connectivity, there is little dispute that global economic activity is agglomerating: industries are concentrating spatially in tightly defined geographic areas precisely because proximity and access matters". Neo-endogenous development aims to counter sectoral isolation in 'one-size fits all' development policies by arguing that enhanced well-being is best approached through multi-dimensional and multi-territory strategies (Ray 2006).

The LEADER initiative in the European Union is a prominent example of endogenous development (Ray 2000; Shucksmith 2010). In Ray's (2000) research on the LEADER initiative, the process of development and collaboration was more important to stakeholders than outcomes. A practical reason for why this might be is because tangible outcomes are not often possible to measure in the short term. On a more conceptual level, predetermined evaluating development processes presupposes that an end-point is agreed upon; "this prepares the ground for

prescriptive statements of what ought to be” (Ray 2000: 452). It is worth noting that while endogenous development is built upon utilizing local resources to facilitate local development, this does not mean it is universally inclusive of all groups within a locality (Ray 2000).

Ray’s (2006) work on neo-endogenous development raises an important concern about the boundaries given to territories and the impacts this can have on working in partnerships. Accountability to local citizens is hard to achieve when partnership boundaries include multiple territories for which there are multiple politico-administrative boundaries; “local authority members of a partnership can feel compelled to drawback from the partnership as the primary unit of action and instead to confine their influence to only those territorial parts for which they have an electoral remit” (Ray 2006:286). This emphasizes the point that space is non-neutral and in fact, is often highly contested (Brakman and Garretsen 2003). It is important to remember that, as Brakman and Garretsen (2003) remind us, all borders are mental constructions. For example, Silicon Valley (a poster child for path dependency, discussed below), for all intents and purposes, it not a real place. It is a nebulous concept that covers several ‘real’ administrative units. The ‘regions’ under study are similarly nebulous. Both the North Country and the Four Counties are amalgams of multiple county level administrative units and are therefore distinct from other political ‘regions’ in Ontario like Waterloo Region or Niagara Region that operate politically as cohesive units. For example, defining a region based on politico-administrative boundaries (i.e. single/lower/upper tier municipalities) ultimately means a region will have multiple governments to contend with, with possibly divergent interests.

Brought about by a resurgence of regions in the 1980s as a locus of economic activity, New Regionalism focuses on place-specific developments (Lagendijk 1997). New Regionalism broadens the scope of regional development beyond pure economics as the unique characteristics

of a place impact its economic development trajectory (Lagendijk 1997). New Regionalism is also different from previous approaches to regional economic development due to its emphasis on partnerships and networks (Gibson 2011). Lovering (1999) has had a strong voice in the debate of the merits of New Regionalism. A number of his criticisms of this process are methodological in nature. Table 3 outlines the key criticisms of New Regionalism, and gaps not addressed by it.

Table 3: New Regionalism criticisms and gaps

Criticisms of New Regionalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basis in weak theory Turns the analytical into the normative Lack of rigour Assumes that theory can be extrapolated into real world data
Gaps in New Regionalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fails to account for/examine unsuccessful regions Neglect of macroeconomics Failure to understand imbalances in power in networks and governance Excludes the importance of emerging sectors Does not address the concept of the 'region'

Source: Adapted from Lagendijk 1997, Lovering 1999, and MacLeod 2001

Research on New Regionalism has tended to focus on the cases of 'successful regions' (Lovering 1999, MacLeod 2001). Similar to what was suggested above by regional economic development scholars, Lovering (1999) and MacLeod (2001) argue that, to make New Regionalism more methodologically convincing, it would be worthwhile to explore the cases of some less fortunate regions. This study hopes to partially address this. The experience of collaborating as a 'less favoured region' is discussed in Chapter 5. New Regionalism is a form of regional governance and highlights the growth of the 'region' as a space of governance, which is discussed below. The term 'New Regionalism' is quite blunt as there is a substantial and nuanced literature on regions that recognizes that they are relational spaces and constructs with a complex

multiscalar institutional architecture. Literature on path dependency is useful in understanding this, and is presented below.

2.2.2 Rescaling, Multi-Level and Regional Collaborative Governance

Literature on regional economic development analysis, especially literature pertaining to New Regionalism and the process of rescaling, has tended to downplay or ignore the role of the state (Lovering 1999; Mansfield 2005; Markey 2011; Morgan 2004). This is because the devolution of power down to the regional and local scales is argued to make the national scale residual (Mansfield 2005). The idea of rescaling is directly tied to the rise of multi-level governance—that is, involvement of multiple scales of actors (local, regional, national, global) involved in the decision-making process (Gibson 2011). Therefore, while activities may physically play out at one scale, other scales are involved in the activities or are impacted by the outcome (Shucksmith 2010). Further, scales of governance, and scale more generally, are not fixed and bounded, but rather are fluid and interact in numerous ways (Jonas 2012; Mansfield 2005; Shucksmith 2010). As an example, New York State’s regional economic development council boundaries are not hard in reality, but in terms of funding allocation, only ‘North Country’ funding awards can be used in the North Country. Therefore, as Brenner (1997:157) argues “the re-scaling of the state signals not the demise of territoriality but, rather, its rearticulation and reorganization on multiple spatial scales that do not overlap evenly with one another or constitute an isomorphic, self-enclosed totality”. The premise behind the rescaling thesis is that governance and to a certain extent, power, is being transferred away from the national scale (Kneafsey 2010). If governance could be recognized on a hierarchy—and there are authors who argue it cannot be (Jonas 2012; Mansfield 2005)—this governance is being transferred ‘above’ to global and international actors, and ‘below’ to local and regional actors. This is not to be confused with a decline in the nation state as an entity (Mansfield 2005); rather,

the role of the state has merely changed to that of mediator or intermediary, rather than direct facilitator or intervener (Goldenberg 2008). Further, this does not imply that the state is irrelevant; in fact some argue that the state has an enduring role in influencing social and economic structures (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney 2006). Governance, particularly in relation to rural areas has become an important concept in response to the failure of central governments to include the interests of a multitude of regions (Gibson 2011). Henton, Melville and Walesh (2004:43) argue that governance, rather than government is a reaction to the idea that “traditional, top-town leadership styles and stovepipe government models simply do not work in the fast-paced, global economy and diverse society of today”. The outcome of this idea on agriculture is that projects are often initiated at the local or regional scale, either as bottom-up progressive actions, or top-down reactions to undesirable economic trends (Jonas 2012). Rescaling as a process is more applicable to the North Country region, as the power to make economic development decisions is being transferred from the state of New York, to regional economic development councils across the state. This is explored in Chapter 4.

In her analysis of city-region governance capacity, Nelles (2013) argues that civic capital is a crucial determining factor of governance capacity in Waterloo Region, Toronto, Rhein-Neckar and Frankfurt. Nelles (2013:1360) defines civic capital as “a set of relations that emerges from interorganizational networks tied to a specific region or locality, and contributes to the development of a common sense of community based on a shared identity, set of goals and expectations”. Nelles (2013) also further reiterates the importance of conceptualizing city-regions and regions more generally, as actors, rather than just as spaces. This is crucial since regions are becoming agents of their own development rather than just a geographic scale between the local and the national. She argues that most factors contributing to governance

capacity are tied to local actors and their commitment to each other and the idea of governance more generally. That is, “where metropolitan partnerships lack consensus, stability and consistency, they are unlikely to lead to effective metropolitan strategies or be perceived as legitimate in the eyes of other levels of government” (Nelles 2013:1351). The North Country is the positive result of this process; stakeholders have been able to come to a general consensus for what the future direction of the region should look like. On this front, it is suggested that strong horizontal partnerships and intra-regional collaboration are crucial for governance capacity and mobilization.

Capacity for city-region governance is likely to be varied across policy areas, as it is unlikely that there will be an entity that defines the region across all sectors. For instance, the North Country Regional Economic Development Council is an entity that represents the North Country, but primarily in the field of economic development; the NCREDC does not represent the interests of the North Country as it pertains to transportation or migration for example. Nelles (2013) links regional governance to neo-endogenous development by arguing that relationships between city-regions and external political scales are necessary. This is again related to the boundaries of a given city-region not lining up with political or functional boundaries. Therefore, if local actors are not supportive of city-region partnerships, governance capacity can be affected.

Leadership is an important component of the relationship between civic capital and governance, as leaders are capable of accessing bonding and bridging social capital to facilitate the development of civic capital. Nelles (2013) research findings demonstrated a dichotomy among her case sites. Waterloo Region and Rhein-Neckar exhibited strong partnerships and correspondingly high levels of civic capital. The opposite can be said for her other two case sites, Toronto and Frankfurt. In the latter case, the leaders in the regions were more interested in their

individual agendas, rather than the broader city-region agenda (Nelles 2013). Feldman and Zoller's (2012) work on social capital and the role of dealmakers in regional economic development in 12 U.S. regions further entrenches the idea that social capital is an immutable factor influencing economic development. Dealmakers are defined as "individuals with valuable social capital, who have deep fiduciary ties within regional economies and act in the role of mediating relationships, making connections and facilitating new firm formation" (Feldman and Zoller 2012:24). Dealmakers thus, as a form of champion/leader that utilizes their individual leadership capacity for the economic benefit of a firm or organization. The importance of strong leaders was a common theme in both case regions in this study.

While partnerships have become a useful tool for exercising emerging forms of governance, several problems need to be addressed. First, partnerships may not be inclusive. Marginalized groups may find it difficult to have their voices heard (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney 2006). Second, the development of partnerships may be dominated by the public sector, which is in contrast to the key aim of governance (including and even blurring the lines between public, private, and volunteer sectors). Third, partnerships may not facilitate the development of trust as readily as they breed distrust if adequate forethought and planning is not put into the beginning stages of partnership development (Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney 2006).

2.2.3 Path Dependence and Anchor Institutions

An implicit question guiding much regional development research is why do some regions develop 'successfully', while others lag behind despite their best efforts? There has been a more explicit attempt recently by researchers and policymakers alike to create a development 'checklist', a set of actions that can be followed to better ensure the success of a regional

development initiative (Feldman and Martin 2005) because these actors desire to know much more about what determines the ability of regional economies to adapt. One answer that has been suggested in the literature is the concept of path dependence. Simply put, the concept of path dependence argues that history matters in the development of regions (Feldman and Martin 2005; Martin 2007; Martin and Sunley 2006; Nelles, Bramwell and Wolfe 2005; Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch 2009). When coupled with regional economic development, path dependency also suggests that geography matters (Martin and Sunley 2006). Seminal works on path dependence include David's (1985) work on how the QWERTY keyboard became a 'locked-in' and widely accepted technology despite more recent and more efficient keyboard designs, and Arthur's (1989,1994) work on the as-of-yet not replicated innovation success of Silicon Valley. In this way, path dependence can apply to widely variable processes, from innovative technology to the development of agglomeration economies. To a certain degree, understanding the process of path dependency is an exercise in hindsight, as it is suggested that key decisions or coincidental events in the past influence the development trajectory of a region.

While a significant amount of academic literature applies the concept of path dependence to firms and organizations, Martin and Sunley (2006) argue that it is equally applicable to, but not unproblematic for, regional and local economies. As an example of the process of path dependence, Nelles, Bramwell and Wolfe (2005) suggest that the development of a high-tech cluster in Waterloo Region is linked to a strong manufacturing past, local entrepreneurship capacity and an embedded community identity. These three factors are strongly linked to the German immigrant population that originally settled the area. The importance of a regional identity was an important factor that influenced the collaborative capacity of the region.

Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch (2009) present a three-phase approach to describe the process that may lead to path dependence. First, initial events or decisions are made by involved stakeholders that, second, may develop into self-reinforcing dynamics, that third, may end in ‘lock-in’. Table 4, below summarizes the phases and characteristics of path dependence. However, these phases may be created unintentionally and cannot be forced; “these inherent self-reinforcing dynamics that eventually lead to an irreversible state of total inflexibility or lock-in. are seen as becoming increasingly systemic forces, beyond the control of the individual actor. In other words, the individual actors become entrapped in the system’s dynamics” (Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch 2009). This has led the academic literature on path dependence to suggest that path dependency cannot be forced to occur, if it is a process a region or firm wants to occur. Therefore, successes in path dependency, like Silicon Valley, are not easily replicated. However, understanding the process of path dependence as accidental or coincidental is not widespread (Martin and Sunley 2006). Therefore, Martin and Sunley (2006) argue that stakeholder driven action may be the foundation of many path dependent processes. What remains unknown however, is what events or decisions will be self-reinforcing processes, and those that will have no lasting impact on a firm or a region (Martin and Sunley 2006). The path’s themselves may also be quite diverse, therefore “no single model of path creation has universal applicability” (Martin and Sunley 2006: 428).

Table 4 Path dependence

Characteristics of Path Dependence	Phase	Characteristics
Unpredictability	Preformation Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Path has multiple possible outcomes
Nonergodicity	Formation Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less options, process is narrowing
Inflexibility	Formation Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History reinforces a set number of possible options

Inefficiency	Lock-In Phase	• Cannot adapt to new innovation options
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Adapted from: Arthur (1994), Martin (2007), Martin and Sunley (2006), Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch (2009)

In understanding path dependence, it is difficult to come to grips with the cyclical nature of the process. Each path that develops is built on paths that formed before it. As Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch (2009) allude to, there is no time zero in the process of path dependence. Further, if the “endpoint” of path dependence is possible inefficiency through lock-in, can a path be dissolved? Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch (2009) and Martin (2007) suggest that external shocks can disrupt a path to the point where a firm or region can begin to distance themselves from it. Social tensions within an organization can also lead to a similar outcome. The ability of firms or regions to intentionally create or destroy paths is still undetermined. This concept is of importance to this research as the North Country has been able to collaborate consistently at a regional level, whereas the Four Counties has preferred to collaborate at a bi-county or intra-county level, which will be explored in Chapter 5. It is argued that this is based on each region’s history or lack thereof, of a regional identity, which is predicated upon some degree of path dependence. Therefore, the North Country is more likely to collaborate at a regional level, as it has a stronger history of doing so, whereas the opposite can be said for the Four Counties.

Morgan’s (1997a,b) research on less favored regions suggests that development agencies can act as key animators of regional economic development, that is, they can play a critical role in providing the groundwork for regional economic development to take place. Safford’s (2004) research on the development trajectories of Allentown, Pennsylvania and Youngstown, Ohio suggests that there is an important role to be played by anchor institutions in the development of social capital; Youngstown lacked such an organization while Allentown has several key organizations come forward through the development process to spearhead action. As will be

shown in Chapter 5, there is a similar dichotomy present in the North Country and the Four Counties.

According to Webber and Karlström (2009:4) anchor institutions (AIs) can be defined as “institutions, that, by reason of mission, invested capital, or relationships to customers or employees, are tied to a certain location”. Cantor, Englot and Higgins (2013:22) add a temporal dimension to this spatial dimension of anchor institutions by suggesting that AIs are also likely to be those entities that endure across generations “as sources of stability as well innovation, providing jobs, stimulating cultural life, and contributing new ideas that drive economic development”. Therefore, AIs are of particular relevance to regional economic development, as both concepts deal with the importance of place. Anchor institutions are argued to have developed to fill the gap left behind by industrial collapse (Brophy and Godsil 2009; Sharpe 2008). Quintessential AIs are universities and hospitals, otherwise known as ‘eds’ and ‘meds’. These institutions are traditionally thought of as anchor institutions because their large land holdings and significant local investment mean they are unlikely to relocate elsewhere. However, AIs can also be community foundations, local governments, religious and cultural institutions, utility companies, military bases, and sports teams (Birch, Perry and Taylor Jr. 2013; Cantor, Englot and Higgins 2013; Sharpe 2008). Given this diversity, it stands to reason that the regional economic development organizations interviewed for this study could also be operating as anchor institutions in their respective regions.

The literature suggests that AIs have a role to play in enhancing the quality of life of the community it is embedded in (Brophy and Godsil 2009; Webber and Karlström 2009), by providing or creating jobs (Kauper-Brown and Seifer 2006; Webber and Karlström 2009), empowering community stakeholders (Cantor, Englot and Higgins 2006), contributing to a

vibrant cultural life (Cantor, Englot and Higgins 2006), and fostering a strong regional identity (Webber and Karlström 2009). How an anchor institution goes about achieving these goals, or contributing to these processes will depend on the institution in question: an economic development AI is likely to pursue a different strategy to an AI involved in healthcare. The literature on AIs has tended to focus on urban areas (Birch, Perry and Taylor Jr. 2013; Brophy and Godsil 2009; Cantor, Englot and Higgins 2013; Kellogg Commission 1999; and Sharpe 2008). However, Kauper-Brown and Seifer (2006) argue that the impact of AIs on rural areas may be even more pronounced as large institutions may represent a larger share of the overall workforce and capital in the region. The importance of AI to the two largely rural regions in this study has had differential outcomes, as explored in Chapter 5.

There are several factors that contribute to the success of anchor institutions. Of particular relevance to this study are the roles of strong leadership (Kauper-Brown and Seifer 2006; Kellogg Commission 1999; Webber and Karlström 2009), and a history of community engagement (Kauper-Brown and Seifer 2006; Webber and Karlström 2009). Challenges to success for AIs include the willingness of the local area to be engaged (Kauper-Brown and Seifer 2006; Webber and Karlström 2009), and the scale and size of the area the anchor institution wants to service (Webber and Karlström 2009). Influencing the development of a small town may be easier than influencing the development of a large metropolitan area. As will be shown in Chapter 5, AI and path dependence, and their joint roles in the creation of regional identity, help to explain, in part, the development trajectories taken by the North Country and the Four Counties.

2.2.4 Death of Geography

The death of geography thesis, or the death of distance, as Storper (2013) refers to it, argues that due to the processes of globalization and the rise of information communications technology, boundaries across space have become irrelevant (Morgan 2001). It is argued that increasing use of information and communications technology has led to space and time becoming compressed. In this current period (2000 to present), the rise of the region has been linked extensively to processes of globalization (MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002; Roberts, Stough and Stimson 2006; Storper 2013; Sunley 2000). Globalization has given the local and regional scales unprecedented access to the global: global financial markets, global institutions and organizations, etc. The shift away from universally applicable economic development instruments to the use of regionally specific resources, as described above in Table 1, has restored academic, public and private interest in regions as being self-sufficient units in planning for their own economic development (Amin 2000). Therefore, the so-called death of geography thesis may be unfounded, as the resurgence of regional approaches very clearly situates 'success' as being based on what is located and utilized within a region (Sunley 2000). It has been argued in the literature that the role of the state has been "hollowed out" or otherwise diminished as power has been transferred from the national scale above to supra-national entities and below to regional actors due to globalization (Bradford and Wolfe 2013; Jessop 1993; Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney 2006). Globalization in relation to economic development is argued to diminish the role that states have in controlling investment flows, thereby introducing regions to economic competition at an international level (MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman 2002). The innovation literature has much to say about face-to-face contact versus mediated interactions to facilitate collaborative innovation processes, as well as economic development. Storper (2013) in particular, suggests that global economies often allocate extensive resources to

facilitate face-to-face contact between collaborating parties, in spite of the availability of potentially more effective information communication technology. Face-to-face contact for Storper (2013) is a communication technology in and of itself that can be used to develop trust and incentives in relationships, help to screen and socialize possible collaborative partners, and can motivate collaborative effort. While this may not hold true for some kinds of face-to-face contact, it is further argued that technology may be useful as a substitute for face-to-face contact in some ways to extend the duration of relationships across time and space (Storper 2013). Both case regions have contradictory experiences with the role of technology in facilitating collaboration, as well as the impact of their rural geographies on collaboration. This will be explored more in Chapter 5.

2.2.5 Social Capital

According to Putnam (2000), our social networks are valuable. These social networks may be called upon in time of need (Woolcock 2001), and more generally are considered crucial for community development (Dale and Newman 2008). The term ‘social capital’ has made a resurgence in the academic literature in recent years in response to evidence that social capital has been declining in the United States since the 1960s (Putnam 2000, 2001). The term ‘social capital,’ however, is not new (Haifan 1916, cited in Putnam 2000). Woolcock (2001) argues that, in working towards a definition of social capital, researchers must focus on what it is, rather than what it does, or on its outcomes. Conversely, and of importance for this study, Beckley, Martz, Nadeau, Wall and Reimer (2008) suggest that because the term ‘capital’ is used, this process must include a productive outcome. The reasoning behind this addition is clear; the value of a person’s or an organization’s social capital can only be measured by how it is used and what it produces. For the purposes of this study, Wolfe’s (2002:18, emphasis added) definition of social capital is particularly salient:

Social capital refers to various features of the social organization of a region, such as the presence of shared norms and values that facilitate coordination and cooperation among individuals, firms and sectors for their mutual advantage.... The existence of social capital depends upon *the ability of people to associate with each other* and the extent to which their shared norms and values allow them *to subordinate their individual interests* to the larger interests of the community.

Wolfe (2002) highlights the importance of outlook and attitude toward collaboration for the development of the region, which was a common theme in the chosen case regions and is explored in Chapter 5. The concrete outcomes associated with these social networks are also of importance to this study. Examples of these outcomes that are of particular relevance to this study include funding for projects, as well as the implementation and completion of the projects themselves. Outcomes of these projects are also of interest to this study, including the impact on jobs, investment, new infrastructure and reduced outmigration, though measuring these outcomes is difficult.

Putnam (2000), Beckley et al. (2008), Dale and Newman (2008), Woolcock (2001), and Putnam and Goss (2002), remark that there are multiple and diverse forms of social capital including bonding, bridging, linking, formal, informal, thick, thin, inward looking, and outward looking. The three most discussed forms of social capital are bonding, bridging, and linking social capital. Definitions, uses, benefits and drawbacks of these forms of social capital are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Characteristics of common forms of social capital

	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Definition	Ties between close family, friends, neighbours within a single community	Brings people and organizations together who are connected loosely but share characteristics between different communities	Ties to powerful people organizations outside the community
Use	Maintaining a safe	Finding a job	Procurement of resources to undertake projects

	and secure neighbourhood	(exposed to contacts outside immediate circle)
Benefits	Increased ability for communities to solve problems as a unit Increased quality of governance More efficient networking within society Enhanced inter-organizational and cross-jurisdictional collaboration	
Drawbacks	Overabundance of bonding capital may impact ability of communities to adapt to changing circumstances Social links can be seen as a liability Benefits accrue only to those in the network, exclusionary Power imbalances between those who have social capital and those who do not are often overlooked	

Source: Adapted from Beckley et al. 2008, Dale and Newman 2008, Putnam 2000, 1995, Putnam and Goss 2002, Woolcock 2001

Like other forms of capital, especially financial capital, social capital does not just exist, waiting to be accumulated. Indeed, it needs to be purposefully developed, and it can easily decline or erode. Ryser and Halseth (2010) suggest there are several factors that can impact the development of social capital, including; poor quality networks, a negative local outlook towards cooperation, and unevenly distributed resources. Further, Wuthnow (2002:76) argues that social capital may decline when individuals, willingly or by necessity, “break social ties and violate social norms”.

Measurements of social capital often focus on four key areas: membership in associations, levels of trust and altruism, political participation and informal connections with neighbours and friends (Hall 2002; Putnam 2000,1995; Woolcock 2001; Wuthnow 2002). There are numerous indicators given by Hall (2002), Putnam (2001, 2000, 1995) and Wuthnow (2002) that have been used to measure rates of social capital in Great Britain and the United States, a selection of which are presented in Table 6. These indicators are not applicable to regional economic development, but to social capital measurement more broadly, at a societal level. Putnam (2001, 2000) and Hall (2002) suggest that membership in associations is a good gauge for community involvement, and that data on associations is easier to gather, given that formal associations often collect data

on their own membership. The problem with using membership in associations as a measurement for social capital is that it relies on fixed organizations, and therefore may not take into account organizations that are more informal in nature (Putnam 2000). Further, membership in certain organizations may go through cycles independent of overall community engagement. In terms of the credibility of the data gathered from this measurement, there is a difference between being a member of an association, and being actively involved in those associations activities: this difference is not generally taken into account by membership statistics (Putnam 2000).

Some forms of political participation are relatively undemanding and therefore represent the bare minimum of what a community can do to cultivate social capital (Putnam 2000). The problem with using political participation as a measure of social connectedness is two-fold. First, many political activities can be done alone (i.e. voting), thereby not fostering social connections. Second, any declines in political participation that are identified may be due to citizen fatigue with the political process. Communities may be redirecting their efforts to more informal modes of participation that are not as easily measured as voter turnout, or attendance at a political rally (Putnam 2000).

Trust, altruism and reciprocity are understood to be foundations of social capital (Putnam 2000). Wuthnow (2002) argues that social trust is a critical element of social capital: if people are willing to trust their neighbours, it likely means they know their neighbours well enough to do so. These cultivated informal connections with neighbours and friends can be innocuous. However, even the smallest effort in this area can have cumulative social impacts (Hall 2002; Putnam 2000). Hall (2002) suggests that researchers have traditionally neglected quantifying these kinds of interactions, as they are much harder to measure. However, Hall (2002) recommends time-budget studies as useful tools for measuring these kinds of informal

connections, while Putnam (2001) argues that the systematic surveys conducted by commercial marketing firms (e.g. DDB Needham) are excellent data repositories for these activities.

Table 6: Common indicators for measuring various dimensions of social capital

Common Indicators for measuring social capital	
Membership in associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average weekly church attendance as a fraction of adult population
Political participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of people who attended a political rally or speech in the past year
Levels of trust and altruism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of times a person volunteers per year
Informal connections with neighbours and friends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Percentage of adults who engaged in social activities at least once in the past month (dinner, movies, sports events, etc.)

Source: Adapted from Putnam 2000

Woolcock (2001) stresses that qualitative measures of social capital are equally as important as quantitative statistics, such as those presented above, to measure social capital. This is because “it is something of a contradiction in terms to argue that universal measures can be used to capture local idiosyncratic realities” (Woolcock 2001:15). Therefore, he argues that survey data needs to be collected in conjunction with interviews to grasp the entire social capital situation of an area. Other purported benefits of social capital—more efficient networking within society (Dale and Newman 2008), increased quality of governance (Putnam 1995), decreased crime rates, and generally increased human happiness (Putnam and Goss 2002)—are not expected to be common themes from the interviews, as these benefits occur at a higher and more general societal level than the regional initiatives under study.

Safford’s (2004) research on Allentown, Pennsylvania and Youngstown, Ohio demonstrates clearly the impact developed and underdeveloped networks of social capital affect economic development. Despite being historically similar in an economic sense, Allentown has succeeded in riding out their rust-belt decline, why Youngstown has not fared so positively: “in

Allentown, civic relationships tied actors who were not otherwise economically connected while in Youngstown civic ties compounded connections among actors who were already economically well connected” (Safford 2004:3). Therefore, while Safford (2004) does not explicitly use the common social capital language, it seems clear that Allentown was better able to access bridging capital, while Youngstown’s strong stocks of bonding capital limited their development options in terms of mobilizing key organizational actors.

Putnam’s (2001, 2000) understanding of social capital has been criticized for smoothing over real conflicts among communities (Safford 2004). While Putnam’s (2001, 2000) conception of social capital has often focused on the importance of network density, Safford’s (2004) comparative case study approach argues that network density can be constraining rather than enabling for communities in times of crisis.

Saxenian (1996) employs a comparative approach to explore the differential development trajectories of California’s Silicon Valley and Massachusetts’ Route 128. She rejects the notion of ‘external economies’, which place hard boundaries on what is inside and outside an economy, and instead recommends taking a network approach to better understand how firms, social structures and institutions overlap and interact in place. Similar to the dichotomy discovered by Safford (2004), Saxenian (1996) finds that Silicon Valley has repeatedly rebounded in the face of economic crisis, while Route 128 has not adapted as well. This is linked to Silicon Valley’s horizontal ties between organizations that facilitate information sharing and innovation creation, and Route 128’s more closed off and secretive corporate environment where information is more likely to move vertically. There is also a path dependency lesson to be learned here, Route 128 was ‘locked-in’ into inefficient and outdated technology coupled with a self-reliant attitude that constrained their adaptability (Saxenian 1996).

The applicability of social capital to this study on regional economic development and collaboration is well illustrated by work done by Putnam (2000) on regional governments established in Italy in the 1970s. The established 20 regional governments were the same in form, but had vastly different social, economic and cultural contexts. Their performance was also vastly different: “some of the new governments proved to be dismal failures—inefficient, lethargic, and corrupt. Others were remarkably successful” (Putnam 2000:345). Putnam’s (2000:345) explanation for this difference was simple “strong traditions of civic engagement...were the hallmarks of a successful region”. Further, MacLeod (2001) argues that a region’s competitive advantage is often linked to how it operates its civil society. Social capital is argued to be a necessary condition for community development by Dale and Newman (2008), as a number of challenges facing communities and sectors today cannot be addressed in a geographically or sectorally isolated manner. The same could be said for the rise in use of collaboration for economic development initiatives. The success of regional organizations in the chosen case regions is therefore strongly predicated upon their stock of social capital and their ability to utilize it. The usefulness of social capital for collaboration, as well as the impact of the lack of social capital on collaboration in the case regions is discussed in Chapter 5.

2.2.6 Collaboration

The link between collaboration and economic development is made clear by Lee, Feiock and Lee (2011:254) who argue, “economic development is an ideal policy arena for examining how the perceptions and motivations of local officials ultimately determine overall patterns of collaborative arrangements”. An increase in interest in, and use of, collaboration in economic development initiatives can be attributed to several factors. Huxham (1996) suggests that, until recently, an organization’s motivations to collaborate may have been threefold: financial (being unable to afford projects alone); self interest (to complete projects that they could not complete

on their own); and moral (many societal issues cannot be solved by any one organization on its own). More recently, however, Huxham (1996) has suggested that different levels of government are increasingly requiring collaboration. This is certainly the case in the North Country region, as discussed in Chapter 4. Gray (1996:58) and Himmelman (1996:24) argue that increased collaboration is often a response to “turbulent conditions” or “leaner ‘economic necessities’”. Examples of turbulent conditions that may necessitate inter-organizational and cross-sectoral collaboration include changes in the global economy and technology; increasing global interdependence; and decreased state funding for a number of projects and programs (Gray 1996). Similar to Huxham (1996), Gray (1996) suggests that inter-organizational collaborations are often motivated by a similar vision, or by a shared conflict that needs to be resolved. Hooghe and Marks (2001) argue that collaboration is a necessity because many policies have positive and negative overflow effects external to their region of origin.

As with the other concepts explored in this literature review, there is diversity in the way that collaboration is understood (Huxham 1996). These understandings range from the very general, as in the case of Huxham (1993) who suggests that collaboration involves working together, to activity focused definitions such as those provided by Lee, et al. (2011) and Gray (1989) who argue that collaboration can be defined as a problem solving process; to the extremely specific and detailed as in the case of Himmelman (1996). Himmelman (1996) distinguishes between four kinds of relationship strategies that organizations can utilize: networking, coordination, cooperation and collaboration. Table 7 displays the characteristics of each type of relationships strategy, with differences between the strategies italicized. Collaboration, in this continuum, is the highest level of relationship strategy that can be utilized by organizations and is therefore the most complex. Benefits, and barriers to collaboration can be

seen in Table 8. In theory these categories are clearly defined. In practice, however, the boundaries between each category become blurred. It is unrealistic to use this continuum as a checklist to define whether or not an organization or region is “collaborating”, or really only “cooperating”. The boundaries between these categories are more nuanced and fluid than Himmelman (1996) presents them.

Table 7: Himmelman's continuum

Relationship Strategy	Characteristics
Collaboration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchanging information • Altering activities • Sharing resources • <i>Enhancing the capacity of another</i> • For mutual benefit and to achieve a common purpose
Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchanging information • Altering activities • <i>Sharing resources</i> • For mutual benefit and to achieve a common purpose
Coordination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchanging information • <i>Altering activities</i> • For mutual benefit and <i>to achieve a common purpose</i>
Networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exchanging information for mutual benefit

Source: Adapted from Himmelman (1996)

Table 8: Characteristics of collaboration

Tangible Benefits (economic/concrete)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Can help address diverse issues, widely adoptable Allows organizations to share resources Lower costs for problem solving More effective changes and solutions to problems
Nontangible Benefits (social)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mutual learning Value creation Enhanced relationship between stakeholders Increased reciprocity
Barriers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local government outlook and relative power can hamper desire to collaborate Time, financial and geographic investments associated with collaborating

Source: Adapted from Ansell and Gash 2007, Gray 1996, Himmelman 1996, Huxham 1993,1996, Lee et al. 2011, Murdoch 2000, Sharma and Kearins 2011

The impact of time, travel and distance on collaboration are of particular relevance for this study, as the regions analyzed are geographically vast, and sparsely populated. Therefore, how

these proposed barriers are handled in these two case regions will provide insight on how collaboration in economic development can be best facilitated in other rural areas. Further, while Murdoch (2000) mirrors the concerns about the role that geography plays in collaboration, he suggests that new technologies can help ameliorate the effects to a certain extent, but cautions that space and time cannot be ignored merely because of the prominence and rise of the role of technology.

As argued by Sharma and Kearins (2011:175), collaboration can be evaluated in one of two ways: using ‘process indicators’ or ‘outcome indicators’. Process indicators relate to social components of collaboration such as trust. Outcome indicators relate to more traditional and tangible performance components of collaboration. For the purposes of this study, collaborations will be deemed successful based on tangible outputs such as implemented projects and granted funding and non-tangible outcomes like enhanced relationship building across the regions, and the creation of social capital. It will be demonstrated in Chapter 5 that social factors are often the strongest determinants of a successful collaboration in economic terms. That is, if collaboration is proceeding well socially, it is more likely that a positive outcome is possible. Given the challenges inherent in undertaking collaboration, benefits of not collaborating, in relation to the Four Counties region, are discussed in Chapter 5.

2.3 Key Themes in Agriculture

2.3.1 Selling the Locale versus Feeding the Locals

In her analysis of local food projects in Niagara, Ontario, Eaton (2008), discerned a shift in policy that led the region to transition from ‘feeding the locals’ to ‘selling the locale’. Eaton (2008) argues that ‘feeding the locals’ is a process whereby there is an attempt to connect local people with local food. Conversely, ‘selling the locale’, results in local food products being

marketed to elite tourists, as part of an agri-tourism strategy (Eaton 2008). The North Country and the Four Counties were involved in both ‘feeding the locals’ and ‘selling the locale’. Despite Eaton’s (2008) argument that feeding the locals is a more worthwhile investment, I argue that neither approach is better or more appropriate; they are both equally valid strategies for a region to pursue. Which approach is pursued will depend on the context, and most importantly, the needs of the region. Eaton’s (2008) argument against ‘selling the locale’ is linked to a wider analysis of increasingly neoliberal economic environments that privilege tourists over the ‘locals’. This concern is of less relevance to this study, as either approach may foster economic development in the case regions.

2.3.2 The ‘Region’ in Local Food Systems

Kneafsey (2010) suggests that ‘regional’ has not been employed as frequently as ‘local’ in the food system literature, and therefore has been subject to less scrutiny. It is argued that this is because “the predominance of work on local foods may reflect a tendency for place-based movements to be physically constructed within spaces that are popularly understood, experienced and represented as local, such as cities, towns, etc.,” (Kneafsey 2010:178-179). Despite this gap in the literature, regional food systems are quickly being understood as responses to consumer fears and distrust of food. Moreover, the economic benefits that can accrue from re-embedding and the re-spatializing food production and consumption are being increasingly recognized (Wiskereke 2009). The case region’s experience of defining the ‘local’ in their food systems is discussed in Chapter 5.

Kneafsey (2010) raises another interesting point related to definitional problems of the ‘region’ concept in relation to agriculture in a policy environment. Defining the region becomes a question of scale, and ‘regional’ has been applied ambiguously to represent varying geographic

scales. In Lang, Barling, and Caraher (2009), examples are provided of food-policy initiatives at the following scales: global, regional, national and local. Europe-wide initiatives are termed as ‘regional’, while initiatives in the United Kingdom are categorized as ‘national’. Finally, food policy initiatives in Canada, England and Scotland, are understood as ‘local’. This study understands ‘regional’ as being situated between the global and the national in a geographic hierarchy. However, this is not a universal understanding as Kneafsey (2010:179) suggests, “in this case, region again has little to do with geographical size but is used as a relational construct to distinguish multiple levels of food governance”.

The ‘death of geography’ thesis increasingly is also related to agriculture through spaces of production becoming interchangeable (Wiskerke 2009). This process is linked to the disconnecting, disembedding and disentwining of production that are the hallmarks of the conventional agriculture system (Wiskerke 2009). The organizations interviewed for this study focus on connecting food from their regions with consumers in their region, thereby helping to reconnect producers and consumers and re-embed food production spatially.

The above literature will be reintroduced in the later chapters of this thesis, in relation to the objectives of this study. To reiterate, the objectives of this study are:

1. to determine the extent to which regional organizations that promote agriculture and economic development are collaborating;
2. to establish whether organizations are collaborating successfully (attaining funding, implementing projects and fostering creation of social capital);
3. to uncover factors that contribute to successful collaboration processes;
4. to identify barriers to successful collaboration;
5. to provide recommendations to enhance the regional collaboration process.

3 Research Design and Methodology

3.1 The Case Study Approach

3.1.1 Strengths of the Case Study Approach

As case study methodology lends itself well to the study of a bounded area, it has been popular in studies researching the manifestation of certain phenomena in different places (Yin 2009). The case regions under study are considered bounded by the regional organizations operating within them. It has been argued that, “the essence of a case study...is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions; why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result” (Schramm 1971; as quoted in Yin 2009:17). Further, according to Yin (2009), case studies are particularly well suited to research that is investigating a how or why question about contemporary events that the researcher has very little control over.

Based on these criteria, a case study approach was very well suited to this study, as it aims to address all of the above concerns in relation to contemporary regional collaboration initiatives for economic development and in agriculture, over which I have no control. Another interesting dimension that makes a case study approach a good choice for this study is the “long tradition in human geography that emphasizes how phenomena may present very differently from one case to the next because of the place itself” (Baxter 2010:92). Therefore, in terms of the specific type of case study to be conducted, a spatial comparative analysis is useful in addressing the research objectives.

3.1.2 Challenges and Limitations of the Case Study Approach

As with any method, the case study approach has weaknesses. This approach has been heavily criticized for its supposed lack of rigour, lack of generalizability, and researcher bias (Diefenbach 2009; Flyvbjerg 2006; Stake 2005; Yin 2009). Some of these concerns are resolved by using a comparative case study approach (Gertler 2010), as such an approach allows cross-

comparison of results.

One response to the case study's approach is that there are fewer methodological texts available for step-by-step 'guides' on how to conduct a case study (Yin 2009). Further, many researchers who do case study research believe it to be an easy method to master, which is inaccurate (Yin 2009). Other arguments about lack of rigour are based on a positivist understanding of research (Diefenbach 2009). Diefenbach's (2009:877) critique and subsequent defense of the case study method focuses on specific parts of the research process, such as the tendency of "redefining the original research problem, question, and/or hypothesis during the research process." Further, it is argued that sites are selected based on convenience, rather than purposive sampling, with the same being said for the selection of interviewees (Diefenbach 2009). These arguments are only valid if statistical generalization is a part of the research design, which is not often the case in qualitative research projects. Though there may be an argument for systemization to allow results to be replicated, statistical generalization is not realistic in real world research. Using the research guide designed for the broader EREDI project helps to ensure this study's findings are broadly similar to the findings from the other case regions.

Arguments for a lack of generalizability of case studies are often based around the question, how can you make a generalization from one case (Yin 2009)? However, the same can be said about generalizing from a single scientific experiment. Therefore Yin (2009:15) argues, "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes." A distinction must also be made between analytic generalization (which is more often the point of case study research) and statistical generalization (which is not). This lack of generalization is often extrapolated to mean that case study research cannot contribute to scientific development (Flyvbjerg 2006). However, as Flyvbjerg (2006) argues,

formal generalization is overrated as a measure of progress in the scientific community, and is only one of many ways to produce and accumulate knowledge. Therefore, “the purpose of the case report is not to represent the world, but to represent the case” (Stake 2005:460).

A common criticism of many qualitative research methods is that the process and the results often reflect too much of the preconceptions and biases of the researcher (Diefenbach 2009; Flyvbjerg 2006). While bias in research, any research, is unavoidable, the impact of it on the validity of research results can be mitigated through researcher reflexivity. For this study, I continuously addressed my assumptions and preconceptions in relation to the interviews I was conducting and the questions I was asking.

3.2 Case Study Selection Process

Document analysis was used as a preliminary method, prior to interviews being conducted. The purpose of this was to validate the sites for selection by looking at economic development plans for the regions. This process was conducted to determine whether or not the sites fit the team and personal criteria laid out below. Based on an Internet search using a combination of keywords, several key documents were found that suggested the proposed sites were involved in regional economic development initiatives in their respective regions. These reports were also useful in relation to interview responses. Analysis of regional organization documents in both case regions supplemented and contextualized what was learned from the interviews.

As documents, these economic development reports are a concrete snapshot in time of a region’s intentions in that field. When placed against the interview responses, the reports highlight how economic development plans in the area have or have not changed over time. The differences between the plans (that represent the past), and the interviews (that represent the

present) were crucial in identifying the factors that have led to success or failure, challenges in cross-jurisdictional collaboration.

The cases were selected with combined input from my thesis supervisor, committee member, and broader advisory committee for the EREDI project. The selection of cases was based on criteria provided at the team-wide level, as well as my own personal criteria. The case selection criteria for the EREDI project are as follows:

- A case/region must include at least three political jurisdictions
- A case/region must have an urban-rural population mix
- A case/region must have an established economic development organization
- A case/specific initiative must have been established for at least two years

In addition to these project-wide criteria, I added one criterion: that the selected regions be pursuing a multi-sectoral economic development strategy that included agriculture. Based on the above six criteria, and input from the above individuals, the cases selected for this study were the Four Counties region of southwestern Ontario, and the North Country region of upstate New York.

3.3 Definition and Scope of Case Study Subject

The purpose of using a case study approach for this study was to explore the manifestation of regional development initiatives in the selected case sites to determine if and how unique place-based characteristics affect regional collaboration. This approach was chosen to allow for a comparison between the two selected regions. It should be noted that a pilot case study was not conducted prior to the beginning of this research because the interview questions had already been tested in other sites by other researchers in the EREDI project.

Hardwick (2009) presents multiple types of case studies; collective, descriptive, explanatory, exploratory, and intrinsic. Based on these categories, a collective case study best

describes the larger EREDI research project, as it is “the study of a group of interrelated case studies conducted by a single scholar or several researchers working collaboratively. Data from more than one site are often gathered, analyzed, and synthesized using a comparative method of analysis” (Hardwick 2009:441). Further, as this project entailed more than one case site and therefore more than one case study, this research can also be categorized as a multiple case design rather than a single case design (Yin 2009). The one key reason to use a multiple case design is because findings from such an approach are often more robust and more convincing than single case designs (Yin 2009).

3.4 Semi-structured Interviews

3.4.1 Strengths of Semi-Structured Interviews

It has been suggested that interviews are the most important source of evidence in a case study approach (Yin 2009). Dunn (2010) and Longhurst (2009) are almost unanimous as to the strengths that semi-structured interviews have as a method. Firstly, the method is unique in its ability to capture complex behaviours, something that a questionnaire could not easily do because of its rigid structure (Dunn 2010; Longhurst 2009). Second, semi-structured interviews allow for a variety of opinions to be collected. While they can give insight into debates, they may also reveal consensus or similar opinions (Dunn 2010; Longhurst 2009). Thirdly, as was illustrated in the first round of research for the EREDI project, most interviewees are forthcoming and genuinely want to be helpful. Another strength of this kind of interview as opposed to structured interviews is that it provides respondents the opportunity to raise issues that the interviewer may not have considered (Dunn 2010; Valentine 2005). For example, the interview guide did not contain questions that would have been useful for interviewing agricultural organizations specifically. However, because of the semi-structured nature of the interview guide, questions could be added that may have been more relevant for these

interviewees than the economic development interviewees. A common question that was asked to only the agricultural interviewees was “do you consider the work you do (in the agricultural sphere), to be economic development?”

3.4.2 Challenges and Limitations of Semi-Structured Interviews

Despite the numerous benefits of using semi-structured interviews as a research method, it has been criticized heavily and does have several weaknesses. The weaknesses of this method will be discussed first, as they deal with the more technical nature of conducting interviews. Criticisms will be discussed last and are similar to the criticisms of case study methodology and include lack of rigour in the interview process, interviewer bias, and interviewee bias.

Diefenbach’s (2009) concern with a lack of systematic case selection holds true for the selection of interviewees. It is argued that the interviewees that are selected are not representative of any particular population. However, in qualitative research, the aim is to have an illustrative sample, rather than a representative one (Valentine 2005). Of particular importance to this study is the idea that choosing interviewees is a part of organizational politics (Diefenbach 2009). The selection of interviewees for this study entailed relying on influential people who worked for the organizations located in the selected case regions.

Since I selected the interviewees for this study project, the resulting interview data have a unique positionality because “the interviewer is a person, historically, and contextually located, carrying unavoidable conscious and unconscious motives, desires, feelings, and biases,” (Fontana and Frey 2005:696). This is seen as a major drawback to interview methodology: the interviewer can never separate themselves from the interview process, nor can they distance themselves from their politics of their personal selves. In other words, interviewers cannot be

‘objective’ (Valentine 2005). Qualitative researchers have come to terms with this criticism by suggesting that there is no such thing as objectivity in social science research (Valentine 2005).

To mitigate the impact of positionality on interviews, researchers should treat their interviewees as human beings, and not objects from whom to extract information (Valentine 2005). Reflexivity also becomes important and is defined as a “self-critical sympathetic introspection and self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as researcher” (Valentine 2005:513). I have a much better grasp of reflexivity in relation to the specific interview process, rather than the broader case study approach. I was aware of my gender and socio-economic status, among other personal variables in relation to my interviewees and the case study area more generally. Due to the telephone methodology used for this study, the race and age of the interviewees were less visible than they would have been if in person interviews had been conducted. In terms of the interview design, I had no role in the construction of the interview guide and questions, though specific questions may have been included or excluded based on the tone of any given interview. As an illustrative example, questions pertaining to urban/rural relationships were often dropped from later interviews, as early interviewees did not understand their region as having a significant urban population to cause urban/rural tensions. As another example, some of the interviewees gave very detailed and lengthy answers, meaning that many questions went unasked, while other interviewees gave very concise and short answers that led to more questions from the interview guide being addressed. It was considered respectful to the interviewee and important for consistency that interviews were no more than one hour in most instances.

To be able to conduct semi-structured interviews, often understood as a dialogue rather than an interrogation (Valentine 2005), the researcher must ‘give’ part of themselves to the

interviewee and the interview. This is also known as intersubjectivity (Cloke, Cook, Crang, Goodwin, Painter, Philo 2004). Part of the validity for this argument comes from the need to establish rapport with interviewees. Therefore, having a similar background to an interviewee can result in a more positive interview experience (Valentine 2005). In some cases, personal details need to be given as an icebreaker to establish rapport, as detailed by Petty in Jones, Petty, Schultz, Sharpless and Walker (2010), in her discussion of what personal qualities ultimately make a difference in interviewing individuals of a different ethnicity.

Yin (2009) argues that interviews can be weak sources of evidence from an interviewee point of view due to poorly asked questions, interviewee response bias, poor recall and targeted answering. Diefenbach (2009) broadens response bias to include conscious and unconscious bias. The concept of conscious bias argues that interviewees can mislead the interviewer deliberately and for a number of reasons. This is seen as a reason to construe interviews as an unreliable source of information. On the contrary however, why interviewees are misleading or even lying to researchers can be interesting and lead to fruitful lines of inquiry. Tied to this argument is the problem of socially accepted answering also known as tactical answering (Diefenbach 2009). Interviewees, just like interviewers, have particular backgrounds and are embedded in particular social systems that will influence their responses. It can be interesting to understand the dominant ideology that is influencing responses. However, to increase the quality of the research and to some extent rigour, increasing the number of interviews that are conducted is necessary (Diefenbach 2009). However, there is no formula for determining how many interviews are sufficient for any given project, and increasing the number of interviews does not necessarily increase methodological validity (Diefenbach 2009). Therefore, interviews and interview responses cannot be construed as the objective 'truth' (Dunn 2010; Fontana and Frey 2005;

Longhurst 2009). Therefore, interviews are better understood as social interactions rather than as a data collection tool (Diefenbach 2009). The issue of saturation is useful for indicating when a researcher has undertaken enough interviews. However, given the geography of the case sites, and this project, the number of interviews completed was dictated, in part, by the number of political jurisdictions in each case study area.

Bias in terms of poorly articulated questions is influenced by the experience and skill of the interviewer. It is considered important to thoroughly understand the interview guide so as to not break the flow of the conversation (Longhurst 2009). This is something I struggled with for the first few interviews before I became comfortable with the flow of the interview guide. Poorly articulated questions, therefore, can have a profound effect on interviewee responses for a number of reasons. Firstly, not asking a question properly can lead to an incorrect response in the sense that the question, and therefore the expectation of the answer, can be misunderstood. Secondly, having to break the flow of the interview to look at the interview guide can fluster the interviewee, or the interviewer causing them to lose their train of thought and therefore any important information contained within it. This second concern is less relevant to this study, as the majority of interviews were conducted via telephone.

Poor recall is an unavoidable part of the interview method. Interviewees are only human and are therefore subject to poor recollection. This study is most interested in relatively contemporary events (one to five years old), so this was not a major concern. It was also important to compare interview responses with other sources of evidence, such as documents and texts, as explained above. This approach is often called triangulation, using multiple methods to come to similar conclusions.

3.4.3 Strengths, Challenges and Limitations of Telephone Interviews

Due to geographic and transportation constraints, the majority of interviews conducted for this study were via telephone and/or Skype. The Skype interviews consisted of audio only.

Telephone interviewing has traditionally not been a major component of qualitative research due to concern about the quality of the resulting data. However, recent work suggests that telephone interviews are a worthwhile mode of data collection (Harvey 2011; Holt 2010; Irvine, Drew and Sainsbury 2012; Stephens 2007; Sturges and Hanrahan 2004). In particular, recent work comparing interview modes reveals that while there are different challenges associated with face-to-face and telephone interviews, there is no noticeable decrease in data quality between modes (Irvine et al. 2012; Stephens 2007; Sturges and Hanrahan 2004).

One of the most common criticisms or drawbacks associated with telephone interviewing is the lack of visual cues that, among other things, is argued to influence the establishment of rapport between the participant and the researcher (Harvey 2011; Holt 2010; Irvine et al. 2012; Stephens 2007; Trier-Bieniek 2012). However, it is important to remember that face-to-face interviews do not guarantee a positive rapport (Trier-Bieniek 2012). In Trier-Bieniek's (2012) work, a more conscious effort had to be made by the researcher to build rapport, when telephone interviewing was used. Further, Stephens (2007) reports that his telephone interviews with elites and ultra-elites on the topic of macroeconomics, achieved a similar rapport to his face-to-face interviews. As is suggested by Holt (2010), while the researcher does need to make up for the lack of physical presence in a telephone interview, it is not impossible to do so. Common tactics for establishing rapport in the conducted telephone interview included giving participants the opportunity to ask any questions they may have had both at the beginning and end of the interview (Trier-Bieniek 2012). This opportunity was provided to all interviewees for this study.

Due to the lack of visual cues in telephone interviewing, several authors suggest that researchers need to apply “less frequent but more directive shaping” (Stephens 2007:211), in order to keep the conversation on track (Holt 2010). Coupled with this is the need for increased articulation on both the part of the researcher as well as on the part of the participant by virtue of telephone technology (Holt 2010; Irvine et al. 2012; Trier-Bieniek 2012). Such “intense listening practices” (Trier-Bieniek 2012:636) resulted in a much more rich and detailed data set for Holt (2010), than may have been expected. Further, in Sturges and Hanrahan’s (2004) work on the experience of prison inmate visitors suggests that having to rely only on audio data allowed the interviewer to remain focused on the responses of the interviewee.

The lack of visual cues also means that there is a lack of contextual data to describe the participants (age, ethnicity, physical appearance, etc.). While this is understood by some to be a weakness of this method (Harvey 2011), I suggest, as does the literature, that this physical anonymity helps to neutralize differences between the researcher and the participant (Trier-Bieniek 2012). Holt (2010) suggests that her use of this mode silenced her own whiteness, as she did not disclose it to her participants. The same was true for one of her participants, as their ethnicity was only disclosed in a follow-up questionnaire. Dunn (2010) argues that the telephone, in its ability to conceal contextual characteristics of the participant and the researchers, created a level-playing field where certain power gaps do not have to be negotiated, for in the context of this mode, they were not visible. Another positive impact of this mode of interviewing is reduced interviewer effects (Dunn 2010; Stephen 2007).

When a person is interviewed, they are not doing their everyday activities. An interview is a formal data-gathering process. This formality, and the unusual discursive style of an interview, can have an influence on what an informant says and how they say it. This is one example of an interviewer effect. There could also

be effects that flow from the demeanor, dress, accent, and physiology of an interviewer (Dunn 2010:378-379).

While some would argue that telephone interviewing is not a ‘natural’ encounter (Irvine et al. 2012), the increased use of telephone and other virtual technologies commends the use of this method in specific settings (Trier-Bieniek 2012). Therefore, this mode of interviewing is particularly well suited for participants involved in business activities (such as the ones interviewed for this study), in which the use of such technology is a comfortable and everyday occurrence (Holt 2010).

There are also several proposed advantages to telephone interviewing that made it particularly attractive to this study project. The most important benefits of this mode were its time and cost efficiency (Dunn 2010). Specifically, this method is useful for overcoming spatial, as well as temporal challenges (Harvey 2011; Holt 2010; Irvine et al. 2012; Stephens 2007; Sturges and Hanrahan 2004; Trier-Bieniek 2012). As one of the case sites for this study was outside Canada, this interviewing mode provided easier access to participants that I would not have had access to otherwise (Sturges and Hanrahan 2004; Trier-Bieniek 2012). The flexibility of this method also allowed participants to schedule an interview when and where it was appropriate for them and allowed them to reschedule more easily (as occurred in several instances), and more last minute than would have been possible for face-to-face interviews (Holt 2010; Trier-Bieniek 2012). This gave participants more control over the research process than would have been the case otherwise. Along these lines, both the interviewee and myself had greater control over our individual environments during the interview, which may have aided in comfort, creating a more streamlined and enjoyable interview experience (Holt 2010; Stephens 2007; Trier-Bieniek 2012).

3.5 Participant Identification, Selection and Recruitment Process

The method used for recruiting participants was a mixture of snowball sampling and cold calling (emailing in this case), rather than via a questionnaire, or gatekeepers (Valentine 2005). It was crucial to have multiple primary contact points at the beginning of the sampling process, to ensure a diversity of opinions was collected (Cloke et al. 2004), which is why cold emailing was also a valuable recruitment method. Through research on the economic development organizations located in the selected case sites, a preliminary list of possible interviewees was created. Due to the geographic nature of this study, participants were selected based on their representation of the different counties in each region. Therefore, participants were selected to represent each of the 11 counties covering each region (four in the Four Counties, and seven in the North Country). While every effort was made to contact all potential interviewees in each county, it was not possible to interview a representative from an organization or person from every county. Qualitative, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with representatives from business, community and government organizations involved in the selected regional development initiatives. The interviews explored key success or failure factors, barriers to cooperation between different organizations and communities, and challenges in implementing regional development initiatives. The original interview guide for this study was based on the interview guide used by Vinodrai, et al. (2012). The EREDI project team in consultation with OMAFRA representatives developed subsequent drafts of the final interview guide used for this research. The structure of the final interview guide was changed to enhance interview flow, and moved from the micro level (individual organization), to the macro level (regional level). Efforts were made to include representatives from all organizations participating in the specific regional development initiatives in the case sites. However, it became clear by the end of the interview process that certain categories of stakeholders were not interviewed, thereby

creating gaps in this research. This and other limitations of the study are presented in Chapter 6. For this study this entailed interviewing representatives from broader level economic development organizations, as well as specific agriculture organizations. Representatives of the former were often able to help identify key contacts in the latter. Methodological limitations are addressed in Chapter 6.

Potential interviewees were contacted via email based on a first contact email template, with an introductory letter and consent form attached for review. These documents are presented in Appendices Two, Three, and Four. If an interviewee was non-responsive, requests were resent every month for three months to account for vacation, illness and other unforeseeable circumstances that would have made potential interviewees unavailable. If an interviewee remained non-responsive, they were deemed to have declined to be interviewed for this study. Of the 65 individuals contacted for interviews, 35 consented. Therefore, the total response rate was 54%. The response rate for the North Country was 50%, while the response rate for the Four Counties was 57%. Every month, new interviewees were contacted based on recommendations from previous interviewees and further research into key contacts in the case regions. An appreciation letter was sent to interviewees within one week of completing the interview. This document is presented in Appendix Five.

The interview guide that was used is presented in Appendix One. As the interview guide demonstrates, the questions are related to the structure of organizations and the nature of the collaboration between entities in each region. Interviews were conducted over a five-month period, from June 2013 to October 2013. Table 9 provides a categorization of the specific organizations interviewed. Interviews ranged in length from 12 minutes to 90 minutes, with the average interview lasting 48 minutes. Nineteen of the interviewees were male, and 16 were

female. To ensure interviewee anonymity for ethics and confidentiality reasons, interviewees were assigned a three or four digit code based on the region they were from and the order in which they were interviewed. For example, FC1 was the first person to be interviewed in the Four Counties region. In the North Country, interviewees are numbered from NC1 to NC15, while the Four Counties interviewees are numbered from FC1 to FC19.

Table 9: Types of organizations interviewed

Type of Organization/ Institution	Number of North Country Region Participants	Number of Four Counties Region Participants
Government Institutions and Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ St. Lawrence County Planning Department ○ Lewis County Department of Economic Development and Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Perth County Economic Development ○ Huron County Planning and Development Department ○ Bruce County Planning and Economic Development ○ Grey County Economic Development
Municipal Economic Development Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Watertown Local Development Corporation 	
County Economic Development Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Jefferson County Industrial Development Agency ○ The Development Corporation ○ Franklin County Industrial Development Agency ○ Cornell Cooperative Extension-Franklin County 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Huron Business Development Corporation ○ Perth Community Futures ○ Saugeen Economic Development Corporation
Regional Economic Development Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Northern New York Agricultural Development Program ○ Adirondack North Country Association ○ Development Authority of the North Country ○ North Country Alliance ○ North Country Chamber of Commerce ○ Cornell Cooperative Extension Association of Northern New York ○ North Country Regional Economic Development Council 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Grey-Bruce Economic Development Partnership ○ Southwest Economic Alliance ○ Western Ontario Warden’s Caucus ○ Four Country Labour Market Planning Board ○ Regional Tourism Organization 7 ○ Ontario Not for Profit Network: Rural Social Enterprise Constellation
Entrepreneurial		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Huron Small Business Enterprise

Development Support Organizations		Centre
Foundations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ GardenShare ○ United Helpers Inc. ○ Adirondack Harvest 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The Local Community Food Centre ○ Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership ○ Center for Sustainable Food Systems ○ Foodlink Grey-Bruce
Total Interviews	15	20

In total, 35 interviews were conducted, with 35 interviewees. A smaller subset of interviews was conducted with organizations involved specifically with agriculture. Nine interviews were conducted pertaining to eight agriculture organizations. One interviewee from the North Country opted to complete the interview via email. The other 14 interviews for the North Country were conducted by telephone via Skype for recording purposes. One interview from the Four Counties was conducted in person. This interview was recorded verbatim. Three interviews from the Four Counties were conducted by telephone, not via Skype, due to technical difficulties and were therefore not recorded verbatim. Detailed notes were taken in these instances. The other sixteen interviews from the Four Counties were conducted by telephone via Skype. Therefore, 31 interviews were recorded and were transcribed using a combination of ExpressScribe and Dragon Dictate. All 35 interview transcripts or detailed notes were then coded using thematic coding analysis. Two kinds of codes were utilized through this process: open codes and axial codes. Open codes are those that came up in the interviews, which were not predetermined by the researcher (Cope 2009). Open codes that came up through this study included: attitude, Canadian connection, location/geography, and role of higher education. Axial codes are those that are predetermined by the researcher and relate more clearly to the defined objectives or research question of the project (Cope 2009). Examples of axial codes used for this study included: challenges/barriers, extent of collaboration, and success factors. The coding

software 'HyperRESEARCH' was used to code the transcribed interviews. The codes used are presented in Appendix Six and were developed based on key wording from the interview guide and interviewee responses. HyperRESEARCH was used for the first round of coding, with subsequent rounds being coded by hand. Analyzing the interview data in conjunction with the themes identified in the literature review derived the themes discussed in Chapter 5.

4 Case Study Overview

4.1 Overview of the North Country Region

As shown in Figure 1, the North Country covers the northernmost tip of the state of New York and borders the regions of Central New York, Mohawk Valley and the Capital region, all to the south (New York State n.d.). The North Country borders parts of Ontario as well as part of Quebec, to the north and northwest.

Figure 1: Map of the North Country region



Credit: Anna Kramer

It is the largest region in New York State by size, 29,531 km², yet is also the least densely populated (14 people/km²), with a population of 433,193 (United States Census Bureau 2014b-h). These characteristics make it unique and quite different compared to the rest of the state. One aspect of the North Country that may be considered noteworthy is the fact that it has no major

metropolitan hub, with communities in the area serving as micropolitans. The North Country’s largest population centers are divided on the East and West sides of the region.

The North Country itself, as defined by the North Country Regional Economic Development Council (NCREDC), is comprised of seven largely rural counties (Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Lewis and St. Lawrence), containing over 200 towns, villages and hamlets, and 3 small cities (Watertown, Plattsburgh and Ogdensburg). Also of importance is the Fort Drum army base, which covers parts of 3 counties and has led to the creation of two economic development organizations to cater to the needs of the army population. The North Country is also home to the Adirondack Park, which includes 6 million acres of publicly protected land and encompasses almost one tenth of the total land area of the North Country. The counties of Hamilton and Essex are wholly inside the park, with parts of Clinton, Franklin, St. Lawrence and Lewis counties also being included in the park’s boundary (among other counties outside of the North Country region). As can be seen from the table below, the North Country is performing below the state and national averages in both income and unemployment rates.

Table 10: Economic performance, North Country

	Median Household Income (CAN) (2011)¹	Unemployment rate (2012)
The North Country (weighted avg).	\$47,912	9.9%
Clinton	\$51,987	9.7%
Essex	\$48,775	9.8%
Franklin	\$47,027	9.5%
Hamilton	\$53,091	8.8%
Jefferson	\$47,899	10.0%
Lewis	\$46,497	10.1%
St. Lawrence	\$45,014	10.3%
New York State	\$59,356	8.5%
United States of America	\$54,584	8.1%

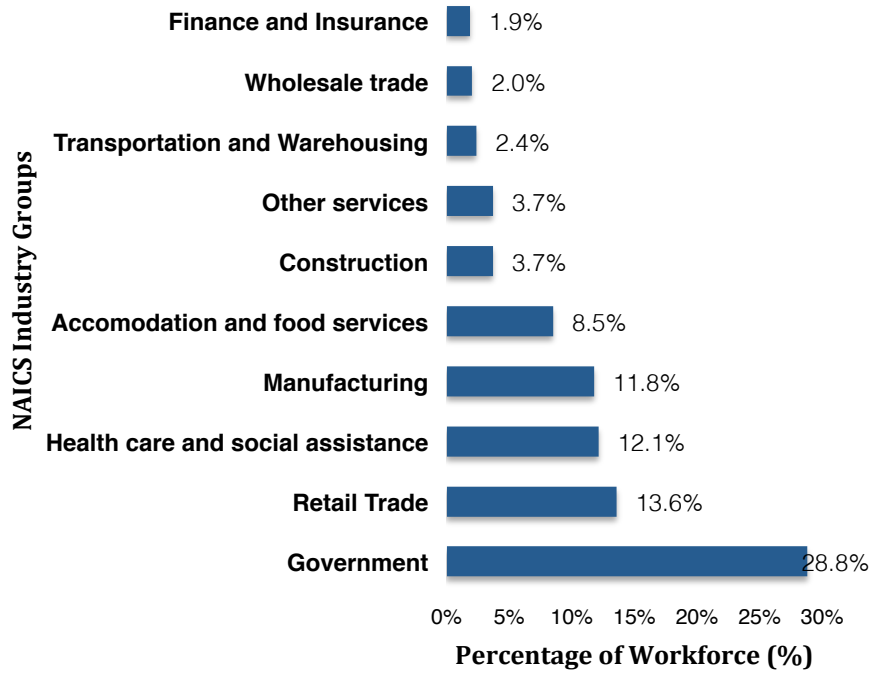
¹ Currency was converted using 2011 exchange rates available from online at: <http://www.irs.gov/Individuals/International-Taxpayers/Yearly-Average-Currency-Exchange-Rates>

Source: New York State Department of Labour Statistics (n.d. a-b), United States Census Bureau (2014a-h), United States Department of Labour (n.d.).

Only one other definition of the ‘North Country’ has ever been suggested. Prior to the creation of the North Country Regional Economic Development Council (NCREDC), another regional organization, the North Country Alliance (NCA), had drawn a six county boundary for the North Country. However, when Empire State Development (New York State’s economic development organization) created the regional councils, including the NCREDC 7 county North Country region, the NCA adjusted their boundaries to match. The boundaries of the North Country, and the other regional councils in the state of New York were based upon existing Department of Labour boundaries. There are now 10 regional councils in the state of New York: Capital Region, Central New York, Finger Lakes, Hudson Valley, Long Island, Mohawk Valley, New York City, Southern Tier, Western New York, and the North Country.

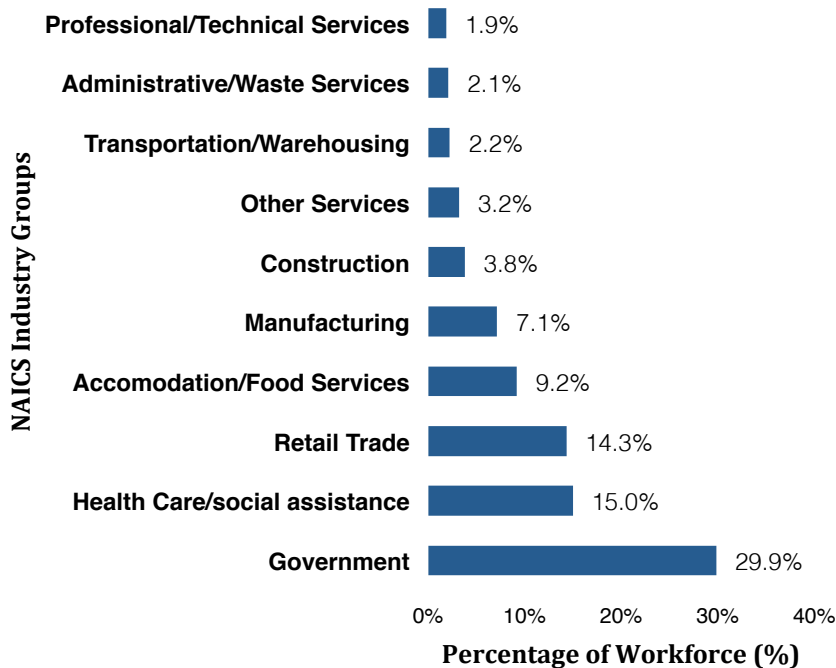
As can be seen in Figure 3 below, the top four industries by employment in the North Country, as of 2011, were Government (29.9%), Health Care and Social Assistance (15.0%), Retail Trade (14.3%), and Accommodation/Food Services (9.2%). There have been minor changes over the last decade, as shown in Figure 2. The Fort Drum Army Base located in Jefferson County surrounded also by neighbouring Lewis and St. Lawrence counties explains the relatively high percentage of government employment. Notable changes that have occurred over the past decade in the North Country include a 4.7% decrease in manufacturing and a 2.9% increase in health care and social assistance. However, the workforce of the North Country continues to be dominated by government employment.

Figure 2: Structure of workforce by NAICS industry groups, North Country region, 2000



Source: New York State Department of Labour (n.d. d)

Figure 3: Structure of workforce by NAICS industry groups, North Country region, 2011



Source: New York State Department of Labour (n.d. c)

4.2 Overview of the Four Counties Region

The Four Counties region includes Grey, Bruce, Huron and Perth counties. As shown in Figure 4, the Four Counties region is a collection of counties at the northernmost edge of what is considered southwestern Ontario. Bordered by Georgian Bay to the northeast, and Lake Huron to the northwest, these four largely rural counties are surrounded by predominantly urban areas, including London/Middlesex to the southwest, and Waterloo Region/Wellington County to the southeast. This four-county region covers 14,219km² and has a population of 292,882 (Statistics Canada 2012a-d). The result is a low population density of 20 people/km². Two small urban centers are located in the North and the South of the region.

Figure 4: Map of Four Counties region



Credit: Anna Kramer

As can be seen from Table 11 below, the Four Counties region is performing below both the provincial and national averages in terms of median household income, and above both provincial and national averages in terms of unemployment rates.

Table 11: Economic Performance, Four Counties

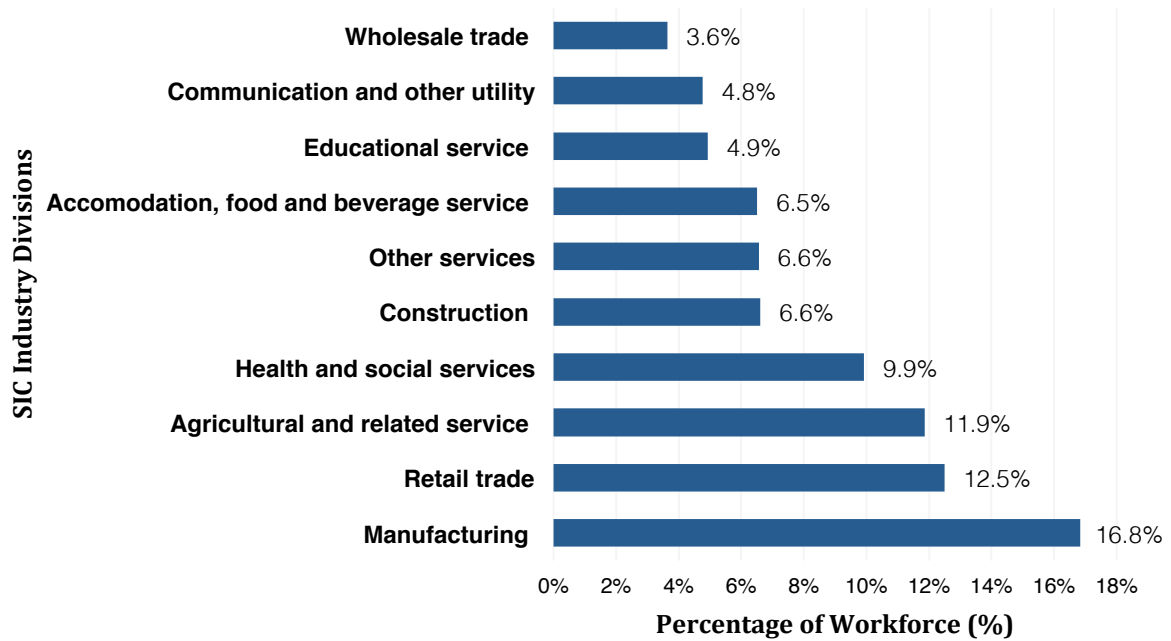
	Median Household Income (2011) ²	Unemployment Rate (2011)
Four Counties	\$60,725	6.3%
Grey	\$56,518	7.4%
Bruce	\$66,321	6.5%
Huron	\$58,092	5.7%
Perth	\$63,067	5.5%
Ontario	\$66,358	8.3%
Canada	\$61,072.	7.8%

Source: Statistics Canada (2013a-f).

The region itself is comprised of four largely rural counties (containing 83 towns, townships, municipalities, and communities), and two small cities (Owen Sound and Stratford). However, Stratford is politically independent of Perth County and operates its own economic development office. The top four industries by employment in the Four Counties, as of 2011, were manufacturing (12.2%), health care and social assistance (11.4%), retail trade (10.5%), and agriculture/forestry/fishing/hunting (8.9%), as shown in Figure 6. Notable changes that have occurred over the past 15 years in the Four Counties region include a 4.3% decrease in manufacturing, a 2% decrease in retail trade, a 3% decrease in agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, a 1.5% increase in health care and social assistance, and a 2% increase in construction. Despite a decrease over the last 15 years, manufacturing still accounts for the highest percentage of the workforce in the region.

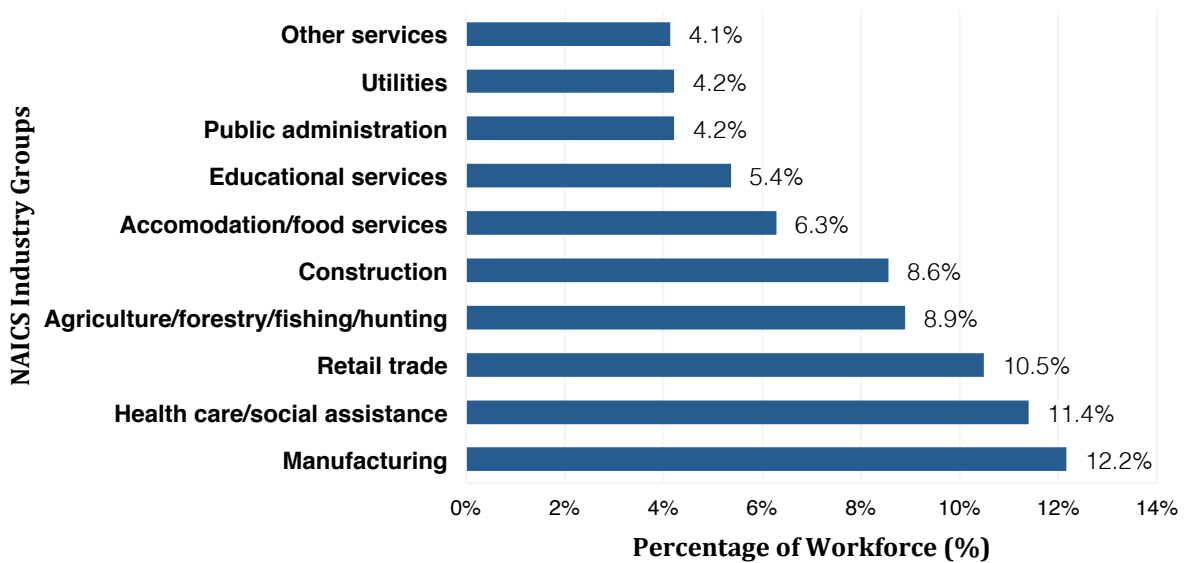
² Weighted using the number of households per county. Statistics Canada (2013a-d).

Figure 5: Structure of workforce by SIC industry divisions, Four Counties region, 1996



Source: Statistics Canada (1996)

Figure 6: Structure of workforce by NAICS industry groups, Four Counties region, 2011



Source: Statistics Canada (2013a-d)

4.3 Economic Growth and Development in the North Country Region

The North Country Regional Economic Development Council (2011) has multi-sectoral economic development ambitions. These ambitions are broken down into clusters in the original NCREDC (2011) strategic plan and include: advanced materials, aerospace and transportation, agriculture, arts and culture, biotechnology, clean energy, distribution, Fort Drum/defense, higher education, and wood and paper. In the opinion of the interviewees, the region has been chronically underfunded by the state of New York and impoverished for decades, which is related to its distant, rural, and sparsely populated geography.

The Regional Council process is a statewide initiative that was rolled out in 2011.

Ten Regional Economic Development Councils (REDCs) were put in place in 2011 to redesign the state's approach to economic development, replacing a traditional top-down approach to economic development that did not recognize the unique resources and strengths of each of New York's regions. The initiative empowered community, business, and academic leaders and members of the public in each region of the state to develop strategic plans specifically tailored to their region's unique strengths and resources in order to create jobs and support economic growth (The New NY Works for Business 2013:3).

While several region-wide organizations existed prior to the introduction of the North Country Regional Economic Development Council in 2011, it is commonly agreed upon by interviewees that the NCREDC facilitated the first manifestation of true collaboration amongst the seven counties.

There have been three rounds of funding awarded through this regional council process (one for each year since 2011). The North Country Regional Economic Development Council has been named a Top Performer all three years, and was named as having the best plan the first year. Being a Top Performer awards a regional council an additional \$25 million (per year), and Best Plan awards are an additional \$10 million. This \$85 million dollars, awarded to the North Country, is in addition to the project-funding award (NC1) through the consolidated funding

application (CFA). In total, for all three years of the CFA regional council process, the North Country REDC has won \$279.3 million for 227 projects (The New NY Works for Business 2013, Dec 12).

4.4 Economic Growth and Development in the Four Counties

The Four Counties region has economic roots in manufacturing, retail trade, and agriculture, as shown in Figure 5 above (Statistics Canada 1996). Interviewees from the region indicated that the region has been chronically neglected by the provincial and federal government for most of its history. Therefore, this region has had to be self-reliant, overcoming challenges independently. These counties, even today, operate more often in isolation than together as a unit. A historically negative outlook to regional economic development and collaboration is slowly changing in the region. As the examples throughout Chapter 5 will demonstrate, collaboration has been flourishing at a bi-county and intra-county level, rather than at a regional level as defined by this study. Unlike the North Country, there is no government structure in place to facilitate collaboration, meaning that regional initiatives have been bottom up in origin. Therefore, the NECREDC is organized at a different geographic scale, with the FCLMPB not operating at a commensurate scale. These initiatives to date have tried to achieve similar mandates, leading stakeholders in the Four Counties to question their usefulness.

4.5 Governance Structures in the North Country Region

4.5.1 Structure of Economic Development in the North Country

The North Country has economic development efforts occurring at different scales. All of the seven counties in the region have an Industrial Development Agency associated with the county that performs economic development activities. Six of the seven counties also have county level government departments that undertake economic development activities, most commonly under the label of planning. Several organizations exist at a multi-county level,

including the North Country Alliance, the Development Authority of the North Country, the Adirondack North Country Association, and the North Country Chamber of Commerce. These regional organizations are operating under the umbrella of the North Country Regional Economic Development Council in terms of geographic coverage and services provided. However, they do interact to facilitate connections between local and regional actors for the benefit of the entire region. The statewide regional council process was facilitated and implemented by Empire State Development.

Interactions between county level organizations and region wide organizations occur frequently. In particular, most of the organizations operating at a county or regional level contribute volunteers and other resources to the NCREDC, and populate the executive council and various subcommittees therein. The region-wide organizations have complementary yet quite different mandates and therefore duplication of effort is minimal. Thirteen of the 15 interviewees from the North Country were involved, in some way, with the North Country Regional Economic Development Council. The co-chairs of the NCREDC were not available to be interviewed for this study. Below is a table of the key regional organizations operating within the North Country as of 2013. Please see Appendix Eight for a list of the counties included in the boundaries of the below regional organizations. There is a long history and therefore institutionalized capacity and embedded practices of acting regionally- this is not the case in the Four Counties. There are also two key anchor institution (outside government) that brings actors together in the North Country: the North Country Regional Economic Development Council, and the North Country Alliance.

Table 12: Regional organizations in the North Country

Key Entities	Year Est.	Mandate/Purpose	Leadership/ Governance	Funding
North Country Regional Economic Development Council	2011	To create a plan and policy for the strategic growth of the region economically To review project proposals to go through the Consolidated Funding Application to access government funding	Two Co-Chairs, 9-person Executive Committee, 20 sub-committees all volunteer run, no staff, industry, academia, government, business representation	N/A
North Country Alliance	1988	To provide gap funding through managing a revolving loan fund, to economic development projects and local businesses	Board of Directors, one economic development person and one business leader from each County, Private-public consortium of economic development organizations, private businesses, utilities, public and private colleges, the media and financial institutions, small number of staff	United States Department of Agriculture, Empire State Development (federal and state funding)
Development Authority of the North Country	1985	To develop infrastructure projects, provide technical services and undertake community development projects	Public benefit corporation, two tiered Board of Directors, county, city, state representation, 9 executive and senior management staff	Self-sufficient (no funding from the state), revenue based agency (but can apply for grant funding for specific projects)
Adirondack North Country Association	1955	To improve rural economies and foster more vibrant communities	26-member Board of Directors, diverse geographic and sectoral membership, 7 staff	Various state department funding ex: NYSERDA, NYSCA
North Country Chamber of Commerce	1912	To serve businesses in the North Country region to help to improve the economy of our area	Board of Directors, 14 staff	Membership dues, federal and state (only through contracts)

4.6 Governance Structures in the Four Counties Region

4.6.1 Structure of Economic Development in the Four Counties Region

The only regional economic development organization facilitating development in the Four Counties region is the Four County Labour Market Planning Board. The Four County Labour

Market Planning Board is one of 25 local planning boards in Ontario that were legislated to come into effect in the mid-1990s through the provincial office of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. The FCLMPB's mandate is labour market research and project delivery.

The Southwest Economic Alliance (SWEA), and the Western Ontario Warden's Caucus (WOWC) are the two main regional organizations serving this region as well as the larger Southwestern Ontario area. SWEA is not a political entity, but has a diverse membership from the public and private sectors, individuals and municipalities. SWEA (2011) aims to bridge the gap between urban and rural Southwestern Ontario to forge a common path forward for the common future of southwestern Ontario. In contrast, the WOWC (2012) is comprised of purely rural counties and their past and present Wardens, with the similar goal of greater economic prosperity in southwestern Ontario. There is little consensus between the interviewees about which of these organizations' models is working better, or whether they are accomplishing anything tangible. There was obvious reticence when interviewees were asked about SWEA and the WOWC and their activities and impact on the Four Counties, suggesting an underlying social tension in the area. Several interviewees suggested that they did not believe these organizations were contributing anything, and were possible just duplicating existing county level efforts.

The Four Counties region has economic development efforts occurring at different scales. All of the four counties have a Community Future's Development Corporation associated with the county that performs various kinds of economic development activities. All four counties also participate in county level economic development activities. Several organizations exist at a multi-county level, including the Southwest Economic Alliance, the Western Ontario Warden's Caucus, the Four County Labour Market Planning Board, and Regional Tourism Organization 7. This is related to the above discussion in Chapter 2 on multi-level governance. These

organizations are made up of diverse stakeholders including county level governments, municipal governments, private firms and non-governmental organizations.

Interactions between county level organizations and between region wide organizations have been variable with varying degrees of success. Collaboration at a regional level appears to be at the level of information sharing, rather than project planning and implementation. The respective mandates of SWEA, WOWC and RTO7 continue to be unclear and misunderstood by stakeholders, leading to the perception that these organizations are pursuing broadly similar activities. Interviewees voiced concerns about regional economic development, potential duplication of effort, suspicion by key stakeholders, and adding levels of bureaucracy to the economic development process. These concerns are further explored in Chapter 5. Collaboration is much more likely to occur within any given county, or between two counties, than between the whole four county region. Below is a table of the key regional organizations operating within the Four Counties as of 2013. Please see Appendix Eight for a list of the counties included in the boundaries of the below regional organizations. It is important to note that the Four Country Labour Market Planning Board is the only organization that covers the same geographic area as my case, and has only a narrow mandate (labour market planning).

Table 13: Regional organizations in the Four Counties

Key Entities	Year Est.	Mandate/ Purpose	Leadership/ Governance	Funding
Southwest Economic Alliance	2008	To serve as an advocacy organization with upper levels of government, research into regional issues Strives to be a coming together of government, private sector and academia To help transform the economy of Southwestern Ontario	Not-for-profit, 11 member Board of Directors (change to 30 in 2014), membership of individuals, municipalities, private and public, 1 staff	Membership dues, annual conference

		through partnership and cooperation		
Western Ontario Warden's Caucus		To work towards greater economic prosperity within Southwestern Ontario, particularly rural portions of the region Advocates on behalf of rural communities with upper tier governments	Political membership, warden and past warden from each of the 14 counties, Not-for-Profit, no staff	Membership dues
Four County Labour Market Planning Board	Mid to late 1990s	To do labour market research and project delivery (yearly Labour Market Planning report)	Board of Directors, representation from the four counties, women, aboriginal, visible and racial minority representation, 4 staff	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities
Regional Tourism Organization 7	2010/2011	To build, sustain and grow tourism in the region. To build strategic and collaborative initiatives to fulfill that mission in marketing, experience or product development, workforce development, and investment attraction for economic development related to tourism.	11 to 15 member Board of Directors (from each county, industry, private, non-profit) independent Not-For-Profit	Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport

4.7 Overview of the Agriculture Sector

4.7.1 New York State Agriculture Industry: Size and Relative Importance

As of 2012, the agriculture industry in New York State employs 23,155 people and represents 0.27% of the total workforce (New York State Department of Labor, n.d. e).

Agricultural land covers 23% (7 million acres) of the land area in New York State and was responsible for creating \$5.4 billion USD for the New York State economy in 2012 (United States Department of Agriculture 2014a). The state contains over 35,000 farms. Dairy production is the state's most prominent agricultural product, accounting for \$2.4 billion USD a year (USDA 2014a). New York State's most notable crops include forage land used for hay and haylage, grass silage and greenchop, corn for silage, corn for grain, and soybeans for beans³

³ These categories are those used by the Census of Agriculture in the United States.

(USDA 2014a). Animal production, including cattle and chickens, is also notable. Every state in the United States has a land grant university that operates Cooperative Extension offices at the county level. Cornell University is the land grant university of New York State. The mandate of Cooperative Extension is to disseminate agricultural research to communities, provide consumer and production education, and generally strengthen agriculture in the state (NC11, NC15).

4.7.2 Ontario Agriculture Sector: Size and Relative Importance

As of 2011, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting employed 101,280 people in the province and therefore accounted for 1.5% of the provincial workforce (Statistics Canada 2013). There are 51,950 farms in Ontario, covering just over 5 million hectares (Ontario Ministry of Agriculture and Food [OMAF] 2013). Top field crops by hectares under cultivation include soybeans, hay, and corn for grain. Dairy, soybeans, and corn account for 41.3% of the \$11.79 billion in farm cash receipts for Ontario in 2012 (OMAF 2013), with dairy accounting for 16.2% alone (or \$1.9 billion), the most of any production commodity.

4.7.3 North Country, New York Agriculture Sector: Size and Relative Importance

The four organizations interviewed for this study pertaining specifically to agriculture, as well as their key characteristics can be seen below in Table 14. It should be noted that the interviewees for Cornell Cooperative Extension of Franklin County and Adirondack Harvest were involved in other initiatives pertaining to agriculture. As such, these sub-initiatives and organizations (North Country Regional Food Initiative and Cornell Cooperative Extension Association of Northern New York, respectively), and their key characteristics are also included in the table below.

Table 14: Agriculture organizations in the North Country

Key Entities	Year Est.	Mandate/Purpose	Leadership/ Governance	Funding	Geographic Jurisdiction
Northern New York Agriculture Development Program	N/A	To carry out research and education programs that support agriculture in the region. Aims to provide research with real world results that improves farm economic viability.	Farmer Board of Directors from county membership. One administrator.	Small grants program allocated yearly by New York State legislature.	Clinton Essex Franklin Jefferson Lewis St. Lawrence
Cornell Cooperative Extension of Franklin County	Late 1800s	To connect university research on agriculture to farming communities.	20 staff (both project and administrative) Cornell Cooperative Extension has offices in each county across the North Country.	County, state and federal funding.	Clinton Essex Franklin Jefferson Lewis
North Country Regional Foods Initiative		To understand how local food businesses and activities benefit the region and identify strategies for enhancing those benefits.	The Regional Foods Initiative was created by the all of the extension offices of the North Country.	Grants and contracts.	St. Lawrence
Garden Share	1990s	To build a North Country where all of us have enough to eat and enough to share—where our food choices are healthy for us, for our communities, and for the environment.	Board of Directors, 1 full time staff, two part time staff, board development committee. Non-profit.	State and federal grants. Community donations. Foundation grants	St. Lawrence
Adirondack Harvest	2001	1) To facilitate education and connections between farmers and buyers.	12-person board of directors, 2 staff members. 501C3 under Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County.	County government.	1) 7 County North Country region, plus 7 additional counties that are incorporated in the Adirondacks
Cornell Cooperative Extension of Northern New York	2008	To educate and disseminate research from universities to the general public on agriculture, human resources and 4-H.	They are an association with a membership due. Cooperative extension of Essex County manages the money.	Membership dues.	Clinton Essex Franklin Jefferson Lewis St. Lawrence

As of 2012, the agriculture industry in the North Country employs 2,279 people and represents 1.53% of the total workforce (New York Department of Labour n.d. c) This is higher than any other economic development region in New York State⁴. The agriculture sector in the North Country has grown by 0.5% from 2000 to 2011. The North Country region contains 4,391 farms, covering over 1 million acres of land (United States Department of Agriculture 2014b-h). The market value of products sold in the North Country in 2012 was \$753 million USD (USDA 2014b-h). Dairy production overwhelmingly dominates commodity sales, accounting for \$486 million USD in 2012. The top four other commodities by value of sales include grains, oilseeds, dry beans and peas (\$59 million USD), other crops and hay (\$57 million USD), cattle and calves (\$45 million USD), and fruits, tree nuts and berries (\$18 million USD) (USDA 2014b-h). The top five crop items under production in the North Country by acres include forage land, corn for silage, corn for grain, soybeans for beans, and apples (USDA 2014b-h). Every county in the North Country has a Cooperative Extension office operated by Cornell University. The Cooperative Extension system in New York State is one of the oldest organizations in the state, having been established in the late 1800s. The individual county level offices, in the case of the North Country, allow the counties to focus on agriculture in their own respective contexts. In 2008, this mechanism was expanded when the counties of the North Country came together to form the Cornell Cooperative Extension Association of Northern New York. According to one interviewee, the rest of the state has since created regional cooperative extension associations to reflect regional unity and interests. In this way, the North Country can be considered a trailblazer in facilitating mechanisms for collaboration in agriculture. The other agriculture organizations

⁴ The State has ranges from 0.0067% in New York City to 1.2% in the Finger Lakes region. Data from New York State Department of Labour, Quarterly Census of Employment and Wages. Retrieved from: <http://labor.ny.gov/stats/lscqew.shtm>

interviewed in the North Country did not have a similarly long history to that of the Cornell Cooperative Extension System.

4.7.4 Four Counties, Ontario Agriculture Sector: Size and Relative Importance

The characteristics of four organizations interviewed for this study pertain specifically to food and agriculture can be seen below in Table 15. As of 2011, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting employs 13,885 people in the region and therefore accounts for 8.9% of the total Four Counties workforce. There are just fewer than 9000 farms in the region, covering 933,117 hectares: this represents 17% of all the farms in Ontario and 18% of all of the farmland (OMAF 2013). The major field crops by hectares under cultivation are soybeans, hay and winter wheat (OMAF 2013). The Four Counties region alone accounts for \$2.3 billion in farm cash receipts for main commodities of the total \$11.79 billion for the province, making the Four Counties a strong agricultural force in the province of Ontario (OMAF 2013). The top five commodities in the Four Counties by farm cash receipts, in millions of dollars, are dairy (431.6), cattle and calves (412), hogs (361.2), corn (240.2), and poultry (224.4) (OMAF 2013).

Table 15: Agriculture organizations in the Four Counties

Key Entities	Year Est.	Mandate/Purpose	Leadership/Governance	Funding	Geographic Jurisdiction
The Local Community Food Center	2012	To use food to bring people together, while promoting health and food skills.	Five full time staff, 7 volunteers. Entity under the United Way and Community Food Centres Canada. Utilizes a participatory model.	Community Food Centers Canada Public Health Agency of Canada Ontario Ministry of Health Promotion Ontario Trillium Foundation Sprott Foundation Atkinson Foundation Grocery Foundation The Community Foundation	Perth City of Stratford

				Stratford Social Services United Way Perth-Huron	
Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership	1999	Network of community organizations with shared interests in access to local, healthy food and agricultural activities.	Informal, just a website. Diverse members (public health, economic development etc.) Board of Directors. Funding secured through member organizations. Voluntary committee structure.	Federal, county and local funding. Huron CFDC Public Health Unit Ontario Trillium Foundation	Huron Perth
Foodlink Grey-Bruce	2008	To help people access food. To help businesses source locally. To connect farms with other farms.	Two full time staff, one from each county. Just a website. County roles redefined in 2012, now working separately.	Grey County Bruce County Ontario Market Investment Fund	Grey Bruce
Center for Sustainable Food Systems	2008	To create a system of regional food hubs across Southwestern Ontario.	Operating currently under the Southwest Economic Alliance, with the aim of establishing a stand alone not-for-profit organization in the future. One full time employee.	Southwest Economic Alliance London Training Center McConnell Foundation Ontario Trillium Foundation	Grey Bruce Huron Perth Dufferin Wellington Brant Oxford Middlesex Lambton Elgin Norfolk Essex Waterloo Regional Municipality Chatham-Kent 7 separated cities

4.8 Case Study in Review

By traditional economic measures, the Four Counties region would be considered more prosperous and successful than the North Country (as demonstrated in Table 16). Indeed the Four Counties region has a lower unemployment rate and a higher median household income

than the North Country. It would be speculation to attempt to explain why the Four Counties is performing economically better than the North Country. However, economic success may not translate into success in collaborations for regional economic development initiatives. If the Four Counties can be considered the comparatively economically successful region, then the North Country can be considered the economic underdog. The two regions are more comparable on their geographic characteristics. Both the North Country and the Four Counties are geographically vast, and have comparably low population densities. The North Country's poor economic situation, coupled with their rural geographic characteristics make the region an interesting case for studying collaboration and economic development when one considers that the North Country has been the most successful region in the state of New York since the inception of the regional council process in 2011 (The New NY Works for Business: Dec 12). Despite the North Country's workforce concentration in the government sector, the North Country and the Four Counties have broadly similar industrial foci, which make these regions a good comparison.

Table 16: Socio-demographic and economic indicators in Four Counties (Ontario) and North Country (New York)

	The Four Counties	Canada	The North Country	United States of America
Unemployment Rate	6.3% (2011)	7.8% (2011)	9.9%(2012)	8.1% (2012)
Income (CAN\$ 2011)	60,725	61,072	47,912	54,584
Area (km²)	14,219.16	8,965,121.42	29, 531.8	9,147,593.1
Population Density (/km²)	20.597	3.7	14.67	33.8
Population (2011)	292,882	33,476,688	433,193	308,745,538
Top Three Industries by Workforce Employment (2011)	1) Manufacturing 2) Health care and social assistance	1) Retail trade 2) Health care and social	1) Government 2) Health care and social assistance	1) Health care and social assistance 2) Retail Trade

3) Retail trade	assistance	3) Retail Trade	3) Manufacturing
	3) Manufacturing		

Source: Statistics Canada (2013a-f), New York State Department of Labour (n.d. d-c), New York State Department of Labour Statistics (n.d. a-b), United States Census Bureau (2014a-h, 2012)

5 Collaborations in Agriculture and Regional Economic Development

Of the 35 interviews conducted for this study, nine interviews were completed pertaining to eight organizations involved in agriculture. All of the organizations interviewed were involved in either a) fostering producer-consumer linkages and relationships with the aim of increasing farmer livelihood and market accessibility and availability or b) increasing consumer food security through the use of local, healthy food. A further 27 interviews were completed pertaining to economic development activities of the case regions. This chapter contains the following sections; the current context of collaboration in both case sites (Objective 1), as well as examples of on-the-ground success (Objective 2); the ‘local’ in local food; feeding the locals versus selling the locale, key themes for regional economic development (neo-endogenous development and new regionalism, path dependence and anchor institutions, the death of geography, social capital and collaboration) (Objective 3-4), and finally, the future of regional economic development in each region. These themes were identified through data analysis in conjunction with the themes covered in the interview guide.

5.1 Current Context of Collaboration in the North Country

5.1.1 Agriculture Organizations

It was striking that the four agricultural organizations interviewed made no reference to each other when asked about whom they collaborate with and the key players in the area. Based on the interview data, present collaboration in this sector has been diverse, both in terms of geographic inclusivity and of the type of collaboration that has been present.

The NNYADP, with its ties to Cornell University, has been able to collaborate with organizations across the North Country and New York State, as shown in Figure 8. Due to the

county specific nature of the Cornell Cooperative Extension system, it is not surprising that Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County most often collaborates within their own county, though connections are fostered between county offices of Cornell Cooperative Extension through the Cornell Cooperative Extension Association of Northern New York. Collaborations for Adirondack Harvest, and Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County, tended to focus on formal project delivery. Similar to Adirondack Harvest and Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County, GardenShare has tended to focus on collaborative project delivery inside of their own county. Specific examples of collaboration between the agriculture organizations are presented below, in Figure 7-10⁵. The outputs of these collaborations are also presented in these figures.

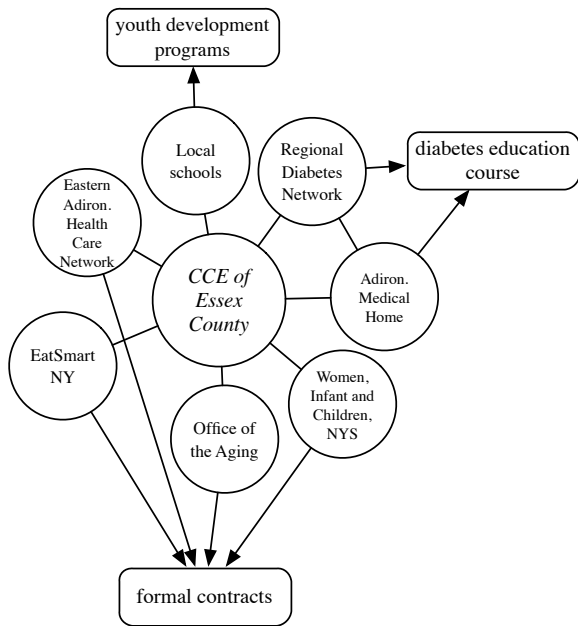


Figure 7: Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County collaborations.

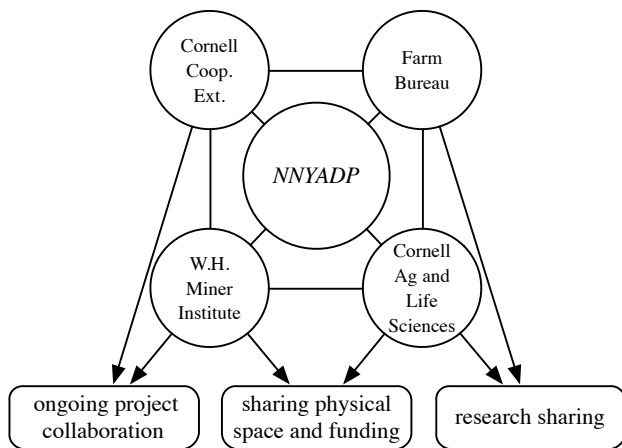


Figure 8: Northern New York Agricultural Development Program collaborations.

⁵ The organizations listed in italics and the larger circles are those that were interviewed for this study.

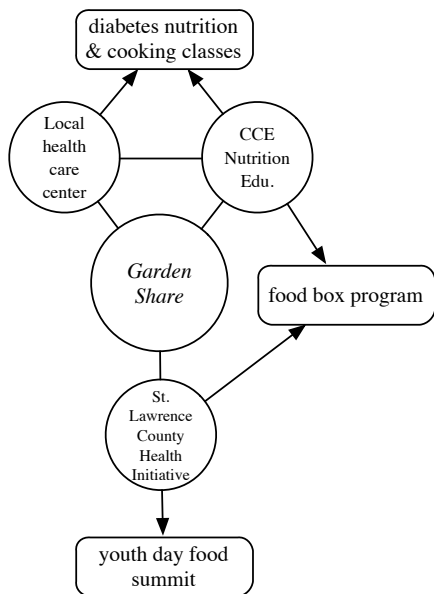


Figure 9: GardenShare collaborations.

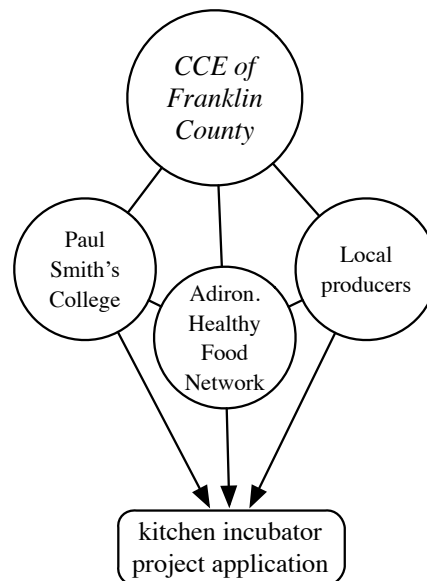


Figure 10: Cornell Cooperative Extension of Franklin County collaborations.

The above figures represent current and ongoing collaborations rather than initiatives that have already been completed and they reveal only what interviewees chose to share, and thus may not include all of the collaborations occurring within the region, which highlights methodological limitations that are addressed in Chapter 6. However, they do provide some insight into the nature of collaboration in food and agriculture in the North Country. Collaboration in agriculture is diverse and occurring within and outside of the region. It is formal and informal and includes both information sharing and project delivery. Strictly speaking, informal connections and information sharing are lower-level relationship strategies on Himmelman’s (1996) continuum. However, the interviewees themselves understood these activities as ‘collaboration’. It is significant that none of the organizations specifically mentioned each other when asked about whom they collaborate with, and the extent of their collaborations. In Gordon’s (2009) later work, where her field site was expanded to include regions in four states, cooperation was more likely to occur in the agricultural sector than other sectors. While this may be specific to her case sites Gordon (2009) also notes that collaboration is more likely to be successful when it has a specific

purpose such as marketing, tourism or agriculture. According to Lackney, Freshwater, and Rupasingha (2002:150), and their work on cooperation in the Tennessee Valley, this may be because the agriculture sector, and farming in particular, is perceived as a non-competitive industry at a county scale: “if one county increases its farm income, that is not likely to have adverse consequences on farm income in surrounding areas”.

5.1.2 Economic Development Organizations

Each regional organization in the North Country has its own history, with some organizations being more established than others. Similar to the Cornell Cooperative Extension system in New York State, Industrial Development Agencies exist in all seven counties of the North Country (though not all could be interviewed for this study). IDAs are public benefit corporations under New York General Municipal Law and were “created to actively promote, attract, encourage, develop and maintain economically sound commerce and industry for the purpose of expanding employment opportunities, preventing economic deterioration and increasing...general prosperity” (Jefferson County Industrial Development Agency 2014). The IDA system was implemented in the 1970s due to the decline of manufacturing in the region (NC4), and therefore represents one of the earlier efforts in the North Country to facilitate economic development. With the exception of the very recent NCREDC, all of the regional economic development organizations were established 25 years ago or more. This suggests that the North Country has a history of treating economic development as a regional issue. This history may be a key factor influencing why the North Country has had success in collaborating within the new REDC structure. The impact of path dependence on collaboration is discussed below. This trend has intensified with the introduction of the NCREDC in 2011. A by-product of the NCREDC has been inter-organizational collaboration, as the NCREDC can be thought of as an umbrella over the other regional organizations in the North Country through which the other

organizations now interact. Similarly, the REDC process has facilitated inter-regional collaboration (i.e. The North Country region working with the Finger Lakes region), though it was beyond the scope of this research to determine the degree to which inter-regional collaboration is occurring in New York State. Examples of current collaborations will be provided for the regional organizations in the North Country, though it is important to keep in mind that these regional organizations are in fact collaborations in and of themselves. That is, the regional organizations interviewed for this study are the result of collaboration. The positive outcomes from these and other North Country collaborations are presented at the end of the chapter.

The North Country Chamber of Commerce has been forming partnerships with other Chambers of Commerce for the last ten years (NC14). In exchange for helping smaller Chambers organize their health insurance programs, the NCCC gains their members (but the original Chamber retains the membership dues). Over the ten years the NCCC has been forming these partnerships, they have gained 2500 members. Their motivation for doing this is related to credibility, “we wanted to be able to say here you are Albany, and here you are Washington, and we represent 4200 businesses in Upstate New York, and you need to listen to us” (NC14). Therefore, engaging other Chambers of Commerce has helped the NCCC achieve a critical mass that warrants attention from powerful state and national actors. These partnerships also give local Chambers of Commerce access to the NCCC’s services, membership discounts, and events.

The Development Authority of the North Country, being a three county regional organization, actively collaborates with those three counties (Jefferson, Lewis, and St. Lawrence) and the city of Watertown on solid waste, water and sewer issues. As the DANC is largely infrastructure oriented, their role in economic development is unique relative to the other

organizations interviewed for this study: “we run a regional landfill, we run water and sewer systems, those are basic infrastructure systems, a lot of people don’t even think about them everyday... We’re doing our part to provide basic infrastructure that is critical to quality of life” (NC13). The Adirondack North Country Association suggested that they work with the DANC to implement infrastructure projects in the Adirondacks (NC10). ANCA also recently collaborated with the Olympic Regional Development Authority, the University of Albany, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Environmental Conservation, and the Wild Center to create a natural history interpretation exhibit on Whiteface Mountain. A representative for ANCA remarked that this collaboration was especially gratifying as it resulted in a tangible outcome.

To coordinate and organize the NCREDC and its 20 plus volunteer driven subcommittees the NCREDC has been collaborating with the above regional organizations, as well as county level and municipal level governments and organizations since the implementation of the regional council process. As the NCREDC is not a stand-alone organization, it is not possible to identify examples of collaboration for the NCREDC, as the creation of the NCREDC itself is arguably the most important instance of collaboration for economic development in the North Country, as it remains the structure that facilitates collaboration between organizations and businesses across the region. Despite the regional council structure being a state-level initiative, it is still of crucial importance to the North Country region, as the NCREDC subcommittees are made up of local and regional stakeholders. Further, the NCREDC retains significant decision-making power for how they implement their vision for the North Country region. As an example, the individual regions in New York State identify what the priorities are for a region, and then select projects for award nomination based on alignment with those priorities. The NCREDC is a

prime example of neo-endogenous development, as regional stakeholders have autonomy to make decisions, while still utilizing key resources available from the state.

A visual representation of the extent of collaboration between regional organizations in the North Country, as elicited from interview data, is demonstrated in Figure 11.

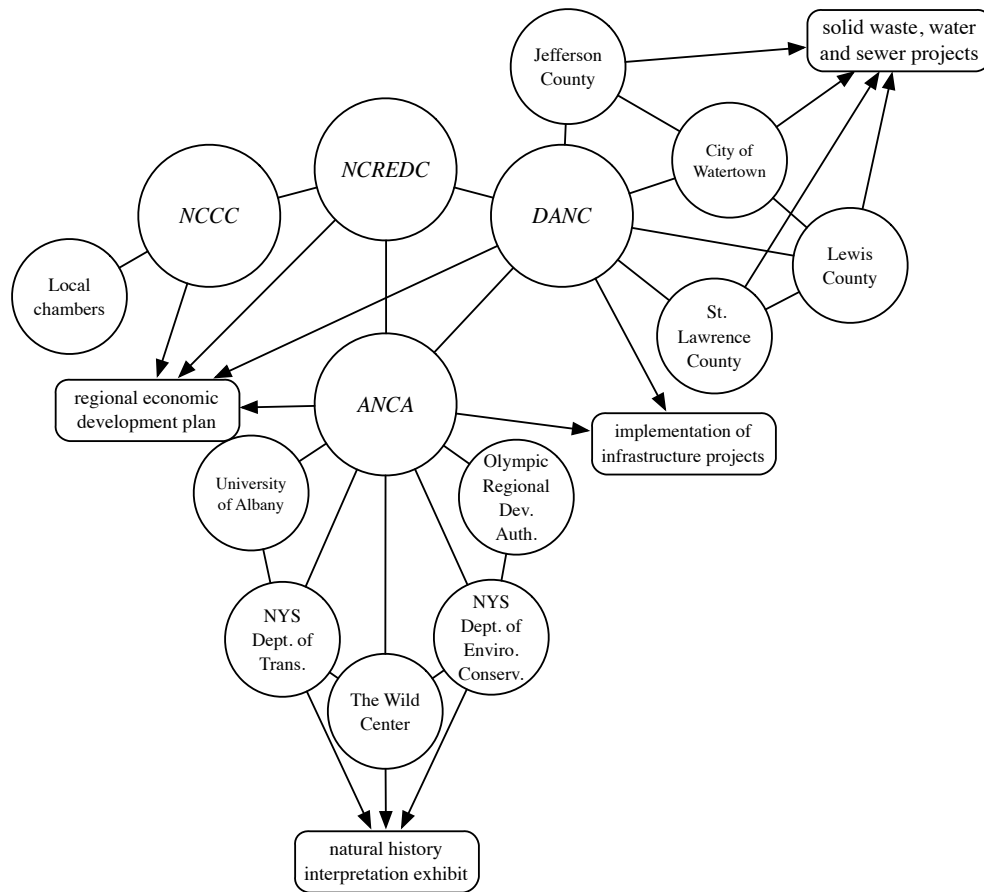


Figure 11: Regional integration of collaborations in the North Country

Based on these examples of current collaborations occurring at a regional level in the North Country, collaborations have tended to focus more on project collaboration, leading to tangible outcomes such as those described above. More examples of tangible outcomes of collaboration are provided later in this chapter. This is not to suggest that information sharing collaboration is

not occurring, rather that, the interviewees tended to provide examples of collaboration that were more tangible in nature.

5.2 Current Context of Collaboration in Four Counties

5.2.1 Agriculture Organizations

Similar to the North Country, when interviewees were asked with whom they collaborate, references to neighbouring organizations were scarce. Such references were limited to two of the five interviewees indicating that they were collaborating with the Center for Sustainable Food Systems through their food hub program. This program is still in the developmental phase and requires counties in southwestern Ontario to provide input and feedback as it progresses. Based on interview data, collaboration in this sector has been diverse in terms of collaboration type, with collaborations tending to be less diverse geographically, in that they have been bi-county or single-county in nature. Figure 12 below provides examples of collaboration in this sector. It is interesting that even though the Center will only be rolling out its food hub program across southwestern Ontario (as defined by the service area of SWEA), many Ontario-wide organizations are lending their support, as shown in Figure 12.

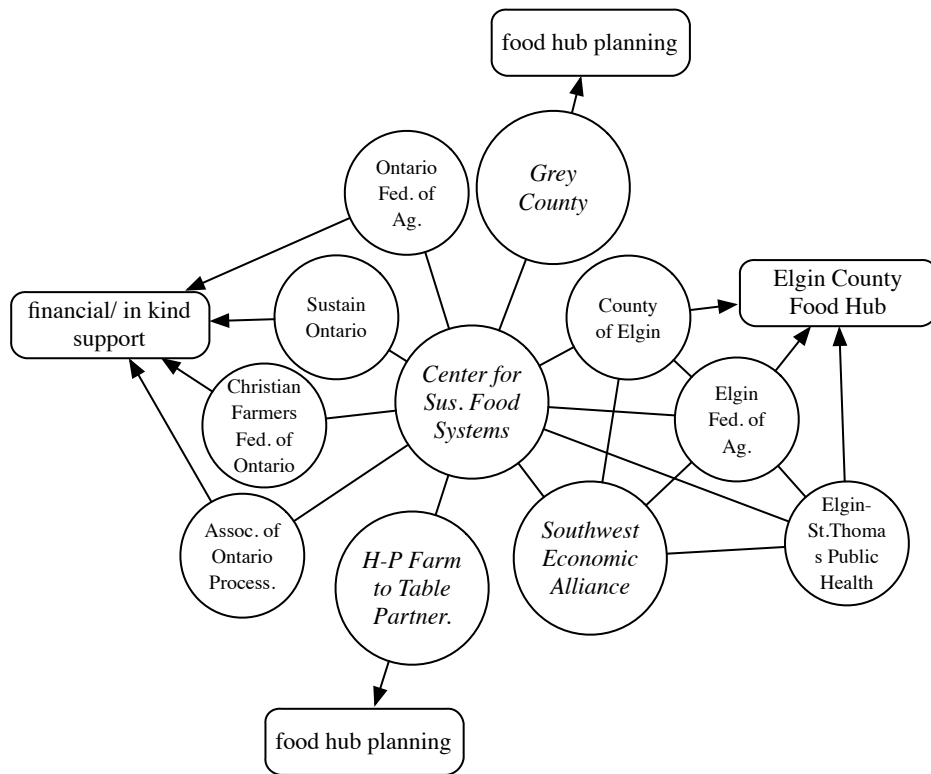


Figure 12: Center for Sustainable Food Systems collaborations.

The Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership is itself an informal initiative with a diverse membership including local health units, county economic development officers, farm organizations, county tourism, producers and consumers. Due to its informal nature, the Partnership is better understood as a networking initiative, rather than as collaboration (Himmelman 1996). Because of its diverse structure, any individual or organization the Partnership is likely to collaborate with is already a member of the Partnership and therefore is embedded in the Partnership’s structure (FC13). Due to the informal structure of the Partnership, a representative from the organization suggested that collaborations often occur between individual member organizations, as well as within the larger group. This suggests that the Partnership has become a mechanism that facilitates collaboration outside of itself, similar to the

NCREDC. The Partnership is collaborating with the Center for Sustainable Food Systems to represent the interests of Huron-Perth. Other than this instance, the Partnership's collaborations have stayed within Huron and Perth counties.

Given the local orientation of the Local Community Food Center (LCFC), it would not have been surprising if they had tended to collaborate within their own county. However, the LCFC has been reaching out to companies outside of Perth County to procure wholesale volumes of food donations, as shown in Figure 13. For an organization like the LCFC, which is a part of a larger national organization (Community Food Centres Canada), collaboration has been built into the process, to ensure that lessons are shared between current and future community food centers. This kind of collaboration, collaborating within branches of the same organization, is also prevalent in this region in the Community Future Development Corporations, which is further explored below. A representative of the LCFC also mentioned the Center for Sustainable Food Systems and the relevance of the work they are doing, but did not specifically mention that they were collaborating. The LCFC also has collaborated with Perth County Economic Development on the completion of a food hub feasibility study for the county.

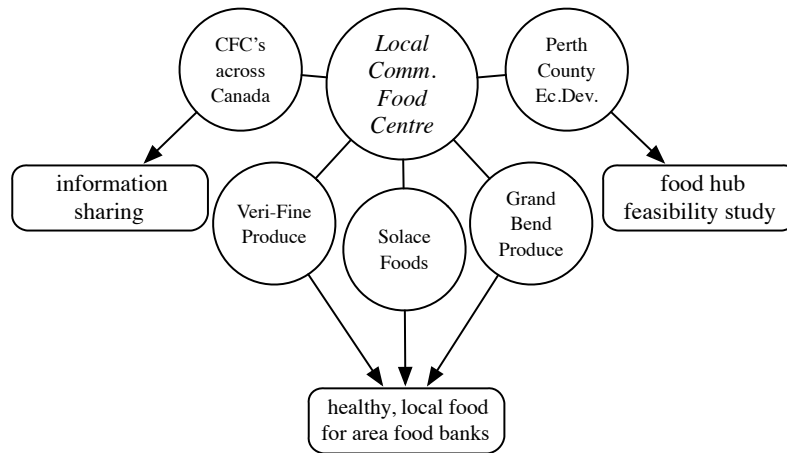


Figure 13: Local Community Food Centre collaborations.

When Foodlink Grey-Bruce was first formed, their online directory for local producers was a positive outcome from collaborating. Now that the counties are operating the website independently, positive outcomes are accruing more readily between the individual counties and other stakeholders, as shown in Figure 14. For example, Bruce County collaborated with the Saugeen CFDC and the Advanced Agricultural Leadership Program to create a rural grocery store project to do research on how to make these businesses more successful, given their geographic constraints (FC18). Grey County has recently collaborated with local restaurants and producers to support the Chef’s Forum; a food hub that will more easily connect chefs and producers over the long term. The county is also supporting a processing facility for hops production (FC17). Both of these infrastructure projects will impact producer livelihood and expand market access.

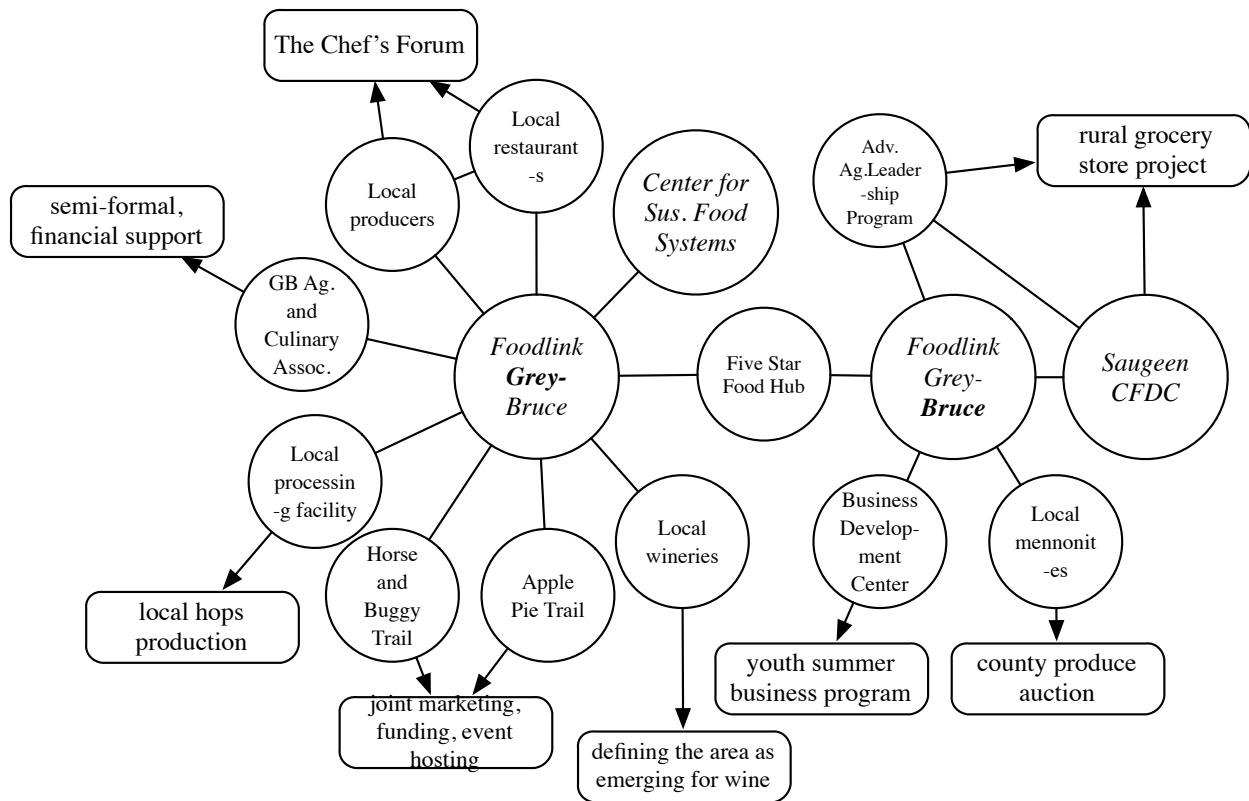


Figure 14: Foodlink Grey-Bruce collaborations.

In the case of Bruce County, a representative of Foodlink Grey-Bruce suggested they were collaborating with economic development representatives, as well as with broader food system actors (FC18), as shown in Figure 14. They have also formally collaborated with the local Business Development Center to deliver a youth summer business program that served as training for their fall farmers market. On the ground, Bruce County has been collaborating with local Mennonites as well as members of the retail and distribution community in developing a produce auction in the County. Even though the counties have separated for Foodlink, the possibility of collaborating in the future remains viable. As Foodlink Grey-Bruce’s mandate is to help local producers, any projects the two counties collaborate on must help producers across the counties.

In the case of Grey County, a representative of Foodlink Grey-Bruce suggested that their projects have included formal collaborations, as well as informal networking initiatives, both focused on marketing. Grey County has been working with a number of wineries in the area, with the aim of defining the area as an emerging area for wine. Grey County has a semi-formal relationship with the Grey Bruce Agriculture and Culinary Association to whom they provide financial support. Semi-formal collaborations also exist between Grey County and the Horse and Buggy trail. Joint marketing efforts and joint fundraising have been the main activities. A similar relationship exists between the Apple Pie Trail and Grey County; co-marketing and the co-hosting of events have been popular in this collaboration. Similar to the Huron-Perth Farm-to-Table Partnership, Grey has also been working with the Center for Sustainable Food Systems. Both Bruce and Grey County have been collaborating in the development of the Five Star Food Hub, a project that aims to create a food hub centrally located in southwestern Ontario to be accessed by Grey, Bruce, Huron, Perth and Wellington counties. This project was in the development phase during this study and therefore was not able to be included in this study. It would be an interesting avenue for future research once the hub is operational.

5.2.2 Economic Development Organizations

With the exception of the Four County Labour Market Planning Board, the regional organizations interviewed in the Four Counties were established recently (2008 to 2011). This suggests that economic development has only been treated as a regional issue quite recently. Therefore, the Four Counties lack of a history of operating as a region impact their current ability to do so. In terms of organizations that operate with county level branches throughout Ontario, Community Futures Development Corporations (CFDCs) have been a key fixture in the

economic development landscape of Ontario since the 1980s. Four CFDC's exist in the region: Bruce Community Futures, Perth Community Futures, Huron Business Development Corporation, and the Saugeen Economic Development Corporation (Bruce CF was unable to be interviewed for this study). In terms of the history of CFDCs, the program "was initially established for communities that were facing...chronic unemployment...and uses a combination of commercial lending to small business and management advice to those business owners and community economic development as a means of stimulating local economies" (FC2). The CFDC system represents one of the earlier efforts in Ontario to facilitate economic development, even though not all of the CFs was established at the same time. The Four County Labour Market Planning Board (FCLMPB) is also part of a larger Ontario wide initiative. The FCLMPB is one of 25 local planning boards across Ontario that was created in the 1990s for labour market research, dissemination and project delivery. Originally established under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities, the FCLMPB has the ability to collaborate with any organization interested in labour market research regardless of sector affiliation.

The Regional Tourism Organization (RTO) model in Ontario represents an instance of government led regional collaboration in the province. The RTOs were created as a mechanism to strengthen tourism across the province. The Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport created 13 RTO regions, and a representative from RTO 7 suggested the model has met heavy resistance in that region.

Pretty much universally the consensus from people within the tourism industry was that, all of the regions [were] poorly thought out and poorly constructed. And in just about all cases, they were too large, that there wasn't homogeneity between the different quadrants of the region...*There wasn't a history of all areas in the region seeing themselves as being aligned and or any working relationships or any synergies or any real collaboration taking place.* So, here as pretty much everywhere, people thought it was just a bad idea and didn't see themselves as being part of any one of the regions (FC10).

In the opinion of this representative, in the case of the RTO model government imposed regional development did not increase authority or legitimacy due to poor planning and lack of stakeholder input. Further, FC10 suggests that the RTO regions lack an embedded regional identity that impacts the collaborative process and bolsters the idea that defining regional boundaries is an important process for any regional initiative. Examples of current collaborations will be provided for the four regional organizations interviewed. Collaboration in these organizations occurred at multiple scales including a ‘regional’ level as defined by this project, as well as at a bi-county level, and an intra-county level.

The Four Counties is an insightful case study region regarding experiences of collaboration because, on a number of occasions, counties in the region have opted to dismantle existing collaborations, in favor of working individually. This was demonstrated by the case of Foodlink Grey-Bruce above. The Grey-Bruce Economic Development Partnership (GBEDP) is another example of this. The GBEDP was created in 2009 when the counties concluded that a regional approach to economic development would be beneficial. After completing several successful projects, which are discussed later, an analysis of economic development was undertaken by a local consulting company in 2012. The final report recommended that the Partnership be dissolved. Consequently, Grey and Bruce counties separated in 2013 and at present conduct economic development activities individually. However, funding for the Partnership’s website still exists, and the counties remain open to collaborating in the future. This Partnership is interesting, as it appeared to be successful and capable of completing projects, and yet, was still dissolved. Bruce and Grey, at present, are reevaluating their county governments’ role in economic development (FC4a). This dismantling might be more indicative of the county-level political dynamic than about unwillingness to collaborate at the larger Four Counties level.

The Southwest Economic Alliance (SWEA) has formal Memorandums of Understanding with other regional organizations across southwestern Ontario including the Western Ontario Warden's Caucus (WOWC), the South Central Ontario Region (SCOR) and the Southwestern Ontario Marketing Alliance (SOMA) (FC14). However, their relationship remains primarily an information sharing one at present. Therefore, based on Himmelman's (1996) continuum, this would be understood as networking, rather than collaboration. An example of duplication between the regional organizations is the Internet projects that both SWEA and the WOWC are pursuing. SWEA is piloting the Intelligent Region Project in Grey County (FC14); and the WOWC has hired a company to complete a feasibility study for their SWIFT (SouthWestern Integrated Fibre Technology) project (WOWC, n.d.). While the interviewees involved in these initiatives suggested that SWEA and WOWC are coordinating their efforts, it remains unclear why one joint initiative is not being pursued. As the Western Ontario Wardens Caucus is made up of rural county CAOs, it itself represents a huge effort of regional collaboration. The same can be said for SWEA, as it is an organization established by diverse members working together for the improvement of southwestern Ontario.

Given the tumultuous start the RTO model has had in Ontario, it is not surprising that RTO7 has not been successful in collaborating with the Destination Marketing and Management Organizations (DMMOs) and other tourism entities in its service area, despite the fact that facilitating collaboration is part of its primary mandate (FC10). As RTO7 is part of the larger RTO model in Ontario, the branches collaborate with their neighbouring RTOs to share information. Formal and informal mechanisms have been created to facilitate these interactions by the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport. Due to the RTOs geographic nature and mandate to attract tourist dollars, on the ground project collaboration has been limited, as the RTOs

understand they are competing for the same pool of tourists (FC10).

As a member of a province-wide economic development structure, the FCLMBP often collaborates with other Planning Boards on projects related to the labour market. Similarly, the CFDCs in the region often collaborate amongst themselves (within the Four Counties) and elsewhere in Ontario. . Although I have not been able to provide an exhaustive list of all collaborations occurring in this sector in the Four Counties, the above examples provide insight into the diversity of the collaborations taking place in the region. Based on the examples provided by the interviewees, it is clear that collaboration in this sector is occurring in the Four Counties, though more informal networking (as defined by Himmelman) is also occurring. There is a mix of collaborations focused on information sharing and project delivery. Examples of positive outcomes or outputs from these and other Four Counties collaborations are presented below.

5.3 On the Ground Success

In addition to Figures 7-14 above, there are several examples of tangible successes that have been produced by organizations in the North Country and the Four Counties. Some examples of these are provided below.

5.3.1 Tangible Outputs

5.3.1.1 *The North Country*

As stated in Chapter 4, over the course of the REDC process, the NCREDC has been awarded \$279.3 million in funding from various state agencies, for 227 projects. Consequently the 227 projects could all be considered positive outcomes from the REDC process, as they are tangible examples of on the ground projects that may impact the development of the region. A complete listing of all the projects funded in the latest available round (2013) (81.3 million awarded to 70 projects) is attached in Appendix Seven. The funded projects cover the priority

areas for the NCREDC and include: advanced materials, aerospace and transportation, agriculture, arts and culture, biotechnology, clean energy, distribution, Fort Drum/defense, higher education, and wood and paper (NCREDC 2011). In terms of pure project funding, the North Country ranks 5th out of the 10 REDCs (Cuomo 2013). This ranking does not take into account other REDC awards such as ‘Best Plan’ award. Several examples are discussed below from past funding years as well as the most recent and available round of funding that specifically involves the regional organizations interviewed for this study.

One such project is the creation of the first USDA certified poultry mobile processing unit in the United States. This project received \$130,000 of funding through the NCREDC’s Consolidated Funding Application in the first round of funding by North Country Pastured (NCREDC 2011, 2012). This mobile chicken processing facility allows producers to direct sell to restaurants, which was previously not possible due to legal restrictions on non USDA certified meat products. Two producers have approached the facility so far to process 10,000 chickens a year (NCREDC 2012). Another brick and mortar USDA certified livestock slaughterhouse, the Adirondack Meat Company, has received \$300,000 worth of funding in 2012 from the NCREDC (2013), and is the first facility of its type in the Adirondack Park. Both of these facilities will expand producer market opportunities and increase the availability of North Country products within the North Country region. United Helpers Management Inc., received \$300,000 in the first round of funding to create the North Country Regional Food Hub that will serve the entire seven county region. The most recent round of funding granted the Development Authority of the North Country (DANC), \$1,000,000 to establish a Value-added Agriculture Program in the North Country. The Value-added Agriculture Program will become a revolving loan fund supporting agribusiness in the North Country (Cuomo 2013).

In 2012, DANC received \$500,000 from Empire State Development to create a North Country Telecommunications Loan Fund (Cuomo 2012:47). This loan fund will be put toward completing telecommunications infrastructure in Jefferson, Lewis, and St. Lawrence counties. DANC also received over \$2 million for a project to connect 911 centers across the North Country and bring broadband services to 20 municipalities (Cuomo 2012:48). Empire State Development granted both funding awards. In the same year, ANCA was awarded \$50,000 from the New York State Council on the Arts to support regional artisans and small retailers (Cuomo 2012:49). ANCA was granted \$100,000 from Empire State Development Markets New York to create a North Country product brand (Cuomo 2013:75). This brand would be based on certification and would appear on a broad range of North Country products.

Even though some of these projects have not yet been implemented, the fact that the NCREDC was able to come together and win these awards consistently suggests they are collaborating positively. Winning awards as a regional council, and especially the ‘Best Plan’ awards, suggests that the NCREDC collaborates well enough to reach a consensus on what their priorities are for the region, and what projects can best achieve those priorities.

5.3.1.2 The Four Counties

Despite little meaningful collaboration between regional organizations, the Four Counties still has several tangible and non-tangible outcomes from their individual regional organization collaborations. Tangible examples will be provided for regional organizations, rather than for county or municipal level initiatives.

The FCLMPB has been active relative to the other regional organizations in the Four Counties in implementing collaborative projects, as shown in Figure 14.

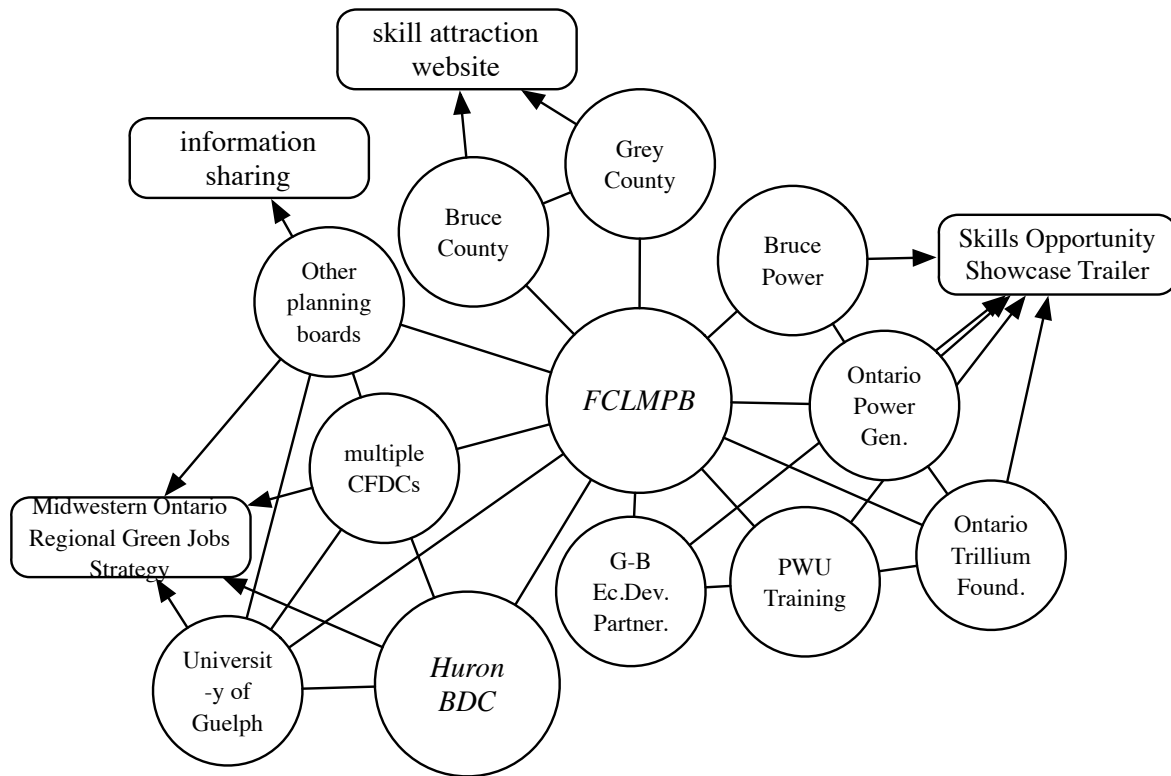


Figure 15: Four County Labour Market Planning Board collaborations.

Before the Grey-Bruce Economic Development Partnership was dissolved, the Partnership worked with woodworking professionals in the area to commission an Advanced Wood Manufacturing Study that ultimately resulted in the creation of the Bluewater Wood Alliance (n.d. b), a wood product-manufacturing cluster. The Alliance has since incorporated, and has a website, with the mandate to pursue “joint projects in skills development, technology transfer, export development and experience exchanges in a bottom-up driven association” (Bluewater Wood Alliance, n.d. a) The SWIFT project is the first project to be undertaken by the WOWC, and it is ongoing at present. It is expected that the WOWC will focus on one collaborative project with one sectoral focus at a time, and move onto another one, once the first is completed. Finally, SWEA has recently moved from the development to implementation phase with the Center for Sustainable Food Systems. Elgin County will serve as the pilot for the program: “the

intent of this regional project is to develop a food cluster in each county in Southwestern Ontario to sustainably grow, process, aggregate and distribute as many different types of food as possible, for consumption with each local foodshed” (SWEA 2014). Partners for the pilot include are shown in Figure 12 above. While these examples are valuable outputs, there remains little tangible coordination or collaboration between the above regional organizations at present. Further, while tangible outcomes of the collaborations described throughout this study were of interest, they were not easily measured. This is part of a limitation of this study that is explored in Chapter 6.

5.3.2 Non-Tangible Outcomes

5.3.2.1 *The North Country*

In contrast to these tangible project outputs, the interviewees also remarked on non-tangible, social outcomes of the regional council process. A number of interviewees suggested that the regional council process has increased communication between neighbouring parts of the region and leveled the economic playing field, and that the resulting collaboration is in and of itself important, regardless of having a developmental outcome: “one of the benefits of the regional council process, at least in the seven county North Country is that it has brought the region together. There were people working together who didn’t know each other before. There’s a much stronger sense of cohesiveness between the Western side [and the Eastern side of the region]” (NC10). Further, in some instances, the NCREDC has created a social foundation that has allowed stakeholders to collaborate on initiatives that are unrelated to the Council. These non-tangible outcomes, namely building social capital, are equally as important as the tangible project funding that the North Country has received. It is difficult to determine if the shift in collaborative mindset is entirely attributable to the NCREDC bringing the region together, but

one interviewee suggested, “I think the phrase six or seven years ago was in the Adirondacks we’d rather fight than win. And I think now people are saying, we’d rather win than fight” (NC10). This change in outlook suggests that stakeholders in the North Country now perceive the value of working collaboratively as a region.

5.3.2.2 *The Four Counties*

Non-tangible outcomes of these regional collaborations involve social capital and the relationships that have been built around the Four Counties. These linkages were most commonly cited as important positive outcomes of collaborating, regardless of tangible projects. When commenting on SWEA’s approach to regional development, a representative remarked;

I think it’s mutually advantageous. Because SWEA has resources and reach beyond what we could do as an individual county. So for example, when they set up a Queen’s Park Day and we can go and rub shoulders with EDM’s and Ministers in Toronto, around economic development, that’s very beneficial. At the same time, we bring a rural and small town perspective to the SWEA board. ... We make sure that the rural and small town agenda is heard and it is not just all the larger centers that are, that have issues on the table (FC9).

Therefore, collaboration can be beneficial for the larger regional entity, in terms of the diversity of issues able to be addressed as a whole, as well as for the smaller county entities, that are able to have their concerns brought to a high level entity and build contacts across the region (FC4b). Building social capital across the Four Counties, regardless of any developmental outcomes, continues to build a platform for meaningful and effective collaboration to take place. While involvement in regional collaborations, and the capacity of those regional organizations has been varied, the Four Counties is still making efforts to foster linkages around the region. In Gordon’s (2007) work with economic development stakeholders in a 14-county region of Central Illinois, trust, sharing and mutual respect were perceived benefits to collaboration. As demonstrated by the non-tangible outcomes of collaboration in both the Four Counties, and the North Country,

increased linkages and therefore trust and sharing have been actual outcomes to collaboration, though the tangible outcomes of these social processes have been varied.

5.4 Feeding the Locals and Selling the Locale

Applying Eaton's (2008) typology to this study, GardenShare and Adirondack Harvest in the North Country can be understood as examples of the 'feeding the locals' approach. As explained by a representative of one of these organizations: "we do a lot of trying to tell the public...where they can find local food. We do more with public education with why it's important to buy local fruits and vegetables probably and that's the main thing that we mostly do. Why it's important to buy local food" (NC15). Conversely, the Northern New York Agricultural Development Program (NNYADP) and Cornell Cooperative Extension of Franklin County are squarely in between 'feeding the locals' and 'selling the locale', as their activities aim to both increase farmer livelihoods, and to educate consumers about agriculture.

The Local Community Food Center, and the Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership in the Four Counties are more strongly involved in 'feeding the locals', as they run food box programs, community meals and distribute food to local food banks. A representative of the LCFC argues that local and organic food should not be a luxury available exclusively to those who can afford to pay a premium: "we see [local and organic] food as being a real amazing resource, that we can be connecting [to] people who are vulnerable to unhealthy diets and problems like that...in our meals and as part of our programs" (FC6). Foodlink Grey-Bruce is an example of 'selling the locale', as its website aims to connect producers with businesses that want to source locally, as well as with consumers, with the main goal being to boost producer income and expand market access and opportunities. This strongly economic imperative is particularly important for the

county of Bruce, as it has tended to produce more food than can be consumed locally (FC18). While the Center for Sustainable Food Systems in Elgin County is not yet fully established, its hub project is designed to operate between a social and an economic imperative. From a social perspective, reorienting production to focus on regionally specific products (such as tomatoes in Leamington or pork in Perth County) creates local production-consumption linkages (Wiskerke 2009). Re-situating production at a regional level, as opposed to increasing agricultural imports has significant economic implications, including raising local producer income as a consequence of keeping local dollars in the area.

5.5 The Local in Local Food

Related to defining the boundaries of the North Country is defining the ‘local’ in local food. In the case of the North Country, being closer to parts of Ontario than to the rest of New York State complicates what might be understood as local food. A representative from Cornell Cooperative Extension of Franklin County, and the Northern New York Regional Food Initiative suggests that,

At certain times of the year, your circle of local might become bioregional...If you’re doing a fifty mile circle, well if I’m standing in Malone, my fifty miles might cross an international and a state boundary. So, my local might be... southern Quebec, but that's more local than going down to Jersey...Local doesn't recognize necessarily political boundaries (NC11).

From this interviewee’s point of view, it is more important to take into account geographical distance rather than political boundaries when defining what ‘local’ food is, even if that ultimately means sourcing from across an international border. This understanding of ‘local’ is in line with Lang, Barling, and Caraher (2009) and highlights the transitory nature of food systems. By this I mean, in different seasons, regional food systems may have different geographic

boundaries, jurisdictions or service areas, making the ‘region’ in food systems relational (Kneafsey 2009) and subject to change. Relationally defined food systems can lead to challenges for organizations that have stricter boundaries and wish to promote their regional food system. If an organization’s food system is constantly in flux, its area of focus and potentially its key audience may be a moving target.

In the case of the Four Counties, the interviewees were unified in arguing ‘local’ food needs to be sensitive to scale. It was suggested by several interviewees that neither the province of Ontario, nor the smaller region of southwestern Ontario is ‘local’ enough for a ‘local’ food system, and that scaling up food systems would not necessarily solve the problems they are experiencing on the ground. This was in specific reference to the province of Ontario attempting to duplicate Foodlink Grey-Bruce in their efforts to construct a directory of ‘local’ producers. The interviewees did not establish a consensus for what a local or regional food system would look like in terms of geographic boundaries. However, it was clear that consideration of regional contexts was important. As a food procurement organization, the Local Community Food Center in Stratford has a pragmatic approach to what they consider to be local food: “when it comes to sourcing food, we’ll take it from wherever we can get it. [Veri-Fine Produce in Huron] is 45 minutes away from us, so it’s still local food as far as I’m concerned” (FC6).

5.6 Key Themes for Regional Economic Development

This section highlights processes and concepts from the interview data that relates back to the literature presented in Chapter 2. Each theme is broken down into two foci: agriculture and economic development. Data from the North Country is presented first under each subsection,

followed by Four Counties data. Each of these processes and concepts has a positive and negative impact on regional economic development and collaboration, depending on the context.

5.6.1 Neo-endogenous Development and New Regionalism

5.6.1.1 Agriculture Organizations

In collaboration, there is the need to understand the realities of working with certain groups. The groups of interest for this study were farmers and other stakeholders in food and agriculture. As was brought up by all of the interviewees, it was considered crucial to involve producers in the decision making process, as they were the group most likely to benefit from the work these organizations were doing: “the existence of this steering committee of farmers, the actual interested parties who are the ultimate beneficiaries, has been critical both for getting the funding continued from the state, without that, there would be no program, and also for ensuring the relevance of what’s done, to the needs of agriculturalists in the region” (NC8). Working *with* farmers, as opposed to just *for* farmers, maintains the relevance of what is being done in the North Country for agriculture. As suggested by the work of Gordon (2007), MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman (2002), Markey, Connelly and Roseland (2010), Gray (1996), and Sharma and Kearins (2011), a benefit of working regionally is the increased use of local and regional knowledge in the shaping of regional initiatives. This study reinforces their findings, especially between agricultural stakeholders, as a number of interviewees have to work directly with producers and other key stakeholders in the process of creating initiatives specifically for them. An example of this is the Northern New York Agricultural Development Program, which is populated by a farmer advisory committee to negotiate funding for various agriculturally related projects. The NNYADP is a prime example of neo-endogenous development as the program facilitates local farmer decision making, while at the same time utilizing state funding.

Creating an identity around unique place-based characteristics of a region is a central tenet of New Regionalism. A major motivation for the North Country to collaborate within the counties defined above is related to the nature and the uniqueness of agriculture in the region compared to the rest of the state. In response to why the NNYADP is crucial to the region, one interviewee suggested,

I think [the senators] realize that agriculture is really a major portion of the economy in [this] little area. And its an area that is distinct in terms of its soils and its agro-ecology, so if they're going to get research that will really help to boost the agricultural viability and...the economic value of agriculture in the region, one of the very important economic enterprises in the region, they need some support for research that's really done in [this] area...(NC8).

The unique agro-ecology of the area also influences who is interested in identifying with the North Country, and who might be better suited to identifying with other regions in the State (NC15). Therefore, a producer may be physically located in one region (Mohawk Valley, for example), but may feel his or her product makes them more identifiable or relatable to another region (the North Country, for example). Consequently, regional boundaries are not fixed, especially because the REDC boundaries may not follow the bioregions of the state. This is a drawback to trying to promote regional development when a geographic definition of a region is not adopted, particularly because flows of resources (knowledge, capital, etc.) do not stop at the end of a political-administrative boundary.

As with collaboration in the North Country, geography and agriculture play a defining role in how this process unfolds in the Four Counties. In the case of the Local Community Food Center, being a brick and mortar location has determined who is able to access their services: “we’re a place-based model, where people come to us and if people are able to come to us from outlying communities, then they are more than welcome to. But for the most part, there’s enough

need here in Stratford” (FC6). In this sense, the LCFC is intimately aware of their geography relative to the groups they are attempting to impact. Their geographic nature includes, yet also excludes certain populations, as they are firmly embedded in space. This is in contrast to the death of geography thesis that is explored in further detail below.

The diversity of food that can be grown in any given area is one reason why Grey and Bruce counties have opted to cease collaboration. Foodlink Grey-Bruce sees their respective agricultural sectors as too different to be able to work together effectively. Grey County is more focused on culinary tourism, while Bruce County is more diverse, including co-ops, ranches, fisheries and organic production (FC18). Further, compared to Huron County, Grey County has less prime farmland, but more small-scale, specialized farms (FC17). This agricultural diversity therefore may make it more difficult for these counties to collaborate as a cohesive region.

5.6.1.2 Economic Development Organizations

As described by the interviewees, the North Country has been chronically underfunded by the state of New York for much of its history. This, coupled with a history of poverty and its vast, rural areas, has meant that the North Country had nothing to lose when presented with the regional economic development councils (REDCs) in 2010. Therefore, those involved in the NCREDC applied themselves in the regional council process as wholeheartedly as they could.

The region has never suffered from lack of talent to do this. It is a lack of capacity and resources. And this new model instantly changed one aspect, which was the capacity, because we’re suddenly put in a room together and [told to] work it out. And [then] the resources flowed because the State made all those resources available only through this competitive process (NC2a).

The Regional Council process has also leveled the playing field, giving the North Country access to state funding that they would otherwise not have access to (NC2a), as the size of the region, and the low population restricted what grants they were eligible to apply for. The North Country

has decided to embrace their challenges and use their unique situation to their advantage in the creation of their regional strategies.

We were not going to try and say ok this is about our two biggest communities, or we're not going to make it just about the Adirondack Park. We're going to make the best of seven counties. And make it better. We're going to take the worst of our seven counties and try to overcome those hurdles...Let's make what is a perceived weakness, not having a major metro area, let's turn that into our strength (NC13).

There is also a tension between being able to address the needs of one county without sacrificing the needs of the larger Four Counties region and vice versa: “[there may be] specific regional issues that might seem more pressing than the overall region...Like a single county issue that may be more pressing to those county people than the overall regional matter. Or a feeling that the overall regional goal somehow does not serve their purpose” (FC5).

5.6.1.3 Summary and Significance

Neo-endogenous development argues that localities have the capacity to influence their own unique development trajectory. New Regionalism suggests that the unique attributes of a region are one way to do this. New Regionalism argues that unique attributes of a region (physical, cultural, economic) are to be embraced in the process of development. As suggested in Chapter 2, the shift away from universally applicable economic development instruments has led to economic strategies that are rooted in the unique context of a region (Amin 2000). The examples provided in this section demonstrate that that is what the North Country and the Four Counties is trying to do. Extensive literature and project reviews conducted by Ryser and Halseth (2010) and Goldenberg (2008) across North America and Europe suggest that regional approaches to economic development are becoming popular in rural areas, as they are more likely to reflect rural realities and concerns. New Regionalism in particular argues that it is a region's specific attributes, like the North Country's vast geography or stocks of social capital

that are the main assets a region can leverage for its own development (Amin 1999). This has proven true in the North Country, as the interviewees have embraced their region's strengths and unique characteristics to craft a regional strategy that coincides with their reality: their reality being a large rural region, with a low population density. This has also been the case in the Four Counties, though the interviewee ideas of a 'regional' approach have led to bi-county or intra-county collaboration. This is because a larger regional strategy has been seen to not fully reflect each county level reality. Contrary to what has been observed in the literature, larger scale regional collaboration as defined by this study has been dissolved in the Four Counties in certain instances, precisely because the issues of importance for the local counties do not reflect the issues of importance for the entire region and vice versa. This can be related to the difference in geographic versus administrative regions. Consequently, bottom up lower scale collaboration is continuing intra-county in the Four Counties region at present. Safford's (2004), and Saxenian's (1996) work also demonstrates variability between case sites, which has also been the case for this study. That is, even regions with very similar economic circumstances can have vastly different experiences with economic development. This reinforces the argument of neo-endogenous development and New Regionalism that argue that regions can facilitate their own development, using their own resources (i.e. each region has a unique set of resources to be utilized, leading to differential development outcomes.)

5.6.2 Path Dependence and Anchor Institutions

The concept of path dependency can be employed here to understand why economic development is structured the way it is in the case regions. Identity, and its history in each region, is of particular relevance. Anchor institutions play a key role in path dependence and can have a positive or negative impact on the development trajectory of a region. The North Country has several strong anchor institutions that band the region together. The Four Counties does not have

a similar organization operating at a regional level. Both the North Country and the Four Counties are locked into a certain strategy for collaborating in economic development. However, this is not to suggest that their strategy is better or more appropriate than the other.

5.6.2.1 Agriculture Organizations

The North Country region is distinct from the other economic development regions in the state because of its rural nature, historical poverty, and lack of a metropolitan area. This is the unique identity that stakeholders identify with across the North Country. These characteristics have been considered key to the region's success by economic development by stakeholders. The North Country's rural nature and historical poverty in particular have helped to unify the region, as all of the counties are facing similar challenges. Further, the North Country has felt a stronger impetus than its neighbouring regions to work together, precisely because each of the individual counties lack the financial resources necessary to achieve projects individually.

As explained in Chapter 4, the North Country is a seven county region in northern New York State. These regions are based on New York State Department of Labour boundaries. It is interesting to note that none of the four interviewees in agriculture organizations considered Hamilton County to be a part of the 'North Country' or 'Northern New York'. This may relate to the different 'growing regions' around New York State. Another possible explanation is that agricultural activities and subsequent boundaries predate the introduction of the regional council boundaries in 2010. It seems unlikely that the exclusion of Hamilton County is being done purposely and with negative intent, as the agriculture organizations were involved in some way with the larger NCREDC.

In contrast to the North Country, which has multiple organizations working together at the multiple county level, organizations in the Four Counties more often work in pairs, at a bi-county

level. This is evident by the names of these organizations. Foodlink *Grey-Bruce*, and *Huron-Perth* Farm to Table Partnership represent such bi-county collaborations. Colloquially, it is understood that these counties are working together in the agricultural sector because they are complementary and have a history of working as two-county regions (FC13). This path may explain why the Four Counties has not pursued a larger regional strategy for economic development. As demonstrated below, while Huron and Perth counties continue to actively collaborate in agricultural related activities, Grey and Bruce counties are working on redefining their respective roles in economic development in relation to agriculture.

5.6.2.2 *Economic Development Organizations*

The economic development stakeholders in the region generally accept these boundaries as laid out by Empire State Development, though it was suggested that stakeholders did not generally have input into the construction of the regional councils (NC9). Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that “just because...Empire State Development, says you’re a region, doesn’t mean you’re a region” (NC14), though acceptance of regional identity has not been an issue in the North Country. It is also noted by the interviewees that different state agencies have different regional boundaries (e.g. the Department of Environmental Conservation, and the Department of Transportation both divide the state differently). However, for the purposes of economic development, the NCREDC boundaries are seen to represent the region well. This acceptance is demonstrated by the North Country Alliance’s adjustment of their boundaries to match the NCREDC, even though the NCA has been operating in the region for over 20 years.

As seen in Chapter 4, the regional organizations have different and sometimes overlapping service areas, which are partially influenced by their mandates. The Development Authority of the North Country and the North Country Chamber of Commerce are of particular interest

because, while they utilize the term North Country in their name, their service boundaries do not coincide totally with those of the NCREDC. It is unlikely however that these organizations are in tension with the NCREDC since both of these organizations are heavily involved in the regional council process. Further, when questioned about their 'region', interviewees responded unanimously, with answers specific to the 'North Country'. A historical ability to operate as the North Country, through organizations like ANCA and the NCA, set the foundation and path for future NC collaboration, particularly the REDC process. These organizations also operate as anchor institutions that have bound, and will continue to bind the region together. The strength of the North Country's approach to economic development, agriculture and collaboration is its focus on many small projects rather than one large project. The NCREDC approach has been different relative to the other regional council across the State. Choosing to endorse and focus on a number of smaller projects across the North Country, rather than a large project in one part of the North Country has been crucial for their success in garnering funding and ensuring collaborative relationships remain intact. This strategy stays true to the identity of the North Country as a rural region with a distinct and varied geography.

One of the reasons I think we have done particularly well in this process is, we're such a diverse geography...We had nothing in common with our neighbors and therefore we had to kind of start from whole cloth, to build a regional strategy that, that took advantage of the strengths of the region as a region. So we have a transportation, manufacturing hub in the Eastern part of the [region]. Bombardier, located in Plattsburg, and it has nothing in common with the defense industry hub in the Western part of the region...And everything in between, there's agriculture, there's biomedical research going on in a small area of the region (NC2a).

A region having a city or not having a city is a useful example of demonstrating how a region's response to their unique context impacts the process of collaboration. This in instance, a city could be considered an anchor institution. Another unique attribute of the North Country, relative

to the other regions in New York State is its lack of a major metropolitan hub. Contrary to what may seem to be common sense, not having a city has been useful in facilitating collaboration in the North Country: “I think in large part [our success] is because everyone worked together...In most of the other councils, there is a large entity that is, that is taking on the bulk of the work that needs to be done to keep a council going all year long...We don’t have that” (NC14). Because the North Country lacks a large entity, like a city, that could be responsible for wholly organizing and driving the regional council process, it was more of a necessity that stakeholders across the region work together. Conversely however, the NCREDC has become one of several key anchor institutions across the region that are responsible for bringing stakeholders together. These organizations (NCREDC, ANCA, NCA, DANC), have maintained interest in collaboration historically and into the present, further strengthening the ability of the region to act as a cohesive unit for economic development.

As noted earlier, the Four Counties is a four county region in southwestern Ontario encompassing the counties of Grey, Bruce, Huron and Perth. These boundaries are based on the Four County Labour Market Planning Board, which conducts labour-related research and project delivery in these counties. The Four Counties is unified by similar challenges being faced in all four individual counties, particularly the decline of manufacturing industries in recent years. The region is also largely rural, with small population centers scattered across the counties: “really its Grey [and] Bruce [that] have kind of been left out of a lot of the regional economic development efforts over the years...So Grey and Bruce and bits of Dufferin and maybe a little bit of Perth, Huron, [are] kind of rural, almost forgotten parts of Ontario” (FC1). The role that urbanization can play in economic development will be discussed in further detail later in the chapter, as there is no consensus between the interviewees on the impact that having a city within the region has

on economic development.

It remains unclear whether the economic development stakeholders in the region accept the boundaries set out by the Four County Labour Market Planning Board. When asked questions about their 'region', county level interviewees responded with answers specific to their county. Similarly, regional level interviewees responded with answers specific to their own regional service area (which may have been the Four Counties or a larger southwestern Ontario region). This fragmentation is indicative of the individualistic outlook generally exhibited by the interviewees in this region. Further, this suggests that none of the regional organizations boundaries are concrete enough to warrant stakeholder adherence, and why the interviewees may not have seen themselves as part of a larger region. This may also be partially due to the overlapping service areas and the overlapping and poorly understood mandates of the regional organizations. The difference between, and usefulness of SWEA and the WOWC was particularly unclear among the interviewees. If stakeholders in the Four Counties do not see themselves as a regional unit now, how can they develop a regional identity? Should they want to do this? Without a history of identifying as the Four Counties, it seems unlikely the region will be able to operate as such into the future.

County and municipal participation in SWEA and the WOWC is voluntary, which means that the boundaries of SWEA and the WOWC are subject to change when a county or municipality joins or leaves, and though the WOWC is made up of county government CAOs (Chief Administrative Officers), both organizations are lacking authority and legitimacy according to the other economic developer stakeholders in the region. There is more than one organization trying to be the voice for the larger southwestern Ontario area, and this complicates the economic development landscape.

So all of these different groupings are all kind of chasing the same thing, the same mandate, perhaps the mandates are a little bit different or they overlap in many instances, a fair bit, and it causes confusion...it dilutes the messaging, it dilutes the leadership, and we've been told repeatedly, by the province and by the federal government, they only want to deal with one...So it's very fractured—the vulcanization of southwestern Ontario (FC1).

From the perspective of the interviewees, the Four Counties region is more accurately broken down into two, two county sub-regions; Grey and Bruce; and Huron and Perth. There is a historical affinity between these paired counties that has recently been changing, particularly in the case of Grey and Bruce. It was demonstrated above that there are a number of instances of collaboration between these counties dissolving. One such example, the Grey-Bruce Economic Development Partnership, will be discussed further below. Therefore, while these counties are used to working together in two sub regions, collaborative arrangements in the fields of agriculture and economic development, as a unified four county region are still developing. Despite representing the Four Counties, even the Four County Labour Market Planning Board approaches issues on a single county basis when necessary, as some counties are more developed on certain economic development issues than others.

In one particular instance in the Four Counties, physical infrastructure has been seen as crucial for ongoing collaboration. The HBDC and the HSBEC are located in the same building in Huron County and are therefore able to collaborate more readily than would otherwise be possible and facilitate positive face-to-face contact. In terms of physical capital, the perceived influence of a city on the process of collaboration is mixed. Stakeholders in Perth County suggested that Stratford has been crucial to their success and growth as a county, due to its dynamic nature, despite Stratford being politically separate from the county, and operating their own economic development department. Conversely, Huron County sees their lack of a city also as beneficial to collaboration, as there is no entity to steer development singularly. This is similar

to the perspective held by the North Country interviewees.

I think [not having a city] helped to foster that, that collaborative mindset... Sometimes cities are a little organized in some of their programming, than rural areas. They were ya know quicker to get organized because their needs were greater and so because we don't have a city in Huron... there was a need to collaborate with some of these broader issues like planning and economic development... There's a number of things that are a function at the county level that don't necessarily exist in other counties (FC9).

In this sense, cities may act as both positive and negative anchor institutions influencing the development trajectory of the region they are located in.

In terms of organizational anchor institutions, the Four County Labour Market Planning Board has not become a similar figurehead of the region as the NCREDC has in the North Country. The region lacks established and successful regional organizations that could have impacted the process of collaboration at the present time. There is no one organization that has been able to consistently represent the Four Counties, as the Four Counties is most likely better understood as Grey-Bruce and Huron-Perth. The organizations operating at this level, including Foodlink Grey-Bruce, the Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership, are better demonstrators for why collaboration has been occurring at a bi-county level recently, rather than at a larger regional level. The Four Counties has a multitude of organizations vying for the 'title' of anchor institution (i.e. that wants to be the sole representative of the interests of the area) (SWEA, WOWC, FCLMPB, RTO7), but no one is really achieving this because of their overlapping mandates that have confused stakeholders at the county level.

5.6.2.3 Summary and Significance

Morgan's (1997a,b) research on the Welsh Development Agency demonstrates the ability of regional development organizations to become anchor institutions. As regional development organizations have as their mandate, the improvement of a regional area, they are tied to a region

in a very concrete way, making them key candidates for AIs (Webber and Karlström 2009). Given this regional identity, economic development organizations are also unlikely to move to relocate.

Martin and Sunley (2006) argue that the process of path dependence is equally applicable to regional economies as it is to singular firms and organizations. Nelles, Bramwell and Wolfe's (2005) research on Waterloo Region demonstrate this, and confirm the findings of this section, that the history of a region strongly influences its present ability to develop. In particular, Nelles, Bramwell and Wolfe (2005) highlight the importance of the embedded German immigrant community identity to the development trajectory of Waterloo Region. It is possible to surmise that the North Country's historical embedded regional identity has played a key role in the success of the North Country in the contemporary regional economic development council process. If they did not have a strong regional identity, they may have been less successful. Comparison of the NCREDC to another regional council in the State would be able to confirm or challenge this. Conversely, but not negatively, the Four Counties has a strong two-county identity in place that has lead them to continue collaborating at that level. While Safford's (2004) and Saxenian's (1996) research is primarily focused on the role of social capital in the development of innovation, there is a path dependence lesson as well. Both Safford (2004) and Saxenian (1996) studied a region that was 'successful', and one that was 'unsuccessful'. It could be argued that their unsuccessful regions were unsuccessful because they were locked into an inefficient mode of operation (strong bonding capital in the case of Youngstown, Ohio, and a vertically integrated closed off management hierarchy in the case of Route 128). While the Four Counties is not collaborating at a 'regional' level, this does not mean that they are locked into an

inefficient mode of operation. Their bi-county and intra-county approach has been serving them well thus far, as the examples given at the beginning of this chapter demonstrate.

When applied to the North Country, the sum of the activities of the numerous regional organizations amount to a historical North Country path that continues to influence the trajectory of the North Country today. Cantor, Englot and Higgins (2013) argue that a strong temporal legacy is also key to the functioning of AIs. The organizations interviewed in the North Country have such temporal fastness. For example, the Adirondack North Country Association was established in 1955, which suggests that the region has been commonly understood as the North Country for at least the past 60 years. The North Country Alliance and the Development Authority of the North Country have also been key anchors of development in the region for the last 30 years. Therefore, in 2011 when the state of New York decided to divide the state into regions for economic development, it was natural to include the North Country as one of those defined regions. Of all the regional organizations interviewed in the Four Counties, the FCLMPB has the longest historical legacy, having been established in the 1990s. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, the FCLMPB has not played the same key anchor role as the organizations interviewed in the North Country. This is likely because the area does not have a history of identifying as the 'Four Counties'.

The NCA's expansion to coordinate with the NCREDC boundaries (six counties to seven counties) also demonstrates a certain amount of flexibility that would be considered uncommon in the path dependence process (Martin 2007; Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch 2009). The DANC is a more tangible example of an anchor institution because of its role as an infrastructure creating firm. Therefore, its contributions to quality of life (Brophy and Godsil 2009; Webber and Karlström 2009) are much more tangible than the activities of the NCA for

example. The Four Counties does demonstrate the ability of a region to break out of a defined path to a certain extent. The Four Counties has more often operated as a two sub regions historically, Grey-Bruce and Huron-Perth. For the purposes of economic development, Grey and Bruce have been attempting to operate individually. The external shock that precipitated this change (Martin 2007; Schreyögg, Sydow and Koch 2009) was a local consulting report that suggested the counties part ways, although underlying social tensions may also have been a contributing factor. Therefore, as of yet, the Four Counties does not have a strong contender to anchor the region.

5.6.3 Death of Geography

5.6.3.1 Agriculture Organizations

While face-to-face collaboration is desirable, is not always feasible in the North Country. This is especially true when producers are actively involved in the decision making process. Technology, therefore, can play an important role in facilitating connections across space and overcoming distance challenges: “the Internet has just been unbelievable for us. We do a lot by webinar... so, we can bring in Cornell people from Ithaca, and they don’t have to drive, they can just ya know, sit at their desk and have a conference with ten farmers or whatever it might be” (NC15). However, despite technology’s ability to connect people (Morgan 2001), it became equally clear there was a tension between technology’s ability to facilitate collaboration, and its ability to hinder it in the North Country.

One of the things I see that makes collaboration more or less successful, or more or less possible, is that [face to face] ... is important in this day and age of technology and communication ... Actually putting a face to the people you try to work with, seems to me really important and actually sitting down and talking to them...It can be hard to get people to show up, but I also think it really does facilitate collaborations in a way that all of our technology can do up to a point, but... unless you have some sort of relationship, it doesn’t really happen (NC8).

Therefore, technology may only be useful in facilitating established relationships and collaborations, rather than in creating entirely new connections. Another important consideration is the availability of technology, such as high speed Internet, in rural and remote areas like the North Country. In the case of Adirondack Harvest, operating under the coverage of Cornell Cooperative Extension of Essex County has allowed high speed Internet to be extended into the rural Adirondacks, allowing those benefits to flow outward: “one things that Cornell does provide us with [is a] high speed Internet here [in Essex County] in the middle of the rural Adirondacks...[And] a lot of people are still on dial up, so we’re able to provide that to our collaborators as well” (NC15). However, working with producers comes with specific realities that need to be taken into consideration. From the point of view of non-producers, adjustments might need to be made to ensure inclusion.

And when are [the NCREDC and agriculture committee] asking us to meet? In the summertime. So its really, really challenging and yes its wonderful to be in the same room and breathe the same air, but sometimes its better served to just have a phone conversation. Because [the producers] can come in from the field or the barn, or they can stop the tractor, and they can be on the other side of the phone for an hour...Yes its good to be physically in the same room, but in the summertime its just not realistic for the farmers. It’s really not (NC11).

Adjusting and working with the realities of the group these organizations are advocating for is crucial for fostering successful collaboration.

Opinions of the role of technology in the agricultural sector for facilitating collaboration and overcoming geographical barriers in the Four Counties is mixed. For organizations like Foodlink Grey-Bruce that are linked to the county government and are heavily involved with producers on a day-to-day basis, technology is not deemed helpful, as producers may not have access to such technology (FC18). That is to say, technology and specifically email may not be useful for Foodlink in reaching their target audience. Foodlink Grey-Bruce acknowledges that

giving the farmers an incentive would increase participation. This is especially true as involving producers in the Foodlink process is essential to the survival of the website. The same can be said for the LCFC who routinely works with marginalized and vulnerable populations who may not have access to technology to help them learn about the services offered by the LCFC. Recruiting these groups has proven difficult since normally highly effective social media campaigns were not reaching their target audience. This has led to outreach being done personally, through creative strategies: “we actually put together a newsletter recently that went out with the free paper that is actually delivered to every address in Stratford. And so that was a sort of means of reaching out to people who we thought maybe weren’t getting the message about what we were doing” (FC6). These examples demonstrate that technology is not an appropriate tool in all cases.

The death of geography thesis suggests that information technology is compressing space (Morgan 2001), and to a certain extent this has proved true in the case regions as utilizing technology has been helpful. The North Country and the Four Counties are both utilizing technology to facilitate collaboration and overcome the challenges posed by their geographies. However, in contrast to the death of geography thesis, the mandates of these agriculture organizations (e.g. working with producers or marginalized populations) has made technology less helpful, as these populations may be less likely to have access to such technology. Face-to-face meetings were still considered the most desirable by interviewees, despite the extra work required to facilitate it. A common practice among the organizations was the rotation of physical meeting locations. This allowed as many members as possible to be at any given meeting.

5.6.3.2 Economic Development Organizations

Given the large, sparsely populated nature of both the case regions, it is not surprising that many economic development interviewees identified geography as being a challenge to the

process of collaborating. While geography is an ongoing challenge in these and other rural regions, it is not an insurmountable barrier. While the interviewees suggested that their vast rural nature is what defined them, and made them fully support the regional council process, the geography of the North Country also becomes a logistical challenge when physical collaboration is required. However, as the geography of the North Country is not something that can be changed, the economic development stakeholders of the region have experience dealing with it.

It's a very large area. And will always be a challenge. And so, like the [subcommittee of the NCREDC] ya know, we try to have them in the middle, or one time on the east, and one time on the west. Because somebody's going to have to travel three and a half hours... [so] things need to be done virtually sometimes because... you can only give up half a day to travel out and half a day to travel back for a one hour meeting... so many times a year... It's a challenge that we've found ways to overcome (NC1).

Due to the geography of the North Country, technology has played a key role in facilitating collaboration by overcoming that distance. However, while technology has been useful in maintaining linkages across the region, the interviewees remain unsure how well technology can create relationships from scratch. Therefore, the role of face-to-face communication is still considered important, especially in the early stages of collaboration. Regardless of the method used, regular communication was considered key, not only for simply informing partners, but also to maintain social capital and trust (Storper 2013).

Due to the large and rural nature of the Four Counties, and subsequent lack of transportation networks, geography impacts the process of collaboration. Further, interests around the region may not always align, so it may not make sense to collaborate in all jurisdictions on all issues:

The interests of Grey County aren't necessarily [those] of Essex County, we have some similarities, but we have two very different realities. Similarly, Middlesex County which surrounds London has a whole different relationship with things than Grey County, or Bruce County, so trying to get a common focus, and a common theme

is really difficult for a region as diverse, and as large as this region (Southwestern Ontario) (FC1).

Therefore, nuances within politically defined regions must be taken into account when undertaking collaboration. This is in contrast to the ‘death of geography’ thesis that suggests regions are interchangeable and therefore economic development instruments can be universal (Amin 2000). Further, geographic proximity also influences who it makes sense to collaborate with, on a practical level. Consequently, geography also has an impact on the physical process of collaborating, though this impact is not as significant here, as region-wide collaboration in the Four Counties is not as prevalent in relation to bi-county or intra-county collaboration.

When geography and distance have become a challenge, the interviewees have used technology and the rotation of physical location. While Huxham (1993, 1996) argues that geography and distance can impact the process of regional collaboration, in practice, geographic challenges are approached pragmatically by the interviewees. First, while interviewees suggested that the use of technology, and the Internet specifically, has increased their rate of collaboration by overcoming their geographic challenges, some interviewees felt that “you can only do so much online” (FC5). Therefore, while technology can be helpful in some instances, it should not be over relied on; face-to-face interaction is still a crucial component of collaboration (Murdoch 2000). Second, on a more practical level, the Four Counties lacks widespread broadband infrastructure, making its use as a tool to facilitate collaboration tenuous. Such high-speed Internet infrastructure is considered key to the economic growth and success of the region, as evidenced by WOWC and SWEA’s efforts on separate broadband projects.

5.6.3.3 *Summary and Significance*

Technology has played a key role in overcoming the geography of these regions, though it has also been a source of tension. While the interviewees generally believe that the Internet,

ICT and other technology have been critical to facilitating collaboration, some interviewees voiced concerns similar to Murdoch (2000). Murdoch's (2000) research on the role of networks in rural development argues that, while new technologies can help with the limits imposed on collaboration due to geography, technology cannot wholly be a substitute for face-to-face interactions. Storper's (2013) research also confirms this. Storper (2013) further confirms the importance of face-to-face contact by suggesting that it has the ability to develop trust, and to motivate collaborative effort. It is further suggested that global economies make significant investments to ensure face-to-face contact between partners, in spite of possibly more effective information communication technologies. Contrary to what Murdoch (2000) suggests geography and technology have not stalled collaboration in either region. Therefore technology can be a barrier to collaboration *or* a necessary success factor for collaboration, depending on when and how it is included in the process. Utilizing technology as the sole mode of communication may not be beneficial in the beginning stages of collaboration, but may be a useful tool to maintain already existing collaborations, if the necessary infrastructure is in place.

5.6.4 Social Capital

5.6.4.1 Agriculture Organizations

The diversity of members in collaboration is strongly linked to social capital, and was a common theme among the interviewees. For food and agriculture organizations, this becomes particularly important due to the diversity of the agricultural sector and what constitutes being a 'producer'. For instance, the NNYADP provides funds for agricultural research based on the advice of a Board of Directors that is comprised solely of farmers. However, there is no predominant type of farmer in the North Country. Therefore, "we try to make sure the farmer committee represents not just each of the six counties, but also the diversity in agricultural enterprises in the region" (NC8). The result is that the committee is heterogeneous and includes

members from livestock commodity groups, horticulturalists, and crop producers (NC8).

The Huron-Perth Farm to Table Partnership has a diverse membership including health unit representatives, economic developers, farm organizations, tourism representatives, producers and consumers. This diverse membership is arguably an important factor in ensuring all interests are taken into account for a program or project. The Center for Sustainable Food Systems is in the midst of developing a matrix for the county level food hub planning teams. The goal of the planning team matrix is to include representatives from across the food value chain, as well as those not directly involved in the food system, but who have a stake in the outcome (FC16). Multiple perspectives break down organizational silos. Diversity of members helps to ameliorate the silos that exist between different organizations. Therefore, when collaborating with diverse members, negotiating inter-organizational cultures is important. Further, the reality of these members needs to be taken into consideration. Challenges associated with diverse membership is that the interests of those involved may be too different to be able to come to a consensus on what needs to be accomplished for the region.

5.6.4.2 Economic Development Organizations

The importance of social capital and human capital to the success of collaboration was highlighted by a number of interviewees in the North Country. Of particular importance is the role bonding, bridging, or linking social capital can play in creating diversity and facilitating creative problem solving. Consequently, social capital is seen as a tool that can be used to understand the North Country's regional context:

you need that diversity in the room and this is what's really important...each of us has a circle of influence—and of contacts. And all of our circles...might cross over or not. But when we gather all those different bodies around the table, that's how we can get a sense of what's going on in the region (NC11).

Given the dynamic and diverse nature of economic development, having varied expertise can smooth the process and increase a collaborations chance of success (Woolcock 2001). By working collaboratively, the North Country now has a better sense of what is happening across the region. This social diversity can be extended to the makeup of the regional organizations as well. Diversity in the makeup of regional organizations, such as the DANC, the NCA, ANCA and the NCREDC allows these organizations to create solutions that encompass multiple viewpoints, and take into account as much of the North Country regional reality as possible, “the regional council includes political leaders, university people, ya know, major business owners, etc. So it’s more encompassing, but that's what really brought the region into one focus” (NC1).

By bringing the region together through the NCREDC, stakeholders are better able to leverage their social capital for the good of the region. However, in the North Country in particular, there is an unresolved chicken and egg situation. Was the North Country able to utilize the REDC process more effectively because of stronger existing stocks of social capital? Or did the creation of the NCREDC foster the creation of social capital? It is difficult to answer these questions definitively, however, based on interviewee comments, both were important and influential. The NCREDC has become a primary mechanism by which the region cultivates social capital, as it is a meeting place for diverse stakeholders around the region to come together and decide how to tackle the challenges of their region.

Social capital’s influence on inter-organizational and cross-jurisdictional collaboration is well documented by Woolcock’s (2001) review of theoretical and empirical literature. That is, cultivating and utilizing social capital allows individuals from different fields to connect and work together more easily than if ties of social capital were not developed. Given that the NCREDC has cross-jurisdictional and cross-sectoral collaboration built into its structure, it

seems likely that social capital has been fostered through the regional council process. SWEA, RTO7, and FCLMPB all operate with diverse sectoral membership, thereby increasing the likelihood of cross-sectoral collaboration, beyond that which occurs through the operation of these organizations.

As strong bonds of social capital are key to successful collaborations, a lack of social capital or underdeveloped social linkages can negatively impact the collaboration process (Ansell and Gash 2007; Huxham 1996; Lee et al. 2011; Putnam 2001; Sharma and Kearins 2011). This is especially true in the North Country, as the NCREDC has brought together stakeholders in economic development that may not have worked together previously, and therefore social ties may have been less developed, even though simultaneously, individual stakeholders continued to identify with a larger ‘North Country’ regional identity. Therefore, more ground work had to be done in the beginning to develop trust and communication. As established in Chapter 2, trust is an integral component of collaboration and of social capital, and trust in a competitive environment like the REDCs requires time to cultivate (NC4): “collaboration requires the assent and active participation of, of partners. And not everybody will agree, always agree... with what we want to do” (NC13). Consensus is not a necessary component of collaboration. In fact, the process of compromise is a dimension of collaboration that helps to develop trust among stakeholders (Gordon 2007, 2009). However, if partners are unwilling to compromise, the project may be in jeopardy.

In the Four Counties, outlook towards collaboration has played a role in collaboration and explains, to a certain extent, why the economic development landscape remains fragmented. Membership in the larger regional organizations (SWEA and WOWC) is voluntary. Consequently, member municipalities and counties will only remain members if there are

perceived benefits of doing so. More broadly, there appears to be lingering territorial protection occurring in the Four Counties, both inter and intra county, though this experience is varied in each county and varies depending on the organization in question. While some individuals in the Four Counties have a collaborative mindset, it is not a universal outlook held by all stakeholders in the region. Changing this mindset to one that is conducive to meaningful development is possible with time and continuing, in spite of this outlook, to attempt to create successful collaborations. Success breeds success, and in the case of the Four Counties, having concrete examples of collaboration on the side of the regional organizations may serve to foster a more positive and unified outlook towards collaboration into the future.

In terms of creating conditions conducive to collaboration, and making it easier for partners to work together, the interviewees suggested that the fewer parties involved, the easier collaboration would be. This is not only true for the logistics of physical collaboration, but also for the social process of collaboration, as having fewer parties involved may help to minimize personality clashes that can obstruct the process of collaboration (Ansell and Gash: 2007, Huxham: 1996, Lee et al.: 2011, Ryser and Halseth: 2010, Sharma and Kearins: 2011): “you know sometimes it comes down to, comes down to personality... Sometimes we’ve tried to partner with Perth County, and there are a couple of organizations I won’t name... but you can’t work with them, because the people involved are just impossible to work with... Maybe they’re just hard people to get along with” (FC2). Despite the interviewees stating that they collaborate on a consistent basis with their neighbours, inside and outside of their respective county, this demonstrates that there may in fact be an underlying social tension that may be a barrier to the Four Counties being able to meaningfully collaborate, now and into the future.

These findings are supported by the work of Gordon (2007, 2009), and the perceptions of economic development stakeholders in regions across five American states, which argues that a stakeholder's outlook to working together, will impact their willingness to collaborate. Ansell and Gash (2007), in their meta analysis of 137 cases of collaborative governance internationally, Lee et al.'s (2011) micro-level analysis of collaboration networks in metropolitan Orlando, Florida, and Sharma and Kearins' (2011) research on interorganizational collaboration in a region of New Zealand, also reached similar conclusions. Namely, that local government outlook and unequal power relationships can influence their tendency to pursue collaborations. Theoretical contributions made by Huxham (1996) also suggest a relationship between outlook, power imbalances and an organizations willingness to collaborate. A negative outlook toward collaboration also may impact the accumulation of social capital, thus further impacting the process of collaboration (Ryser and Halseth 2010). These findings are also support by the work of Safford (2004) and Saxenian (1996) who demonstrate that different kinds of social capital will lead to different development outcomes. Bonding capital limits the ability of stakeholders to form new connections to potentially useful partners, while weaker ties of bridging capital are useful for ascertaining resources from outside a given community (Safford 2004; Saxenian 1996).

5.6.4.3 Summary and Significance

Dale and Newman's (2008) research on the role of social capital in community development in Canada and Australia, Putnam and Goss' (2002) work on social capital and its role in democracy, and Putnam's (2000) seminal work on declining civic engagement in the United States are all in support of this finding, that strong stocks of social capital can enhance a region's ability to solve issues collectively. Safford's (2004) research on the decline and success in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and Saxenian's (1996) research on Silicon Valley and Route 128 further supports the findings of this section, that strong stocks of social capital are of crucial

importance to the economic development of a region. Both Safford (2004) and Saxenian (1996) found a dichotomy between their case regions. Allentown, Pennsylvania and Silicon Valley both rebounded strongly in the face of decline by utilizing their stocks of bridging capital to expand their relationships across the region (Safford 2004; Saxenian 1996). Conversely, Youngstown, Ohio and Route 128 failed to adapt to their changing economic circumstances, due to embedded structures of bonding capital that constrained the development of external connections. Gray's (1996) review of four cross-sectoral collaborations across the United States suggested that collaboration could create a strengthened relationship between stakeholders through the process of inclusion. In the North Country, interviewees remarked on how the regional council process has created linkages between stakeholders who had not previously been involved in regional initiatives. In this sense, collaboration has strengthened relationships across the region. Conversely, in the case of the Four Counties, not collaborating consistently at a regional level, has given the individual counties the opportunity to strengthen relationships between county level governments and lower-tier municipalities. While trust building is at the same time a necessary component to achieve successful collaboration, and a positive outcome of the collaborative process, MacKinnon, Cumbers and Chapman's (2002) work on learning regions and innovation cautions that trust can lead to relationship 'lock-in', where existing linkages do not expand continuously to include new external stakeholders. This sentiment is echoed by the work of Dale and Newman (2008) who suggest that bonding capital alone is not sufficient for community development, as one's circle will not extend beyond friends and family. Therefore, while the instances of collaboration in the North Country and the Four Counties are positive and suggest that trust is being developed among stakeholders, the regions may need to continue actively seek linkages external to the ones that already exist to ensure collaboration does not

stagnate, and cause collaborative inertia to be stalled (Huxham 1996). The other purported benefits of social capital—more efficient networking within society (Dale and Newman 2008), increased quality of governance (Putnam 1995), decreased crime rates, and generally increased human happiness (Putnam and Goss 2002)—were not common themes from the interviewees. This finding was not surprising as these benefits occur at a higher and more general societal level than the regional initiatives under study.

5.6.5 Collaboration

5.6.5.1 Agriculture Organizations

During the collaborative process, it is important to keep in mind, “you can’t be everything to everyone” (FC6). Therefore, compromise and flexibility are important in collaboration when the scope of the program is still being decided, and through to the completion of the collaborative project, if the project has a defined end point. Being reflexive and flexible along the process ensures that a rigid and possibly detrimental structure is not put in place and adhered to even if it becomes clear it is not working.

The Huron-Perth Farm-to-Table Partnership is an interesting case to illustrate collaboration in a rural area. When a specific regional context is taken into account, a ‘one size fits all’ structure is not likely to be successful. The Partnership is just a website (with content similar to Foodlink Grey-Bruce), but no one is employed full time for the website. It has no formal structure; it is operated by a voluntary committee and is not a legally recognized not-for-profit organization. Therefore, funding has to be secured by member organizations taking the lead on individual projects and programs. The reasoning behind this informal structure is related to the realities of living in a rural area and relates to the importance of flexibility in the collaborative process.

Huron Perth Farm to Table... has always collaborated informally, inviting groups to the table as issues arise. I wonder if we kept with the informal structure... to allow for people moving in and out of the committee depending on the current issues? Would a formal structure in an area of low population and low population density work? Some of the projects are Huron specific and some are Perth specific- we collaborate so that we can learn from each other- keeping in mind that Huron and Perth are different, in that Huron does not have an urban centre (FC13).

This flexible and reflexive outlook is also demonstrated by the case of Foodlink Grey-Bruce, as they believed that they could achieve more operating separately than they could together. Rather than locking themselves into an unbeneficial collaborative structure, their roles were reevaluated and they now operate Foodlink Grey-Bruce individually. This is not meant to suggest that collaboration is not a useful and worthwhile process. However, it should be equally noted that collaboration might not be appropriate in all instances. Several reasons were given for why collaborating was not optimal for Foodlink Grey-Bruce. These included county-level government differences, unequal participation, and vastly different agricultural contexts. For these and certainly other undisclosed reasons, it was decided that the counties should continue to maintain their agricultural directories on the website separately. Based on what was said during these interviews, it appears Grey and Bruce counties have experienced a number of benefits since dissolving Foodlink Grey-Bruce. First, operating individually allows each county to focus more on their own producers, and meeting their specific needs. Second, proceeding individually has streamlined the process, and has made it more effective. In the case of Grey and Bruce counties, economic development is a priority for both of the counties, and they realized that it would be in their best interest to strengthen their efforts and that it would be easier to do so individually (FC17). Further, the counties did not want to create another layer of bureaucracy. By pursuing economic development activities by county, the process is more direct. Grey and Bruce can now go directly to their individual CAOs, managers, or county legislators instead of

navigating a process of bi-county bureaucracy (FC17). Clearly then, collaborating is not appropriate in all cases, and failed collaborations are not necessarily always negative, and do not always have negative consequences.

At various points in the process, leadership is considered a key component of collaborating in this sector in the Four Counties. In getting projects off the ground, regional organizations or individuals that can act as champions to build momentum are crucial. For example, the LCFC is considering transitioning their Storehouse into a distribution hub for the larger area. The idea was co-championed by the Economic Development Department of Perth County and the LCFC. Further, a feasibility study was paid for by the county and carried out by the LCFC. Moving into the implementation phase however, neither the county, nor the LCFC want to be responsible for actually running the hub, though the LCFC has the space and is willing to be involved in a landlord capacity. At present, the LCFC is looking for a champion to move the proposed plan forward (FC6).

5.6.5.2 Economic Development Organizations

Leadership was a common theme from the interviewees, particularly in relation to the larger NCREDC, which many of the interviewees were involved with in some capacity. Leadership and specifically the role of champions are credited as key to the North Country's perceived success thus far, and are understood as key mechanisms for coordination and are useful for building momentum for an initiative: "at the end of the day...you can put together these big plans but somebody has to pick up the ball and run...Somebody has to be the lead agency" (NC2a). From a logistics standpoint, human capital has been crucial to the success of these regional organizations, and to the functioning of the NCREDC in particular, as the NCREDC does not have any permanent full time staff, and therefore relies on volunteers to run

the Executive Committee, as well as the 20 plus sub committees that operate within the NCREDC. Therefore, the use of dedicated volunteers is seen as a key reason for the NCREDC's success (NC14). However, this reliance on volunteers has become a concern to some interviewees, due to the chance of volunteer burnout and what affect that may have on the NCREDC's future (NC1).

State level funding has been reduced and so one of the things, one of the frustrating aspects of this from our perspective is we've been asked to come in and work, in our particular case, on plan development in the priority projects committees, which are intensive to work around. And yet on the backside of it, when it actually comes to putting the projects back out on the street, they've got no capacity to do that. So a lot of the work again is falling on our staff and we essentially are providing staffing services to the state of New York (NC2a).

Therefore, physical manpower has been an issue, one that the state could conceivably address. From the perspective of the interviewees, utilizing existing human resources, and compensating that labour appropriately, rather than having the state hire new full time regional council employees may help avoid adding another layer of bureaucracy to the already dense hierarchy that exists in New York State (NC9). Therefore there is a tension here between the need for the manpower to collaborate, and not wanting to complicate the existing structure.

While adequate resources (financial and otherwise) are considered the foundation of successful collaboration, insufficient resources can also be a barrier to collaboration, especially when trying to ensure equal participation by all partners. If there is a concern that a project may not have a positive financial outcome, an organization may be hesitant to be involved (NC4). Financial resources also become a barrier to project implementation in the North Country due to the way the REDCs are structured. The REDCs are the mechanism for which applications for project funding are supported and endorsed to the state of New York for further consideration. Therefore, the funding is funneled directly through various state agencies and not through the

REDCs themselves. A number of interviewees suggested that some, though not all, state agencies are operating on a reimbursement model. That is, when a specific project is granted funding, the project has to be completed before the applicable state agency gives them their financial award. Consequently, upfront funding has been an issue and bridge funding between the implementation and completion of a project, is in high demand (NC2a, NC9). The interviewees have been dealing with the challenges this funding model poses and want to find a better way of delivering the council awards: “if you are really going to be transformative...you’ve gotta meet us halfway. We’ll do our part and we deliver the projects and implement the goals we have, but you’ve gotta do some things to change the monetary policy around how these things get awarded” (NC2a).

In speaking to how best to organize multiple partners, a representative from the Huron Business Development Corporation suggested that champions were key in developing support for a specific initiative, the Midwest Ontario Regional Jobs Strategy, “we had the benefit of, a particular executive director at the Four County Labour Market Planning Board...who was able to do the same thing with her counterparts across the provincial network and say ‘guys, ya know, we’re involved in this, and I think its going to fit your mandate too’...So, its those champions” (FC2). Leadership, therefore, becomes an important tool to develop collaborative capacity. The importance of leadership also applies to creating a foundation for collaboration: “collaboration works best when everyone has a vested interest in the issue already. So you’re not sort of artificially creating energy, there’s existing energy to pull in...So people know why they’re there, what they are working towards, why they specifically need to be there” (FC15).

Unsurprisingly, having the financial capacity to participate in collaborative projects is a key factor determining success. The funding situation varied for each organization, and therefore

lack of funding was a barrier in some instances. In the case of the CFDCs in the region, their ability to receive core funding from the federal government has been extremely influential in their ability to undertake projects to achieve their mandate (FC2). Conversely, however, it was understood by some stakeholders that not having sufficient funding has bolstered their ability to collaborate, in that it became an incentive to collaborate with other organizations in the region: “the other thing is we’ve never been flush with money... We have less operating dollars from the federal government [today] than we had in 1985 when the program started... So we’ve never had the luxury of enough money to just go ahead and do anything we wanted to do by ourselves and that’s been great” (FC2). In certain circumstances then, lack of financial capital can be a powerful tool to facilitate collaboration, when stakeholders need to work together to achieve their mandates. This is contrary to what has been said in the literature, where lack of resources is often interpreted as a barrier to collaboration (Gordon 2007, 2009; Huxham 1993, 1996; Ryser and Halseth 2010).

Conversely, limited financial resources have been one of the key barriers to some of the regional organizations being able to implement projects in pursuit of their mandates. Without sufficient financial capital, these organizations are unable to reach critical mass to be effective. While financial capital was often cited as a barrier, the interviewees recognized that it was not a unique problem, and therefore, not likely to change in the immediate future. Tenuous financial situations can also strain individual collaborations when partners are not able to contribute equally. Insufficient financial resources can also impact an organization’s ability to utilize human capital, and therefore the ability of regional organizations to reach the critical mass required to be effective at a regional level.

In order to get the Warden’s working effectively and to have a robust administrative structure, and similarly for SWEA, we need funded positions. We

need to have people doing the work in between the meeting, organizing the meetings but then research; somebody needs to do the collaboration and coordination, including all that good stuff. And right now its, we're relying on portion's of people's time, and its not good enough anymore (FC1).

5.6.5.3 Summary and Significance

Lackey, Freshwater and Rupasingha (2002) also remark on the importance of leadership in their work on cooperation between local governments in the Tennessee Valley, suggesting that, without strong leadership, collaborative projects may not make the leap from idea to reality. The importance of leadership in collaboration is also supported by the work of Dale and Newman (2008) with United We Can, a Canadian 'street' charity based in Vancouver, British Columbia. As the authors explain "the success of networks, over time, appears to be dependent upon external enabling conditions often outside the resources of the community, hence the criticality of networks to create bridging and vertical ties, especially important for marginalized communities to gain a measure of autonomy and control over their future" (Dale and Newman 2008:18). Dale and Newman (2008) further suggest that it was the ability of the United We Can founder to act as a leader for the project that was crucial to accessing bridging social capital ensuring the future success of United We Can. Leadership can be understood as human capital, since the ability to be a leader is a skill possessed by an individual. However, in this context, the outcome of strong leadership can be the development of social capital, which in turn may translate into economic capital. Feldman and Zoller's (2012) research on 'dealmakers' in 12 US regions demonstrates that startups with strong 'dealmakers' (i.e. champions and leaders) have a better chance of success compared to those that do not. Nelles (2013) research in two Ontario regions, and two regions in Germany uses the term civic capital to explain the importance of leadership for ensuring successful collaboration. In each case, low levels of civic capital corresponded to low levels of successful partnerships, the opposite being true for high levels of

social capital. Therefore, despite collaboration often being thought of as a group endeavor, the importance of leadership should not be understated.

In Hanssen et al.'s (2011) work on regional economic development in Norway and Sweden, the authors suggested that “the problem with nationally defined criteria for funding is that it is a national level that ‘pick the winners’, determining which local and regional projects are worth concentrating on”. It is unclear in the cases of Norway and Sweden whether the national level has the ability or knowledge to know which cases are the most pertinent for the region in question. The case of the NCREDC in the North Country provides a useful alternative model. While funding is still controlled by federal level agencies, projects are nominated by the regional councils for consideration, increasing the likelihood that the funded projects reflect the most important needs and realities of the region. This is a clear example of neo-endogenous development.

In the case of the North Country, human capital is the most important resource that could influence the trajectory of the regional council process. By the way the REDCs are structured, financial capital is less of a concern, though the distribution method may need to be altered in certain instances. Both financial capital and human capital could play important roles in bolstering the capacity of regional organizations in the Four Counties.

5.7 Future of Regional Economic Development and Collaboration

5.7.1 The North Country

The NCREDC's diverse approach to economic development is what has made the North Country unique in New York State. Given that the NCREDC has won three out of three competitive ‘Best Plan’ awards, it is likely that this diverse approach will continue to make the

NCREDC successful within the regional council process. Stakeholders in economic development suggested that a long-term time horizon, and long-term sustainability was more important than short term ‘wins’ in economic development. Having a mechanism in place like the NCREDC to ensure collaboration suggests that regional economic development strategies in the North Country will continue to have positive results. The economic development stakeholders in the North Country have come to understand that local projects can have wider impacts beyond their immediate areas. This represents a key shift in outlook and creates a positive environment in which to pursue collaboration. This realization has been beneficial in altering an individualistic outlook towards economic development, to an outlook that recognizes the benefits of collaboration. Understanding that an economic development project in one part of the North Country, can actually contribute to the whole of the North Country is a profound outlook shift that explains why the interviewees perceive the region to be working well together. However, the continued success of the REDC is predicated upon the REDCs permanency in the economic development landscape of New York State. Government turnover is a challenge that the North Country may have to face in the future at the regional level, and is already being dealt with at the county level. As the Governor of New York State implemented the regional councils, what could happen to the REDCs if the Governor is not reelected? Would the REDC initiative be dismantled?

5.7.2 The Four Counties

The future of economic development in the Four Counties remains uncertain. The regional organizations are continuing to build their capacity, both in terms of social capital, and concrete project implementation. The Four Counties has demonstrated that collaborating at a regional level may not be the best approach in all circumstances. Collaborating at a bi-county or intra-county level rather than at a “regional” level does not mean the Four Counties has been

unsuccessful in collaboration. Operating at this lower level, the Four Counties has been successful, with a number of tangible outputs and non-tangible outcomes as described throughout this chapter. A bi-county or single county approach has been more worthwhile in this region.

5.8 Chapter in Review

First, this chapter presented the current context in each case study site, broken down by sectoral focus. Examples of on-the-ground success were also presented for the case regions. Broken down into tangible outputs and non-tangible outcomes, this section highlighted the difficulty in credibly determining the tangible economic outcomes of collaboration (such as decreased unemployment), though knowledge of these outcomes is required to understand the outcomes of regional efforts. For the North Country, these tangible outputs included monetary awards for specific projects under the NCREDC process. The Four Counties had several tangible projects that were outputs of the organizations interviewed. In both case regions, relationships were fostered through collaboration. Second, this chapter presented the following themes in relation to collaboration in the case sites. Key themes from the interview data were related back to the literature. Neo-endogenous development and New Regionalism theme were manifest in the case sites through the regions crafting strategies that worked with their unique regional attributes, rather than trying to fit into a universal economic development mold. The processes of path dependence and anchor institutions were most strongly linked to the role of an embedded regional identity in the past, fostering an ability to collaborate at a regional level in the present. Anchor institutions were present and key to the North Country's success in the REDC process, whereas the Four Counties lack a strong anchor institution. In the death of geography section, the tenuous role of technology as a tool for facilitating collaboration was examined. Technology can

overcome the challenges associated with collaborating in vast areas, but only if the appropriate infrastructure is in place. Further, technology may be less useful for collaborating with certain populations where access is an issue. Diverse membership in collaboration was considered key to developing social capital across the case study sites. Outlook on collaboration and personality clashes were seen as being detrimental to the development of social capital, thereby impacting collaborative success. Themes important to collaboration included flexibility throughout the process, the role of leadership and the human and financial resources required ‘to-do’ collaboration. This chapter concluded with a discussion on what the future of collaboration in each case region might look like. The longevity of the NCREDC was raised as a concern, while it was suggested that ‘regional’ collaboration might not be appropriate for the Four Counties. Further, it might not be appropriate to define this area as the “Four Counties”, given its bi-county history of collaboration. Below, Tables 17, and 18, summarize the key success factors and barriers to collaborating that were highlighted by the interviewees.

Table 17: Key success factors for collaboration

Factors of Success	Reason	Literature Support	Theme
Embracing Regional Attributes	To increase relevance of strategies to stakeholders E.g., integrating perceived barriers into planning strategies (vast geography, lack of an urban centre)	Goldenberg (2008) Ryser and Halseth (2010) Woolcock (2001)	Neo-endogenous Development and New Regionalism
Embedded Regional Identity	To increase cohesiveness as a region, more likely to collaborate at a regional level, if stakeholders identify themselves as being part of the ‘region’	Nelles, Bramwell and Wolfe (2005)	Path Dependence and Anchor Institutions
Communication	To overcome geographic	Morgan (2001)	Death of

Technology	challenges	Storper (2013)	Geography
Diverse Membership	Varied expertise can smooth the process	Woolcock (2001)	Social Capital
Flexible Structure	To allow for reevaluation and rapid adaptation		Collaboration
Leadership	Mechanism for coordination To build momentum for a project	Dale and Newman (2008) Lackney, Freshwater, and Rupasingha (2002) Feldman and Zoller (2012) Nelles (2013)	Collaboration
Insufficient Financial Capital	To necessitate collaboration for organizations to achieve their mandates		Collaboration

Table 18: Key barriers impeding collaboration

Barriers	Reason	Literature Support	Theme
Communication Technology	Lack of technology impacts ability to overcome vast geography Lack of access by key stakeholders Virtual collaboration not always desirable	Storper (2013)	Death of Geography
	Not a substitute for face-to-face collaboration	Murdoch (2000)	
Diverse Membership	Makes regions too different Lacking natural affinity for collaboration		Social Capital
Outlook Toward Collaboration	Impacts willingness to collaborate Suggests distrust between neighbouring jurisdictions	Ansell and Gash (2007) Gordon (2007, 2009) Huxham (1996) Lee, Feiock and Lee (2011) Ryser and Halseth	Social Capital

		(2010)	
		Sharma and Kearins (2011)	
Insufficient	Volunteer burnout		Collaboration
Human Capital	Impacts the long-term sustainability of regional initiatives		
Insufficient	Unable to reach critical mass to be effective	Gordon (2007, 2009)	Collaboration
Financial Capital		Huxham (1993, 1996)	
		Ryser and Halseth (2010)	

6 Conclusion

Chapter Two presented a literature review exploring key themes in regional economic development and agriculture. These themes included neo-endogenous development and the New Regionalism, path dependency, rescaling, multi-level, and regional collaborative governance, the death of geography, social capital, collaboration, selling the local versus feedings the locals, and the ‘region’ in local food systems. Some of these themes were then explored in relation to the findings of this study in Chapter 5.

In Chapter Three, the methodology for this study was described and justified through the use of key literature. This chapter also included the case study selection process and information on data collection and analysis specific to the case regions.

Chapter Four contextualized the case regions by providing information on each region’s geography, economic development structure, and agricultural data. The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate the comparability of the case regions.

Chapter Five discussed the current context of collaboration in the North Country and the Four Counties. This chapter explored barriers and success factors in regional economic development as interpreted through five key themes: neo-endogenous development and New Regionalism, path dependency, death of geography, social capital and collaboration. Each theme was understood as having positive and negative components that impacted the collaborative process in the case regions. Significant findings from this chapter included determining that regional collaboration is not a universally applicable solution to economic challenges, and that lower scale strategies may be more desirable.

Despite the purported benefits described in the literature regarding collaborating at a regional level for economic development, the implementation of such strategies have been diverse and have had mixed results. Two different approaches to regional collaboration have

been presented demonstrating that the capacity for rural regions to undertake economic development is context specific. In the case of the North Country (New York), the combination of top-down facilitated and bottom-up implemented REDC process has become the key mechanism through which collaboration occurs. In the Four Counties (Ontario), economic development initiatives have been bottom up facilitated and implemented, with multiple organizations having been established concurrently to deal with regional level issues. Lower level collaboration between two counties, or between one county and its lower tier municipalities, was more prevalent in the Four Counties. Though the state of New York could provide more resources (financial or otherwise) to implement the REDCs, it is clear that the NCREDC is the dominant agency for regional economic development in the North Country.

Conversely, in the Four Counties, no one dominant organization has emerged to be the voice of the region, as even the Four County Labour Market Planning Board has struggled with working in its service area with all four counties simultaneously. It has a narrow mandate comparatively speaking to the NCREDC. Further, organizations at other scales may exist that also have this mandate, therefore it may not play a unique role in the region. Therefore, even though the Four Counties has diverse stakeholders involved in economic development, they are not well coordinated. This has created a fragmented and overlapping landscape with economic development actors competing for their voices to be heard.

Therefore, given the institutional differences between these main organizations, these regions are not directly comparable. Their organizations do not operate on the same scale, with similar sizes responsibilities, power and mandates. However, the makeup of these organizations is a direct result of each region's history and what the region is capable of supporting at present.

6.1 Research Objectives and Hypothesis

Throughout Chapter Five, examples of the case regions' experience with collaboration and

regional economic development were provided. While the North Country and the Four Counties have similar economic, demographic and geographic characteristics, their experiences of collaboration and regional economic development were quite different.

Five objectives were addressed throughout this study. The first objective was to determine if regional organizations involved in agriculture and economic development were collaborating. In Chapter Five, examples were given of current collaborations occurring at a regional level in the North Country. Some of these collaborations were presented graphically to demonstrate the extent of collaboration. Collaboration in the North Country has tended to focus more on project collaboration, leading to tangible outcomes. Examples were also given of current collaborations in the Four Counties. These tended to be at a more bi-county, or intra-county level and including formal collaboration, and less formal networking. Projects underway in the area focused on information sharing and project delivery.

The second objective of this study was to establish if these organizations were collaborating positively. Tangible outputs and non-tangible outcomes were presented in the above sections to demonstrate whether or not the case regions were in fact collaborating 'successfully'. Tangible (economic) success was stronger in the North Country than in the Four Counties primarily because that is the way the REDCs in New York State are structured. It is their primary purpose to funnel money into the individual regions for project completion. The North Country Economic Development Council has been very financially successful, having been awarded \$279.3 million (USD) in project funding. However, this success is not surprising as the regional council process functions through the delivery of awards and project funding. It is interesting however that the North Country has been able to turn their perceived weaknesses into strengths: namely, their vast geography and lack of a major urban centre. Outcomes from these

funding awards (like the impact on unemployment rates) were unable to be determined due to the qualitative methodology utilized for this study. Non-tangible (social) outcomes were present in both case regions and interviewees from both regions remarked that this was as important as outcomes as economic success. The NCREDC has fostered the creation of relationships across the North Country that did not exist previously. While regional level collaboration across the Four Counties is still developing, the fostering of social capital through bi-county collaboration continues to build the foundation from which future collaboration can occur.

The third objective of this study was to explore factors that help led to successful collaboration. In Chapter Five, several success factors were identified in relation to key themes in the literature, and those that came up in the semi-structured interviews. Key success factors included; embracing regional attributes; having an embedded regional identity to draw from; communication technology; diverse membership; flexible structure; leadership and insufficient capital. Some of these factors were surprising, particularly insufficient financial capital. A number of interviewees suggested that their single organizations lack of resources gave them the opportunity to work with their neighbours on collaborative projects. Had these organizations had enough financial capital to complete projects on their own, collaborative relationships may not have been forged across the region. Of particular interest in the Four Counties is the role flexibility played in the dissolution of collaboration, as well the decision to keep collaboration informal. Rather than holding tightly to a joint collaborative structure that may have been detrimental in the long run, Foodlink Grey-Bruce evaluated their situation and decided to terminate their regional collaboration. Now their directory is operated on a per county basis. This brings attention to the idea that greater collaboration may not be desirable in all circumstances

The fourth objective of this study was to identify any barriers that may impede the

collaborative process. Several barriers to collaboration were also identified from the interviews that were conducted. These included: communication technology; diverse membership; outlook toward collaboration; insufficient human capital; insufficient financial capital. Interestingly, a number of key success factors also presented as key barriers, depending on the regional context in question. This finding is supported by the work of Huxham (1993, 1996) who suggests various costs (time, financial, human) can impede the process of collaboration. Gordon (2007, 2009) and Ryser and Halseth (2010) also confirm that the investment required to participate in regional strategies can hinder their development. For example, it is only possible for communication technology to play a positive role in collaboration if the appropriate infrastructure is in place, and if key stakeholders also have access to it. In the case of the Four Counties, not collaborating at a regional level has allowed county level actors to focus on cultivating relationships with their lower tier municipalities and county level producers.

Fifth, and finally, based on these findings, there are several recommendations that can be made for stakeholders who want to pursue a regional strategy.

6.2 Recommendations for Future Regional Economic Development Initiatives

This section addresses Objective 5 of this study. First, based on the experiences of the North Country and the Four Counties, creating regional boundaries is a key step in creating a regional strategy, but is also one that is likely to create tension among stakeholders. Therefore, it may be appropriate to define regions for economic development based on existing boundaries, if any exist (such as the Department of Labour boundaries in the state of New York). This may increase the likelihood that the boundaries will be accepted in the long term, though some initial resistance is likely. Clearly delineated boundaries may also aid in halting organizations from fighting over the same territory. Carefully crafted boundaries may increase stakeholder identification with ‘a region’.

Second, regional actors cannot be expected to collaborate without any motivation. As the North Country case has shown, a strong economic incentive from higher-level government can be a powerful tool to encourage collaboration. However, a strong economic incentive may not be able to overcome social tensions within a region that are keeping stakeholders from acting collaboratively. Activities to smooth over social tensions, such as sufficient planning and workshops between key stakeholders may increase the rate of collaborative success.

Third, while the instances of collaboration in the North Country and the Four Counties are positive and suggest that trust is being developed among stakeholders, the regions may need to actively seek linkages external to the ones that already exist to ensure collaboration does not stagnate, and cause collaborative inertia to be stalled (Huxham 1996). Further, given the duplication of effort that is occurring between the multiple regional organizations in the Four Counties, it may be necessary to consider unifying these organizations to consolidate and strengthen leadership roles for the region.

Fourth, despite the success of the North Country region in its regional economic development council, the transferability of such a program to jurisdictions outside of New York State remains unclear. The structure of the REDCs across New York State increases the autonomy of regions, as the REDCs retain decision-making power for what projects best represent the needs of the region, and therefore which projects will be submitted to the state for funding consideration. This structure may be more useful for regions that have accepted regional boundaries. Due to the geographic nature of regional development, implementing a structure similar to that of the REDCs in an area where boundaries are not clearly defined and accepted by stakeholders could result in the failure of the program. As demonstrated by the case of the Four Counties, stakeholder buy-in into regional boundaries is crucial to the success of an initiative.

6.3 Limitations of this Study

Despite extensive literature that argues for the importance of social capital in collaborating, it is beyond the scope of this study to identify how social capital can be created for the purposes of fostering regional collaboration. It is also beyond the scope of this study to identify why the North Country may have been better at utilizing social capital than the Four Counties.

Because of the way this study defined a region, the Four Counties appears to be less successful than the North Country. However, the Four Counties collaboration activities at a smaller scale (bi-county or intra county), are numerous and diverse. Therefore, this study's definition of a region impacts the interpretation of the results. Another limitation of this study is the way success is defined by positive or negative economic outcomes. Social outcomes may be a more worthwhile and foundational indicator of collaboration. Being financially successful as a region does not necessarily mean the regional stakeholders collaborated equally to achieve that success. Conversely, positive social outcomes, such as relationship building across a region, are more strongly related to equal participation among regional stakeholders. Further, this study's original definition of success neglected non-tangible social outcomes that the cases have shown accrue from collaboration. This study's definition of success was altered after the fact when it became apparent that social outcomes were of great importance to interviewees. Even though this study aimed to focus on economic outcomes, these outcomes are difficult to ascertain and quantify, making results less credible. For example, it is difficult to quantify what impact the NCREDC has had on employments rates, the standard of living in the region, and other developmental outcomes. Due to the methodology employed for this study, measuring project outcomes is not possible. Credible information on economic project outcomes is not likely to be determined through qualitative methods. While questions were posed to interviewees about how

they measure collaborative success, these questions were most often misinterpreted and interviewees provided indicators used to track their own progress as individual organizations, rather than to track their interactions with other organizations. Further, even if interviewees were able to provide indicators for measuring their success with collaborating, this is still not sufficient to determine economic collaboration outcomes.

Another shortcoming of this research is that it was not clear in many instances whether the interviewees' understanding of what collaboration is, matched up with the definition used in this research. Due to a misconception as to what governmental actors were important to speak with (given the county-based makeup of the regions), municipal actors were not generally included for participation. As a number of interviewees in the Four Counties suggested that not collaborating between counties or upper-tier municipalities enhanced their relationships with lower-tier municipalities, the perspective of lower-tier municipalities would have helped to confirm or deny this. Therefore, future research would benefit from including municipal level actors in any discussion of regional collaboration.

As the City of Stratford is politically separate from Perth County, and therefore, not under the purview/jurisdiction of the Four County Labour Market Planning Board, it was also excluded from the interview process. However, in hindsight, because of its role as one of two urban centres in the area, it would have deepened this study's understanding of rural/urban relationships in the area. The same can be said for the larger population centres of the North Country, even though the North Country interviewees did not identify these population centres as being "urban".

As much of this study has discussed multi-level governance, it is notable for the absence of a discussion on the role of the national state in relation to these regional initiatives. It is difficult to discern the role of the nation-state without having spoken to national level stakeholders; therefore, future research would be well served to focus more explicitly on the interaction of the national and regional levels of government and governance. However, given the literature review above that suggests the nation-state is involved in a less direct capacity at a regional level, it could be suggested that the nation-state influences the policy environment that will either be conducive to regional initiatives like the NCREDC, or will not be conducive to regional governance.

Economic development stakeholders were unable to be interviewed for this study due to employee turnover at the time of data collection. As Hamilton County was consistently left out of the boundaries of the ‘North Country’ for the agriculture organizations interviewed, it would have been interesting to understand Hamilton County’s perspective on the North Country boundaries and whether or not they identified as being part of the ‘North Country’. At a more general economic development organization level, due to the county level jurisdiction boundaries utilized for this study, it would have made for a more complete data set to include all involved counties.

Due to space and methodology limits, more detailed information could not be provided for the collaborative initiatives discussed throughout Chapter 5. Therefore, semi-structured interviews may not be the most appropriate method to collect rigorous details about successful collaboration. Interviews are more useful to determine the general outlook toward collaboration, and for eliciting illustrative examples. A method that is more systematic, structured and solely focused on outcomes, as opposed to the collaborative process, would be useful for future

research. Following the work of Vinodrai et al., (2012), a social network analysis, broadened to include ‘collaboration’ would be able to give a much more systematic and detailed picture of the connections between organizations, and the outcomes of a collaboration across a given region. A social network analysis is one way to better determine how well organizations are connected to other like-minded organizations in their regions, and would allow collaborative governance networks to be traced out more clearly. Depending on the structure of the social network analysis, it could also give some insight into how well the organizations are collaborating. In other words, a quantitative analysis, as has been used in research on collaboration (Lee et al. 2012; and Lackney et al. 2002), could offer a valuable complement to what has been revealed in this study through qualitative methods.

6.4 Contributions of this Study and Avenues for Future Research

This study adds to the small but growing body of literature that addresses the experience of rural regions with economic development and regional collaboration. Future research could build on these findings to determine whether the success factors and challenges identified here are unique to rural regions, or if they manifest in urban regions as well. Of particular interest is the role, if any, that geography and technology play in collaborating in an urban area.

This study contributes an understanding of the experiences of both ‘successful’ and ‘unsuccessful’ regions to the literature. A gap in research pertaining to cases of unsuccessful regional economic development was noted in Chapter 2. It would be worthwhile for future research to explore the other REDCs in New York State, to explore whether the North Country’s experience is unique, or whether the other ‘winning regions’ had similar experiences. This is particularly important as the North Country is a self professed ‘less fortunate region’.

A number of studies on collaboration (Gordon 2007, 2009; Lee et al. 2012; and Sharma

and Kearins 2011) tended to focus on government actors in their analysis. Therefore, this study contributes a broader analysis of collaboration to the literature that includes government actors but also not-for-profit and for-profit organizations, non-governmental organizations, and civil society organizations. Governments are not the only actors that facilitate or initiate economic development. Therefore, understanding how diverse actors collaborate for economic development is crucial to gain insight into how the process unfolds.

Contrary to the tone of collaboration literature, this study has highlighted several benefits of not collaborating at a regional level. These included enhanced relationships with intra-county stakeholders and decreased bureaucratic processes. This study has also highlighted several regional characteristics that may facilitate collaboration that were not identified in the literature. These include: a vast geography, having no urban centre, and having limited resources. These attributes have been shown to facilitate and motivate collaboration while at the same time being barriers to collaboration, depending on the context in question. Finally, diversity of membership is generally understood as being beneficial to collaboration. However, in the case of the agricultural sector, diversity of agricultural producers may make it more difficult for collaboration to occur. This may be due to different commodity groups and producers having different needs and wanting different kinds of change for their regions.

This study was motivated by the surge of regional approaches to economic development that are currently operating in Canada and abroad, and the need to better understand best practices required to facilitate successful collaboration at a regional level. However, this assumes that regional approaches are in fact useful for tackling economic challenges. Despite benefits to regional approaches as suggested by the literature this study, and the case of the Four Counties in particular, has demonstrated that regional collaboration is not a universal solution to

challenges being faced by jurisdictions. This suggests that regional collaboration may not be a useful solution in other regions across Canada, the United States, and beyond. As suggested by the New Regionalism, experiences with regional collaboration will vary depending on the unique context of the region in question because it is the internal attributes of a region that are responsible for its success in economic development.

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Appendices

Appendix One: Interview Guide

EREDI INTERVIEW GUIDE

GOVERNMENT AGENCIES/ INDUSTRY ASSOCIATIONS

Part 1: Understanding the Organization

1. What is your organization's primary mandate (*eg. goal, purpose*)?
 - a. Major sources of funding? (*prompt: sources of revenue*)
 - b. **Leadership / Governance Model:** (*prompt: individual/board/other*)
 - c. Size of staff: (describe) (*prompt: number of workers; paid/volunteer*)
2. History of the organization (*Has the mandate evolved over time? Has it been established under a program with a specific set time period? What events stimulated the creation of the organization?*)
3. Who does the organization represent? (*e.g. membership (paid non-paid), sector, community, multiple jurisdictions – geographical, urban/rural mix or primarily rural?*)
4. What kinds of **services/activities/programs** does the organization offer to support local firms/industries or the broader regional economy?? (*prompt: **how does the organization go about fulfilling its mandate** / types of programs, annual budget, number of staff dedicated to each program*)
Can you give me an idea of the kinds of projects you are currently involved in?
5. Are there any **internal or external factors** that have been critical to your organization's success? (*prompts: leadership, government programs, policies, community / political / private sector support*). Why? Explain.
6. What are your **key success measures/indicators**?
 - a. Do these measures reflect the progress of the organization or region as a whole?
 - b. Are these measures comparable to other organizations? (*Prompt: Within the region? In other regions?*)
 - c. How do you report these metrics to your members/stakeholders (*e.g. annual AGM, annual report, web site*)
 - d. Are there any challenges in using these metrics? Are there preferred / other metrics that you do not use that would capture your success?

Part 2: Collaboration and partnerships in the region

1. Is there a **history of regional approaches/collaboration** to address development in your community? If yes, in what areas? Do you see the region as a cohesive region for collaboration or has it been more fragmented?
 - a. Are there any **unique local assets or capabilities** that have fostered regional approaches or collaboration? (*prompts: key organizations, leadership, role of public, politics, government policy – incentives, legislation, supports*) Are there anything unique about your region that has allowed the regional model to work better than in other regions?
 - b. Are there any **barriers or challenges** that have prevented regional approaches or collaboration?

2. Who are the **key players** in economic development in your region?
 - a. How would you describe the **relationships** among these players?
 - b. Are these partners **located inside or outside of the region**? (if inside prompt about outside partners; if outside vice versa; if blended ask about which type of partner is more important)
 - c. Are these partners located within **urban or rural** communities?
 - d. How do **urban and rural communities** in the region interact? To what extent are rural communities involved? How are they involved? (if, only rural – ask about whether or not all communities involved equally)
3. What barriers or challenges prevent you from collaborating with other organizations/ businesses/ other groups? Or prevent further collaboration? (*e.g. limited funds, time, lack of interest, leadership and personalities, lack of political will, government policy, etc.*)
4. In your view, have any other associations or events played an important role in the development or support of this sector or regional economy? If yes, which are the most valuable and why? If no, why not?
5. Is your organization (or any individual within it) involved in any of these associations or events? Why/why not? (*Prompt: development of present relationships with companies in sector/actors in network, establishing relationships among suppliers, customers, collaborators, research institutes*)
6. What mechanism(s) exist for regional collaboration amongst various organizations and agencies (e.g. formal, informal, etc.) in your area?
 - a. What is the structure?
 - b. What capacity do they have (e.g. dedicated staff, volunteers, operational funding, etc.)
7. Have you had success in growing the regional economy? What were the factors that contributed to that success?
8. What are the factors inhibiting the further regional growth of the firms/industries in the XXXX sector?

Part 3: Collaboration and partnerships

1. Do you / To what extent do you collaborate with other organizations?
 - a. What organizations do you collaborate with? (business, government, industry associations)
 - b. What is the nature of this collaboration (eg, information sharing, projects)
 - c. Are these collaborations formalized? If so, how? (prompts: formal partnerships, MOU)
 - d. Are these partners **located inside or outside of the region**? (if inside prompt about outside partners; if outside vice versa; if blended ask about which type of partner is more important)
 - e. Are these partners located within **urban or rural** communities?
 - f. What factors motivate you to collaborate with other organizations in your region?
 - g.
2. Can you think of a good example of a time when you collaborated with another organization/ business/ group that was located in a rural community in the region to deliver a service/ activity/

event/ program/ initiative? (if no rural examples, then prompt urban) *If yes, ask questions a-g. If no, why not? –SUCCESS STORY*

- a. Who did you collaborate with? *(Prompt: key players – govt, business, other orgs)*
 - b. What was the purpose of the collaboration? *(Prompt: benefits of collaboration , intended outcomes, impact on the region or industry, who benefits in the region (urban/rural? Specific sectors / workers / etc.)*
 - c. How did you organize yourselves in order to facilitate the collaboration? How did you interact? *(Prompt: advisory group/ task force/ third-party coordinator/ project-based)*
 - d. What were the outcomes of this collaboration? *(Prompt: actual achievements and outcomes)*
 - e. Does location impact the process of collaboration? *(Prompt: are partnerships with actors in urban centers more easy to facilitate; why or why not → same with rural)* If yes, were there any particular challenges? If so, what were they and how did you address them?
 - f. What have you learned from this instance of collaboration? What are your lessons learned from this or these instances of collaboration that you can put toward future collaborations? Have you accumulated any lessons learned that you can put toward future instances of collaboration?
- 9. Where would XXXX region be/what would the region look like if successful collaborative regional development were taking place (prompt: is the region currently there? On the right path?)**

Appendix Two: Template First Contact Email

Hello [NAME OF CONTACT],

As a researcher studying collaboration and regional development in the North Country region for the University of Waterloo, it was natural to come across the [NAME OF ORGANIZATION].

The mandate the [ORGANIZATION] has across the region and the success you have achieved in the North Country area make it integral to understand how economic development is conducted at the regional level. I am hoping you would be open to speaking about your organization and its role in facilitating development in the region.

All interviews would be 60 minutes in length and would be conducted over the phone at your convenience. Attached are an introduction letter and consent form further explaining the study and your rights as a participant.

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to hearing from you in the coming days.

Sincerely,

Brittany Bruce

University of Waterloo

Masters Candidate in Geography and Environmental Management

200 University Avenue West

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3G1

Appendix Three: Introductory Letter

[DATE]

Dear [CONTACT],

I am writing to invite you to participate in the study entitled *Evaluating regional economic development initiatives: Understanding the challenges for rural regions in Ontario* being overseen by Dr. Tara Vinodrai of the Department of Geography and Environmental Management and the School of Environment, Enterprise and Development (SEED) at the University of Waterloo. The study is part of a broader project managed by Dr. John Devlin at the University of Guelph, funded by the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA). The purpose of this study is to improve our understanding of how rural communities collaborate with one another in order to stimulate regional economic development and work towards economic prosperity. Specifically, we are looking at rural regional economic development in twelve communities across Ontario, Canada and internationally, with a focus on one of six themes: arts and culture, agricultural and food systems, green energy, sustainability, innovation and broad-based regional development.

Participation in this study is voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks. The research involves an interview which will last approximately an hour and can take place by telephone. The interview will involve questions about your organization and its activities. At any point in the interview, you may decline answering any of the interview questions or withdraw from the study without negative consequences. With your consent, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed to facilitate the collection of information. All data collected in the interview is confidential and your anonymity will be protected in any reports or publications, unless you give us express and prior consent to identify your organization. All records will be handled with the strictest confidence and only the research team associated with this project will have access to the data. All records will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and on a password protected computer for a period of ten years following the completion of the study, after which it will be destroyed.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at b2bruce@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact the Principal Investigator, Dr. Tara Vinodrai, at 519-888-4567 ext. 33278 or tara.vinodrai@uwaterloo.ca. I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If you have any comments or concerns resulting from your participation in this study, you may contact the Director of this office at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

I look forward to your reply and I will contact you in 3 or 4 days to further discuss this project. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Brittany Bruce
Department of Geography and Environmental Management
University of Waterloo

Appendix Four: Consent Form

I have read the Letter of Introduction for the study entitled *Evaluating regional economic development initiatives: Understanding the challenges for rural regions in Ontario* being overseen by Dr. Tara Vinodrai at the University of Waterloo, as part of a broader study managed by Dr. John Devlin at the University of Guelph. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study and have received sufficient answers to my questions and any other additional details I wanted.

I am aware that by participating in this study, I will be asked questions regarding my current organization – which includes questions about its role and mandate, its programs and activities and its role in the broader community and region.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in presentations and publications emerging from this research and that these quotes may be attributed to my organization.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. If I have any comments or concerns resulting from my participation in this study, I may contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics at (519) 888-4567 ext. 36005.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study:

Yes No

I agree to this interview being audio recorded: Yes No

I agree to the use of quotations with my organization’s name attached in any publication that comes of this research Yes No

Participant Name (Please Print)

Witness (Please Print)

Participant Signature

Witness Signature

Date

If there are any questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact Brittany Bruce by e-mail at b2bruce@uwaterloo.ca. You may also contact the Lead University of Waterloo Investigator, Dr. Tara Vinodrai, at 519-888-4567 ext. 33278 or tara.vinodrai@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix Five: Appreciation Letter

[DATE]

Dear [CONTACT],

I am writing to thank you for meeting for an interview last week. The study entitled *Evaluating regional economic development initiatives: Understanding the challenges for rural regions in Ontario* will be continuing until March 2014. The data collected during interviews contributes greatly to a better understanding of how rural communities can better cooperate to achieve long term well-being and prosperity and will be used to inform public policy in Ontario.

Please remember that any data pertaining to yourself and the organization that you represent will be kept confidential. Data will be collected and securely stored in a locked filing cabinet and password protected computer and will be destroyed after a period of ten years. Once all the data are collected and analyzed for this project, we will be sharing the findings with our research collaborators at the University of Guelph and our research sponsor, the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (OMAFRA), as well as with the academic and policy communities through reports, research papers and presentations.

If you are interested in receiving more information regarding the results of this study, or if you have any questions, concerns or comments, please contact either myself at the phone number or email address listed below or Dr. Tara Vinodrai (Lead UW Investigator) at 519-888-4567 ext. 33278 or tara.vinodrai@uwaterloo.ca. As with all University of Waterloo projects involving human participants, this project was reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Waterloo. Should you have any comments or concerns related to your participation in this study, please contact the Director of our Office of Research Ethics by telephone at 519-888-4567 ext. 36005.

As noted during our interview, the research results and lessons for our study will be made available by the researchers after the completion of this project in March 2014. If you would like a copy of the research summary, please provide me with a preferred email address to receive the information.

Sincerely,

Brittany Bruce

Department of Geography and Environmental Management

University of Waterloo

Email: b2bruce@uwaterloo.ca

Appendix Six: Interview Transcript Code Book

Code	Use in North Country	Use in Four Counties
Agriculture/valueadded/localfood	27	46
Outlook	25	32
Boundaries	31	22
Canadian Connection	7	0
Challenges/barriers	26	53
Devolution	2	1
Extent of Collaborations	38	81
Future of the Region	23	27
Governance Model	8	14
KPIs/ success measures	31	47
Lessons Learned	15	20
Location/geography	57	69
Mandate	24	40
Motivations for Collaborating	25	30
Positive Outcomes	27	20
Role of Higher Education	8	1
Role of the state	0	40
Scale	3	3
Structure	73	87
Success Factors	32	20
Unique Local Assets/History	22	40

Appendix Seven: 2013 North Country Funding Awards

*Please note this chart is taken directly from pages 75-83:

Cuomo, A.M. (2013). 2013 Regional Economic Development Council Awards. *The New NY Works for Business*. Available online at:

<http://regionalcouncils.ny.gov/assets/documents/2013REDCBooklet.pdf>

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/Program	Award
26684	Clinton	Town of Peru	Connecting Town Parks	To improve the accessibility to historic Heyworth/Mason Park and Sullivan Sports Park, the hamlet of Peru proposes the construction of a 1.5-mile, paved, non-motorized trail. The trail's completion will also link residential, commercial and natural areas and provide safe, off-road recreational opportunities for all ages and abilities in the community.	Parks RTP	\$200,000.00
26684	Clinton	Town of Peru	Connecting Town Parks	To improve the accessibility to historic Heyworth/Mason Park and Sullivan Sports Park, the hamlet of Peru proposes the construction of a 1.5-mile, paved, non-motorized trail. The trail's completion will also link residential, commercial and natural areas and provide safe, off-road recreational opportunities for all ages and abilities in the community.	Parks PA	\$58,000.00
31626	Clinton	Town of Peru	Town of Peru Sewer Study	The Town of Peru will complete an engineering report to identify inflow and infiltration issues and evaluate the expansion of the existing wastewater infrastructure.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
31588	Clinton	Town of Plattsburgh	Saranac River Waterfront Trail	The Town of Plattsburgh will prepare the Lake Champlain/Saranac River Waterfront Plan to explore hamlet redevelopment strategies, improve waterfront access and connect the hamlets to Lake Champlain through a greenway trail system. Additionally, conceptual designs will be developed for improvements to connect the hamlets to the Saranac River and Lake Champlain waterfronts.	DOS LWRP	\$25,000.00
31568	Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence	Adirondack North Country Association	Adirondack North Country Product Branding	This project will deliver a detailed business and implementation plan to create a powerful certification-based North Country product brand, describing how the brand will be professionally researched and developed, how it will gain market share, how it will be managed and how it will be sustainably financed.	ESD MNY	\$100,000.00
30275	Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence	Ogdensburg Bridge and Port Authority	North Country Regional Tourism CFA	The North Country region plans to capitalize on one of its most unique elements- the longest border with Canada- in a collaborative, multi-county marketing effort to draw targeted Canadian visitors across the border to take advantage of the North Country's four-season recreational opportunities.	ESD MNY	\$1,086,750.00
32016	Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Hamilton, St. Lawrence, Jefferson, Lewis	BluSeed Studios	Adirondack Regional Art Trail	A collaboration of nonprofit organizations will develop a cohesive entity offering artists and artistic venues a stronger presence and a dedicated online home to engage with residents and visitors. The Adirondack Regional Arts Trail will connect the region's arts organizations, galleries, theaters, artists and craftspeople and elevate its global recognition leading to an economic boost for these rural communities.	Arts CHPG	\$59,200.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/ Program	Award
28950	Clinton, Franklin	Clinton County	Clinton and Franklin Counties Waterfront Revitalization Advancement	Clinton and Franklin counties will advance priority projects from the Essex and Clinton Counties Waterfront Plan, Clinton County Destination Plan, and other community and waterfront revitalization plans in order to improve the regional tourism infrastructure and strengthen the regional tourism economy in the Lake Champlain region. The Counties will also develop an Action Plan to return key underutilized properties in downtown centers to productive private sector reuse.	DOS LWRP	\$625,000.00
31499	Essex	Adirondack Film Society	Expanding film programming for the Adirondack region	Expanded film programming will be made possible by the purchase of DCI compliant digital film projection equipment for the Strand Theater in Schroon Lake, a community located in the Eastern Adirondacks in rural Northern New York. The theater is a vital piece of the cultural landscape, and the project supports the North Country REDC's strategy of keeping jobs, money and people in the North Country. This project will lead to improved job skills and career enhancing opportunities for new and existing employees.	Arts DFPCP	\$70,000.00
29338	Essex	Appleby Foundation Inc.	Digital Projection Conversion	Au Sable Forks is a small community with a population of about 600 people which serves as "the gateway to the High Peaks" in the heart of the Adirondacks. This project will ensure the future viability of the Hollywood Cinema as a viable business through purchase of a digital equipment package for 1 of its 2 theaters, and simultaneously expand cultural programming to preserve the economic vitality of Main Street. This project also creates the opportunity to create/retain jobs-all positively influencing the regional economy.	Arts DFPCP	\$70,000.00
29111	Essex	Inn on Schroon Lake	Inn on Schroon Lake	The steamboat Gothic lodging, in Schroon Lake, built in 1883 will be restored and configured into five luxury suite, in addition to another nine structures that are being recycled in order to support the tourism industry in the area.	ESD MNY	\$14,095.00
29111	Essex	Inn on Schroon Lake	Inn on Schroon Lake Restoration	The steamboat Gothic lodging, in Schroon Lake, built in 1883 will be restored and configured into five luxury suite, in addition to another nine structures that are being recycled in order to support the tourism industry in the area.	ESD Grants	\$750,000.00
30367	Essex	Lake Flower Lodging LLC	Hotel Construction in Saranac Lake	Construct a resort grade hotel facility in Saranac Lake.	ESD Grants	\$2,000,000.00
32381	Essex	North Country Community College	Ticonderoga Biomass Project	Feasibility study of the Lowes Bldg in Ticonderoga to determine usefulness for education purposes.	ESD SPFS	\$55,000.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/ Program	Award
32512	Essex	Pendragon Theatre	Internship Funding	Pendragon Theatre will hire a seasonal intern to work with the theatre in various capacities including administration, marketing, stage management, costuming and scene shop work. This project will create a job for a young student looking to further his or her education and career in the arts. The intern will learn how a professional theatre is run while improving Pendragon's efficiency, thus improving the quality of work that is presented to the surrounding community.	Arts IWDP	\$3,360.00
30924	Essex	Seagle Music Colony	Seagle Music Colony Centennial and Campus Improvement	New construction & renovations to existing buildings at Seagle Music Colony in Essex County.	ESD Grants	\$100,000.00
30924	Essex	Seagle Music Colony	Seagle Music Colony Centennial and Campus Improvement	Seagle Music Colony (SMC) is a 98-year-old nationally acclaimed summer vocal training and performance center in Schroom Lake. Among its goals are to increase SMC's audiences and supporters and to use SMC's increased visibility in the North Country to enlarge the tourism economy and to attract new visitors and residents who seek cultural enrichment.	ESD MNY	\$18,100.00
27993	Essex	Town of Jay	Grove Rd Park Improvement Project	Jay Park was completely destroyed by Hurricane Irene. This project will rebuild the park with the purpose of resuming organized recreational activities with a new softball field, soccer field and baseball field.	Parks PA	\$54,460.00
31964	Essex	Town of Minerva	Town of Minerva Comprehensive Plan	The Town of Minerva will upgrade its Comprehensive Plan and develop a municipal facilities plan. With both, they will seek to integrate the principals of reducing energy use, integrating the use of renewable energy where possible and encouraging residents to improve energy efficiency.	NYSERDA CGC2	\$50,625.00
27719	Essex	Town of Moriah	Town of Moriah Wastewater Engineering Study	The Town of Moriah will complete an engineering report to identify and recommend upgrades to correct inflow and infiltration issues within the town-owned wastewater collection system.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
28059	Essex	Town of Newcomb	NYS Route 28N Corridor and Hudson River Waterfront Economic Revitalization Plan	The Town of Newcomb will develop a Hudson River Waterfront and Economic Revitalization Plan to increase tourism, identify and attract recreation-based businesses and accommodations, and enhance access to public lands.	DOS LWRP	\$37,500.00
26983	Essex	Town of Ticonderoga	Stream Daylighting	The Town of Ticonderoga will use GIGP funds to incorporate stream daylighting, bioretention, and a constructed wetland adjacent to Bicentennial Park. This project will help reduce combined sewer overflows by directing stormwater into more natural drainage features and out of the combined sewer system.	EFC GIGP	\$539,103.00
27954	Essex	Town of Willsboro	Town of Willsboro Wastewater Treatment Upgrades Engineering Study	The Town of Willsboro will complete an engineering report to identify upgrades to the Town wastewater treatment and collection system.	DEC EPGP	\$18,750.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/ Program	Award
31393	Essex	Village of Lake Placid	Village of Lake Placid Main Street Sanitary Sewer Study	The Village of Lake Placid will complete an engineering report assessing the replacement of sanitary sewers to ease maintenance and protect Mirror Lake water quality.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
28942	Essex	Village of Port Henry	Port Henry New York Main Street	The Village of Port Henry will use \$131,311 in New York Main Street funds to assist Village property owners with commercial and residential renovation projects and perform streetscape enhancements.	HCR NYMS	\$131,311.00
31724	Essex	Village of Saranac Lake	Payeville Sewer System Investigation	The Village of Saranac Lake will complete an engineering report to evaluate upgrades to the Payeville Lane area sewer infrastructure.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
27196	Essex, Clinton	Village of Keeseville	Village of Keeseville Wastewater Engineering Study	The Village of Keeseville will complete an engineering report to evaluate the wastewater treatment and collection system.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
32404	Essex, Franklin, Hamilton	Bioenergy Project Partners LLC	Wood Pellet Heating Initiative	This project will install advanced high-efficiency wood pellet boilers at five institutional buildings in three counties in the North Country Region. The projects will be implemented using an innovative "heat sale" financing model that will help overcome the barrier of the initial capital investment required for installing a biomass boiler system and lack of in-house technical staff to manage such a project.	NYSERDA CGC3	\$1,394,173.00
31777	Essex, Franklin, Lewis, St. Lawrence	Essex County	North Country Multicounty Implementation	This project aggregates eight replicable pilot projects across the North Country region. The project consists of renewable energy systems such as solar thermal, small scale hydro, a municipal biomass conversion from an oil-based heating system, residential conversions to high efficiency wood pellet systems, food composting, anaerobic bio-digestion, and bicycle and pedestrian amenities.	NYSERDA CGC3	\$1,939,668.00
29506	Franklin	Bionique Testing Laboratories Inc	Expansion at Lake Clear Facility	Project will expand the facility in Lake Clear by adding 10,000 sf to the building for laboratories, storage and conference rooms.	ESD Grants	\$650,000.00
32225	Franklin	Roedel Companies LLC	Renovations to the Hotel Saranac	Renovations to the historic Hotel Saranac in line with historic preservation rules.	ESD Grants	\$5,000,000.00
28134	Franklin	The Wild Center	Wild Walk Phase 2	The Wild Center will build and construct outdoor exhibits for its Wild Walk.	ESD Grants	\$250,000.00
32005	Franklin	Village of Malone	Village of Malone East Side Inflow and Infiltration Study	The Village of Malone will complete an engineering report to study and identify sources of inflow and infiltration in the Village's existing wastewater collection system.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
32630	Franklin, Essex, Warren, Hamilton, Herkimer, Onondaga, Oneida, Madison	Adirondack Lakes Center for the Arts	Adirondack Summer Playhouse	The Adirondack Summer Playhouse (ASP), a touring theatre festival covering 4,000 square miles of the North Country, will expand its reach into Central New York. ASP features professional actors and community performers in six different productions, with over 60 performances in 20 towns throughout the Adirondack region and Central New York. Through their planning and expansion the ASP will create two full-time positions, pump money, offer work force training to area students and boost tourism to the region.	Arts CHPG	\$74,000.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/Program	Award
31010	Hamilton	Adirondack Museum	Museum Renovations and Upgrades	Renovations and upgrades to the Museum and exhibits. New hands-on, interactive experiences designed to engage contemporary audiences, particularly families.	ESD Grants	\$1,400,000.00
27592	Hamilton	D.R.A.G. of Speculator, Inc.	DRAG Trail Groomer Purchase	Dedicated Residents to Area Grooming (DRAG) of Speculator, NY will purchase a reconditioned Class A snow grooming machine and drag, and replace a set of tracks on one of the club's existing grooming machines, to assist with maintaining an increased number of safe and enjoyable snowmobile trails over the winter season.	Parks RTP	\$80,000.00
31484	Hamilton	Indian Lake Theater	Digital Conversion Project	The project involves training, professional development, equipment and support for a new position. The theater now employs 6 local residents. This project will hire another person full-time, year-round, with a salary of \$29,000. New job opportunities are vital to Hamilton County. In April 2013, the county had the highest unemployment rate in the state - 11.4% as compared to NYS's 7.8%. In addition, Theater patrons dine in our local restaurants before and after a movie.	Arts DFPCP	\$17,100.00
28184	Hamilton	Pleasant Rider Snowmobilers, Inc.	Groomer Grant	Pleasant Rider Snowmobilers, Inc. plans to purchase a new Class II groomer to provide the necessary trail maintenance for Class II trails.	Parks RTP	\$56,600.00
28237	Hamilton County	Indian Lake Chamber of Commerce	Teleworks	Adirondack Teleworks will hire staff, fund a training component, expand outreach, and identify new employers for telecommuting work.	ESD OA	\$100,000.00
30654	Hamilton, Herkimer	Central Adirondack Partnership for the 21st Century	Purchase of Trail Grooming Maintenance Equipment	The Inlet Barnstormers Snowmobile Club maintains 40 miles of trails and has assumed primary trail maintenance responsibilities for the new 13-mile 7th Lake Mountain Trail in the Adirondack Park. Grant funds will be used to purchase and replace essential trail maintenance equipment.	Parks RTP	\$59,000.00
30954	Jefferson	COR Arsenal Street Company LLC	Mercy Health Center Redevelopment	Application seeks funding for a geothermal heating system at the complex of mixed use buildings in downtown Watertown.	ESD Grants	\$2,110,000.00
27130	Jefferson	Doolittle Hall LLC	Lincoln Building Revitalization	Renovate the largely vacation Lincoln Building into a mixed-use building including retail, commercial, and residential space.	ESD Grants	\$250,000.00
30010	Jefferson	Neighbors of Watertown, Inc.	Lincoln Building Revitalization UI	Neighbors of Watertown, Inc. will use \$150,000 in Urban Initiatives funds to renovate the Lincoln Building in Watertown's downtown Public Square. The total project cost is estimated at nearly \$13 million, with additional funds from the property owner, historic tax credits, and private and public loans.	HCR UI	\$150,000.00
28375	Jefferson	Village of Sackets Harbor	Sackets Harbor Waterfront	The Village will conduct a feasibility study for significant new waterfront facilities.	ESD SPFS	\$20,000.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/Program	Award
29532	Jefferson , Lewis	Jefferson-Lewis WIB	Machine Operation Training	Jefferson-Lewis Workforce Investment Board will train 12 long-term unemployed workers in Haas Lathe Intuitive Programming System, Haas Mill Intuitive Programming System, Haas CNC Lathe programming, Haas Lathe set-up, Haas Vertical 3 Axis CNC Milling Machine programming, Haas Vertical 3 Axis Milling Machine set-up, precision measurement, reading manufacturing blueprints, shop mathematics, and speeds and feeds.	DOL UWT	\$36,000.00
28283	Jefferson, Oswego	Winona Forest Recreation Association, Inc.	Equipment Purchase	Winona Forest Recreation Association (WFRA) is a four season multiuser group association that maintains recreational trails and is dedicated to providing safe, quality trails and promoting healthy recreational activities for the community and tourists. WFRA will replace an existing groomer and drag with new wider ones to allow non-motorized and motorized winter, woodland trails in the Winona State Forest to be groomed with one pass.	Parks RTP	\$143,560.00
31553	Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence, Clinton, Essex, Franklin, Hamilton	Development Authority of the North Country	Value Added Agriculture Program	Monies will fund a revolving loan fund for agribusiness in the seven counties of the North Country.	ESD Grants	\$1,000,000.00
27084	Lewis	Applied Biorefinery Sciences LLC	Biorefinery Scaleup	Engineering and construction of a biorefinery demonstration facility on the site of the former Lyons Falls Pulp & Paper Mill in Lyons Falls, NY. The Technology Commercialization Center will provide 24/7 operational data for engineering ABS full commercial biorefineries that will process 700 dry tons of wood per day.	ESD EJP	\$256,960.00
27084	Lewis	Applied Biorefinery Sciences, LLC	Biorefinery Scaleup	The company will construct a biorefinery demonstration facility on the former Lyons Falls Pulp and Paper Mill site.	ESD Grants	\$625,000.00
27573	Lewis	Lewis County Historical Society	Stabilization and Restoration of the General Walter Martin Mansion	The Lewis County Historical Society will repair and prevent further deterioration of the General Walter Martin Mansion by addressing critical areas of the more than 200-year-old building, including its limestone masonry, roofs, chimneys, and porches. The resulting renovated, structurally sound building will then allow for a second phase of restoration.	Parks HPA	\$165,000.00
26936	Lewis	Lewis County Opportunities Inc	Workforce Development	Transportation Assistance services will be provided to low-income eligible participants who reside in Lewis County. Payable services will include vehicle repairs, tires, insurance premiums, gas cards, licensing and registration, or other alternative transportation-related services necessary to remove the barrier of unreliable transportation to obtain or maintain employment. Non-payable services such as information, advocacy, referrals and follow-up will also be provided.	DOS CSBG	\$56,015.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/Program	Award
29664	Lewis	Snow Belt Housing Company, Inc.	High Falls Apartments Renovation	Snow Belt Housing Company, Inc. will use \$51,750 in Rural Area Revitalization Projects funding to replace the roof at High Falls Apartments in the Village of Lyons Falls.	HCR RARP	\$51,750.00
31196	Lewis	Town of Denmark	Consolidated Water Services Project	The Town of Denmark and the Village of Copenhagen will work cooperatively to upgrade and consolidate their water systems. The new system will utilize the same water meter reading system, water supply, water storage facilities, water distribution system, and automated control system.	DOS LGE	\$400,000.00
29507	Lewis	Tug Hill Vineyards	Tug Hill Vineyards Wine Production Expansion	Invest in machinery & equipment to expand production capacity and product line in niche specialty food industry.	ESD Grants	\$40,000.00
27363	Lewis	Turin Ridge Riders, Inc	Groomer Grant	Turin Ridge Riders, Inc. Snowmobile Club will use grant funds to purchase a new tractor for trail grooming and maintenance.	Parks RTP	\$159,840.00
27972	Lewis	Valley Snow Travelers of Lewis County, Inc.	Valley's Trail Groomer Purchase 2013	The Valley Snow Travelers of Lewis County, Inc. currently use a leased groomer and three outdated drags to maintain snowmobile trails in the Lewis County portion of the Tug Hill region. With grant funds, the club will purchase a new groomer and drag for use for improved trail maintenance on their high snowmobile traffic area.	Parks RTP	\$151,600.00
28018	Lewis	Village of Port Leyden	Village of Port Leyden Wastewater Engineering Study	The Village of Port Leyden will complete an engineering report to evaluate options for upgrading the Village wastewater treatment and collection system.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00
31715	St. Lawrence	Ansen Corporation	Lean and Advanced Manufacturing Training	Ansen Corporation of Ogdensburg will train 120 workers in IPC (Institute for Printed Circuits) certification, lean manufacturing, ISO 13485 (quality management systems standards for medical device manufacturers), Food and Drug Administration requirements, and Six Sigma Green Belt process improvement.	DOL EET	\$20,000.00
31191	St. Lawrence	Ansen Corporation	Machinery Upgrades and Business Expansion	Ansen Corporation is investing in machinery upgrades to increase capacity to do more complex circuit board assemblies.	ESD Grants	\$100,000.00
28448	St. Lawrence	Canton Central School District	Canton and Potsdam Schools Merger Feasibility Study	Canton Central School District and the Potsdam Central School District will conduct a centralization study to determine whether a newly formed consolidated district can provide enhanced educational opportunities more efficiently and effectively than either district can provide independently.	DOS LGE	\$25,000.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/ Program	Award
28061	St. Lawrence	Fort La Presentation Association	Fort La Presentation Interpretive Trail	Fort La Presentation Association plans to revitalize the City of Ogdensburg's historic Lighthouse Point by developing a waterfront park and trail system to be used for events, historic reenactments, and recreation. The project will include design and construction of a trail network, a visitor and educational meeting space, interpretive signage, site restoration work, landscaping, development of a porous surface parking area, and links to the City of Ogdensburg's Maple City Trail system.	Parks PA	\$352,650.00
27135	St. Lawrence	Ogdensburg Bridge and Port Authority	Port of Ogdensburg Agribusiness Capacity Building	Upgrade two rail bridges and purchase and install new storage facility and conveyor system to increase agricultural products capacity at port.	ESD Grants	\$225,000.00
31628	St. Lawrence	ShIPLEY Center for Innovation	North Country Innovation Hot Spot	A consortium of regional entities leveraging Clarkson University's reputation and expertise that maximizes access to North Country's intellectual capital enabling the region to work cohesively to help entrepreneurs succeed. The North Country Innovation Hot Spot will scale existing successful programs at the ShIPLEY Center for Innovation to provide those services and expertise to entities in Plattsburgh, Watertown, Ogdensburg, Massena and Saranac Lake. The North Country Innovation Hot Spot will leverage SUNY and private colleges throughout the region to maximize its footprint and impact to students and local entrepreneurs in their own communities.	ESD HSSP	\$250,000.00
31709	St. Lawrence	Town of Canton	Grasse River Corridor Blueway Trail Planning and Implementation	The Town of Canton will partner with Towns along the Grasse River to develop a Blueway Trail Plan, promote the river corridor, create a boat launch in the Hamlet of Pyrites, and develop a land-based trail master plan.	DOS LWRP	\$85,000.00
25903	St. Lawrence	Town of Fine	Clifton-Fine Tourism and Recreation Development	The Towns of Clifton and Fine will advance projects identified in their 2007 Revitalization Strategy including planning to mitigate risks of invasive species in local waterways, a regional recreational tourism marketing plan and a wilderness recreation branding strategy. The Towns will also continue development of waterfront access sites, develop a master trail guide for the Clifton Fine area, and update the local waterfront revitalization strategy to identify new tourism infrastructure and wilderness recreation projects that promote sustainable economic development in the Adirondack Park.	DOS LWRP	\$67,500.00
27598	St. Lawrence	Town of Gouverneur	Gouverneur Community Center	The Town of Gouverneur will use \$400,000 in NYS CDBG funds to construct a new Senior Community Center on a 15.2 acre site adjacent to Riverview Park. The Village of Gouverneur will donate the land and \$600,000 towards the total \$1 million project cost.	HCR CDBGPF	\$400,000.00
29578	St. Lawrence	Village of Gouverneur	Village of Gouverneur Pump Station Upgrade Study	The Village of Gouverneur will complete an engineering report to evaluate upgrades to the Village's main pump station and the Clinton Street pump station.	DEC EPGP	\$30,000.00

CFA #	County	Applicant	Project Title	Description	Agency/ Program	Award
27660	St. Lawrence	Village of Potsdam	Village of Potsdam NYMS	The Village of Potsdam will use \$200,000 in New York Main Street funds to assist the owners of four mixed-use buildings to complete commercial and residential renovation projects, and perform streetscape enhancements in the Village.	HCR NYMS	\$200,000.00
32555	St. Lawrence County	St Lawrence County Arts Council and North Country Childrens Museum	Regional Arts and Interactive Learning Project	The Regional Arts and Interactive Learning Project is a collaboration between St Lawrence County Arts Council and North Country Children's Museum to establish the first mixed-use venue providing cultural arts enrichment and interactive learning experiences to North Country residents. The project will consist of distance learning programs including artists business development classes; technical training; grant writing courses; gallery tours; arts instruction; and STEAM K-12 interactive learning workshops.	Arts CHPG	\$92,000.00
31829	St. Lawrence, Jefferson	City of Ogdensburg	Oswegatchie River Blueway Trail	The City of Ogdensburg, in partnership with the Towns of Oswegatchie, Canton, Dekalb and Fine, the Villages of Heuvelton, Rensselaer Falls and Gouverneur and St. Lawrence County, will prepare the Oswegatchie River Blueway Trail Development Plan. The Plan will provide an strategy to develop and promote this resource as a regional asset for tourism, recreation and community development.	DOS LWRP	\$25,000.00
31829	St. Lawrence, Jefferson	City of Ogdensburg	Oswegatchie River Blueway Trail	Planning grant to create Blueway Trail along the 112 mile waterway.	ESD SPFS	\$25,000.00
			Community Renewal Fund	Community Renewal will make funding available to eligible municipalities for Housing Rehabilitation, Public Infrastructure, Public Facilities and Economic Development activities for the benefit of low to moderate-income individuals.	HCR CRF	\$700,000.00
			Excelsior Jobs Credits	Excelsior Jobs Program tax credits will be reserved for future projects including business investments in targeted industries that are within the region and that create or retain jobs, create capital investment and are consistent with the Strategic Plan.	ESD EJP	\$9,000,000.00
			Low Cost Economic Development Financing	Federal Industrial Development Bond (IDB) Cap will be made available for state and local government issuers to sell tax-exempt bonds for eligible economic development, infrastructure and community revitalization efforts.	ESD IDBC	\$35,000,000.00
			North Country Broadband Fund	Funding will create a North Country Broadband Grant Fund to expand broadband infrastructure in the region and to continue the progress made through the Connect NY program.	ESD Grants	\$6,000,000.00

Appendix Eight: Geographic Boundaries of Regional Organizations
Four Counties Regional Organization Boundaries

SWEA	WOWC	RTO 7	FCLMPB
Grey	Grey	Grey	Grey
Bruce	Bruce	Bruce	Bruce
Huron	Simcoe	Simcoe	Huron
Perth	Dufferin		Perth
Dufferin	Huron		
Wellington	Wellington		
Brant	Perth		
Oxford	Brant		
Middlesex	Oxford		
Lambton	Middlesex		
Elgin	Lambton		
Norfolk	Elgin		
Essex	Norfolk		
Waterloo	Essex		
Regional Municipality Chatham-Kent Seven separated cities			

North Country Regional Organization Boundaries

NCREDC	NCA	DANC	ANCA	NCCC
Clinton	Clinton	Jefferson	Clinton	Clinton
Essex	Essex	Lewis	Essex	Essex
Franklin	Franklin	St.	Franklin	Franklin
Hamilton	Hamilton	Lawrence	Hamilton	Hamilton
Jefferson	Jefferson		Jefferson	Warren
Lewis	Lewis		Lewis	Southern
St.	St.		St.	Quebec
Lawrence	Lawrence		Lawrence	
			Oswego	
			Oneida	
			Herkimer	
			Fulton	
			Warren	
			Saratoga	
			Washington	