Prospects for Endogenous Development: Understanding Community Capacity in the Keremeos Area of British Columbia

By

Jeff Shemilt
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We acknowledge and respect the lək̓ʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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// Abstract

This study explores how local community economic development actors in rural settings view prospects for bottom-up (i.e., endogenous) development through a case study of the Keremeos area in British Columbia. The study involved a basic descriptive analysis of the case study site drawing upon Statistics Canada data, historical records and local policy documents along with 11 semi-structured interviews of local development actors representing the varied geographic, jurisdictional and organizational interests comprising the Keremeos area development landscape. The findings indicate that not only do predominant institutional arrangements presuppose and eventuate rural inferiority and decline, they also tend to impose externalities for rural communities to contend with while failing to provide similar measures of in-kind support to mitigate such impacts. This stokes an erroneous sentiment that local government is responsible for precipitating endogenous development, limiting the extent to which community members work to actively operationalize it as a result. Such conditions ultimately lead rural communities to have no choice but to challenge predominant institutional arrangements in order to forge their own paths for realizing endogenous development. Indigenous communities offer hope for rural areas through increased guardianship programs and industry partnerships which help to challenge and rearticulate these arrangements to the advantage of their communities and interests. It is advisable that senior government work to provide rural communities with capacity to facilitate their own economic viability – reflecting local values, knowledge, identity and autonomy – thus working to counter the externalities and parameters which they and prevailing market forces have conceived for rural communities to persist within.

Keywords: endogenous development; community capacity; place-based research; community economic development; historical institutionalism; rural development

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List of Abbreviations

ALC	Agricultural Land Commission
ALR	Agricultural Land Reserve
CED	Community Economic Development
CCP	Comprehensive Community Plan
CFSOS	Community Foundation of the South Okanagan Similkameen
CFOS	Community Futures Okanagan Similkameen
HBC	Hudson’s Bay Company
HI	Historical Institutionalism
LSCSS	Lower Similkameen Community Services Society
LSIB	Lower Similkameen Indian Band
MoTI	Ministry of Transportation & Infrastructure
MoE	Ministry of Environment
OCP	Official Community Plan
ONA	Okanagan Nation Alliance
RDOS	Regional District Okanagan Similkameen
SimCo	Similkameen Country Chamber of Commerce
SIW	Similkameen Independent Winegrowers
SVPS	Similkameen Valley Planning Society
TOTA	Thompson Okanagan Tourism Association
UBCM	Union of British Columbia Municipalities
USIB	Upper Similkameen Indian Band
VoK	Village of Keremeos

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I acknowledge and respect the Syilx peoples on whose traditional territory this study has been conducted and whose historical relationship with the land continues to this day.

Dedication

This project is dedicated to the inhabitants of the Lower Similkameen Valley of British Columbia, Canada in commemoration of my family's one hundredth anniversary living in the area (1922-2022). Not a day goes by where you don't inspire me to be the person I strive to be.

"There's nothing meaner than a Similkameener" – Joe Dennis, Former LSIB Chief

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

“I don’t think that there really is anything that drives the community more than people who really have it in their blood” – Robin Irwin, USIB Natural Resources Director

Community economic development (CED) is about how local actors collectively achieve their development ambitions and support quality of life and wellbeing for their community. In rural places, CED has specific features. Rural communities are inherently smaller and tend to have less diversified economies than that of their urban counterparts. They also often have limited fiscal and administrative capacities to achieve their development objectives. The literature on CED emphasizes how important it is to understand the community capacity alongside assets and opportunities and how these shape prospects for development.

This thesis explores how local actors working toward CED in a rural setting view the prospects for bottom-up and community driven (i.e., endogenous) development in one rural BC community: the Keremeos area, with a population of 5091 (Statistics Canada, 2017), located in BC’s southern interior just north of the U.S. border in Washington. This study explores the factors that shape and constrain prospects for endogenous development, with a view toward how domains of community capacity may be enhanced to increase the quality of outcomes resulting from local CED initiatives into the future. Research of this nature may work to add value to the capacity building literature of rural economic development by helping to elaborate the role of human and social capital in facilitating CED (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 516). This approach has been used by previous researchers to explore similar aspects of endogenous development theory and has proven successful in facilitating a greater understanding of the role of entrepreneurship (Diochon, 2003, p. 4), the shifting governance landscape (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 1) and the role of government funders (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 5) in shaping local development processes.

This introductory chapter proceeds in three parts. It first frames the research through an exploration of community development approaches and following this, explains the local and regional socio-economic context of the rural Keremeos area. It closes by outlining the research questions for the study.

From Top-Down to Bottom-Up Community Development

Rural economic development has seen a marked shift in recent years - from top-down ‘one size fits all’ approaches to that of ‘place-based’ perspectives emphasizing the role existing community strengths and capabilities play in facilitating economic growth (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p.

1639). In the Canadian context, this shift is linked to the federal government's movement away from traditional, centrally devised, regional economic development policies and initiatives during the 1980s (Markey et al., 2008, pp. 409–410). This laid the groundwork for more inclusive development approaches which recognize that a community's problems are best understood and solved endogenously (Diochon, 2003, p. 3). Accordingly, local actors and communities are increasingly expected to be the major impetus for growth and development, which signifies the utility of investigating community capacity as a means to understand the effectiveness of community-driven, bottom-up development approaches (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 1).

Following this thread, if the endogenous perspective of CED assumes such a strong role for community capacity and actor agency in precipitating prolonged economic prosperity (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1644), what insight into a rural community's development potential can be drawn from analyzing their views on development? By seeking to problematize the endogenous perspective of CED, this research strives to investigate how community perceptions of development shape local agency in addressing collective economic issues and to draw out the implications this phenomenon may present in the design of community-driven, bottom-up development processes. Insight generated from such an inquiry may enhance our understanding of the role that agency plays in shaping endogenous development. This understanding can help to identify suitable policy strategies at senior government levels to support the veracity and successful execution of endogenous development processes in rural communities (Diochon, 2003, p. 6).

Community capacity can be understood as "the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems" (Chaskin, 2001, p. 295). It emphasizes the importance of intangible assets as key to local capacity building (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 516). Previous research has operationalized community capacity through a relational model comprised of access to resources, the extent of community belonging and commitment, the ability to solve collective problems, local actor networks, governance institutions, leadership, intent, means and mediating circumstances (Chaskin, 2001, p. 296). Accordingly, community capacity can be understood as expressing itself both in the formal and informal arrangements which structure society, lending itself to academic inquiry through an investigation of the interplay of such factors.

Within the literature on endogenous community development, *scale* is of foremost importance. Larger rural communities or even small to medium sized cities have vastly different industry contexts, administrative capacities and resource profiles than do smaller rural communities. Given this, endogenous development in a rural context faces specific limitations (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 9). An understanding of community development in a rural context can help senior level governments develop policies that more effectively meet the needs of rural communities and that are responsive to their diverse realities (Markey et al., 2008, p. 419).

Rural economic development literature commonly grapples with the inherent limitations of generalizing and transferring research to other rural contexts (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 523). Rural communities can be extremely unique in terms of the types of local actors and networks, the nature of the local and regional economy and the institutions that support governance (Markey et al., 2008, p. 411). Accordingly, case studies are a common research methodology in rural research

in order to uncover such dynamics (Robson, 2011, pp. 135–136). While communities may be unique, case study research of specific communities can help to uncover similar pressures and challenges that are relevant across broader cases, contributing to theory building (Robson, 2011, p. 138) about how local actors' experience with community and economic development shape actions on the ground (Krawchenko, 2016, pp. 14–15).

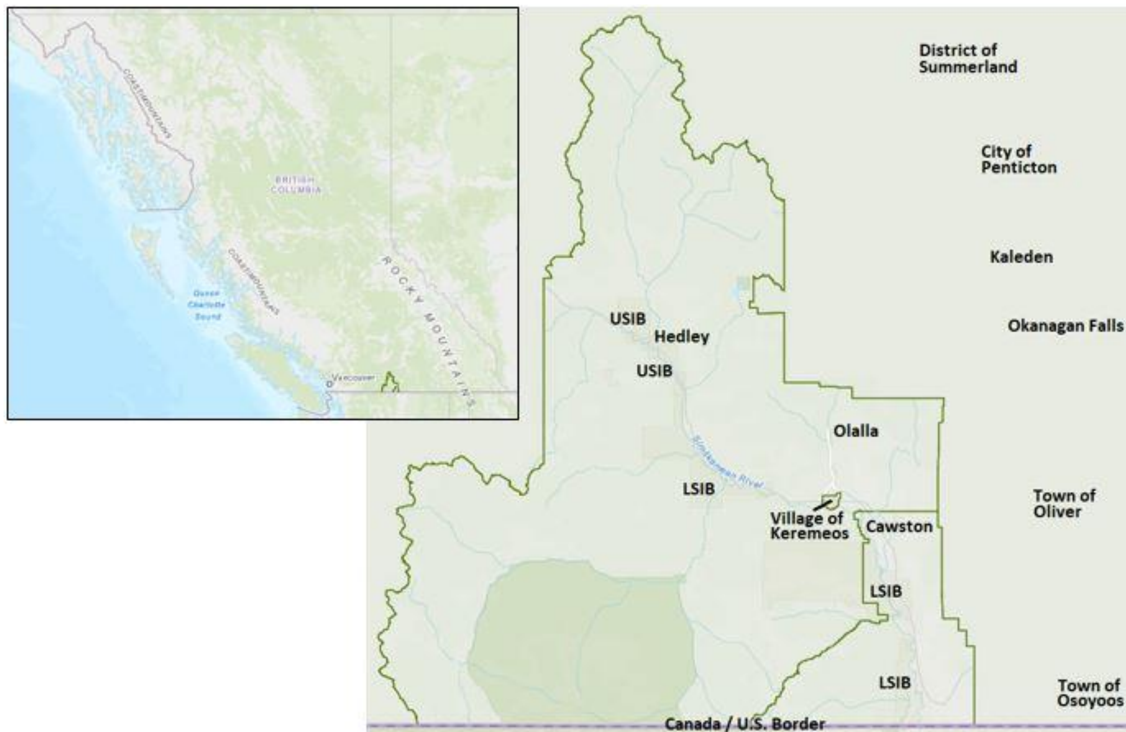
As senior governments have shifted to 'place-based', endogenous development models by adopting policies and programs to support bottom-up development, the onus on community development has become increasingly placed onto local development actors (Markey et al., 2008, p. 410). This approach presumes the existence of community level actors who are actually capable of supporting and driving such processes. But to what extent is this the case, and where do the ideas of local development actors regarding their community's economic development come from? This thesis will contribute to the literature on CED by examining how local actors' perceptions of development and their agency and capacity to drive bottom-up processes impact prospects for endogenous development in a rural context. It will do so through an in-depth analysis of one particular rural community: the Keremeos area of British Columbia.

Local and Regional Socio-Economic Context

The Keremeos area of British Columbia is located in the lower Similkameen Valley and comprises a land area of approximately 2,396 km^2 (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 6, 2021). The area contains five separate local government jurisdictions consisting of the Village of Keremeos (VoK), Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen (RDOS) Electoral Area "B" (Cawston) comprising the unincorporated community of Cawston, RDOS Electoral Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) comprising the Keremeos fringe surrounding the VoK and the unincorporated communities of Hedley and Olalla, the Syilx Nation Lower Similkameen Indian Band (LSIB) comprising of reserve land territory adjacent to both RDOS Electoral Areas "B" (Cawston) and "G" (Rural Keremeos) and the Syilx Nation Upper Similkameen Indian Band (USIB) comprising of reserve land territory adjacent to the Hedley community in RDOS Electoral Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 6).

The area is bounded by the Canada-US border to the south and abuts the Upper portion of the Similkameen valley to the west – comprised of the Town of Princeton and RDOS Electoral Area "H" (Rural Princeton) – and the southern portion of the Okanagan Valley from Summerland to Osoyoos to the east (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 6). 2016 census data indicates the Keremeos area has a population of 5091 - in which 1502 reside within the VoK boundaries (Statistics Canada, 2017; Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 11) – and also indicates that area population increase from 2001 to 2016 has exceeded both regional and provincial rates (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 7).

Figure 1: Map of Project Area, Communities, Region and Province



Source: Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen. (2021). *Parcel Viewer*. Retrieved from: https://maps.rdos.bc.ca/Html5Viewer/?viewer=publicparcels

The Keremeos area and broader region has a mild and dry climate with excellent soil conditions and is renowned for the ability to grow a wide variety of tree fruits, ground crops and wine grapes (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 10). Accordingly, the Keremeos area contains over 4,000 hectares of land within the Agricultural Land Reserve (ALR) situated along the Similkameen River/Highway 3 and Highway 3A corridor (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 6). Although the Keremeos area encompasses a significant land mass, it is mostly comprised of uninhabitable mountainous Crown land and Parkland reserve/protected area, with the settlement areas, majority of private land and reserve land territory situated in the valley bottom (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 4).

Labour market participation rates have historically fallen below regional, provincial and national averages (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 14), which is reflected in the top sources of income for Village residents being government pension (62%), followed by company or private pension (25%) (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 9). Healthcare and social assistance is the largest sector in the VoK, representing 11% of total employment, followed by retail, natural resource industries (including agriculture), construction and manufacturing (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 15). This industry profile reflects a pattern throughout the region, as a shift from local economies historically dominated by agriculture has given way to economies based on lifestyle, amenities and services for an aging population (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 15). In this respect, the Keremeos area is consistent with the broader

regional economy, with agriculture and tourism – precipitated by a growing number of award winning wineries – being the major economic contributors (South Okanagan Regional Growth Strategy Bylaw No. 2770, 2018, p. 9) but with a lower manufacturing and industrial capacity in the Keremeos area, along with a limited scale for such operations (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, pp. 30–31).

Historically, matters of CED have been the exclusive domain of local governing authorities (specifically the VoK and LSIB) and have focused on particular geospatial areas. However, other community actors have recently began work to advance collective development matters, including the Similkameen Country Chamber of Commerce (SimCo), the Similkameen Valley Planning Society (SVPS) and the Similkameen Independent Winegrowers (SIW) (Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 3). To date, expanding on the Keremeos area's local agricultural industry, including the "Fruit Stand Capital of Canada" and the "Organic Farm Capital of Canada" tourism economy as a driver of business development and local employment has emerged as a major objective (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 60). This may run counter to public sentiment however, as local survey data indicates a majority of respondents support maintaining ALR land primarily for farming and food production or feel the role for local government appears limited, given most properties are within the ALR (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 2). The same report also suggests that capacity to strategize about economic development matters may be perceived as limited by land use jurisdictions outside of local government control, such as forestry, mining and the Agricultural Land Commission (ALC) (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 3). This may inhibit the capacity for community actors to advance any piecemeal or collective vision for CED going forward.

Research Questions

This thesis examines the local development challenges, ambitions and development capacity of the Keremeos area of British Columbia. Accordingly, the research questions are as follow:

i. In the Keremeos area of British Columbia, who are the key local development actors?
ii. What are these actors' perceptions of their community's economic development and where do these ideas come from (i.e., how do they gain an understanding of CED)?
iii. How do these actors work together (or not) and what are the main institutional vehicles to support CED processes?
iv. What actions have they taken to date to support CED and what are their ideas for the community's future?
v. How do the policies or programs of senior governments support or hinder endogenous development?

Together, these research questions identify the key development actors in the area and explore how they perceive of CED along with where their ideas for local and regional development come from. Further, the questions seek to understand how local development actors collaborate in

their actions and ambitions for community development, the actions they've taken to date and their ideas for the future. Complementing this context-rich and actor-informed perspective on community development, the final research question explores how the programs and policies of senior governments (provincial and federal) are experienced at the community level. As all of these factors are related to place, they can be understood as characteristics which shape and constrain development, thus providing insight into local prospects for endogenous development as a result of their rigorous investigation.

These questions are explored using semi-structured interviews with key local development actors in the Keremeos area of British Columbia. This methodological approach allows participants to take the conversation in directions of their choosing, allowing them to respond in ways which suit their experiences and can lead to insights not anticipated at the outset of the study (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). These methods are complemented and informed by descriptive analysis of the Keremeos area drawing upon local policy documents and statistical data to describe main trends and how the community fits within the broader regional economy. This provides insight into the various socio-economic and demographic factors which shape and constrain the local development landscape of the Keremeos area.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The scholarly literature on endogenous development and community capacity is multi-disciplinary and presents itself as being in a state of tension between theoretical and practical inquiry (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, pp. 510–511). For the purpose of informing research into how local actors' perceptions contribute toward prospects for endogenous development, the literature reveals a number of recurring themes which help to focus and develop such lines of inquiry. Some of the most prevalent themes in the literature include the role of place, the role of local actor agency and the role of institutions and governance within rural development processes. These factors resonate strongly in the literature and express themselves aptly within development pursuits observed in the Keremeos area, supporting their viability as the main focus for this study.

The Role of Place

Canadian literature on rural development has long emphasized the importance of place, peripherality and extraction to understanding community development. Drawing from historical analysis, Markey et al. (2012a) describe BC development policy through the post-war era as following a coordinated public policy approach based on a model of industrial resource development which was instrumental in creating a wealthy province and transforming BC's urban and rural economies alike. They situate development within the context of the prevailing 'staples theory' of the time, which viewed economic development in Canada as being premised upon successive exploitation of resources, supported (even driven) by external sources of capital and technology (Markey et al., 2012a, p. 93). Within the context of post-war nation-building – driven largely by mercantilist policies and interests from Europe – the demand for raw materials drove the expansion of transportation routes, massive immigration programs and ever-increasing urbanization which reorganized political power toward larger population centres, leading to a preoccupation with urban-focused challenges which continues to shape Canadian society (Breen et al., 2019, p. 15). The development of BC's hinterland thus became predominantly dependent upon staples production, leaving rural communities at the whim of demands and prices set by those external markets they were gradually becoming oriented to service (Markey et al., 2012a, p. 94).

The post-war period of state intervention – bringing with it increased infrastructural expansion, welfare state policies and the Fordist approach to industrial organization – reinforced the compromise among state, capital and labour that emerged during the Second World War to reorganize production and the commodity industries to supply growing urban markets (Breen et al., 2019, pp. 15–16). This precipitated a narrow view that BC rural communities should simply serve as 'resource banks' to support the development of larger urban centres, which severely hindered local adaptive capacity, exacerbated tendencies toward environmental degradation and

continue to hinder efforts at economic diversification in BC to this day (Markey et al., 2012a, pp. 104, 108). BC rural communities thus became mired in a 'staples trap' as resource hinterlands – left to struggle against the backcloth of long-term declines in commodities prices – despite having been previously encouraged to attach themselves to such conditions through prevailing government development policy (Markey et al., 2012a, p. 109). This led to a perception of BC rural communities as naturally leading toward an inevitable decline, despite such conditions being a consequence of highly coordinated actions taken under the auspices of prevailing government development policy in BC (Markey et al., 2012a, p. 102).

Markey et al. (2008) challenge this supposed inevitability of rural decline in northern BC by demonstrating how it was actively facilitated through an intentional policy program that entrenched perceptions of hinterland areas as such 'resource banks' described above; justifying inequitable extraction-based relations without adequate attention paid to rural reinvestment. They employ a comparative analysis of the post-war and post-1980s development eras in BC to describe the transition from top-down, centrally driven approaches of rural development toward an era where government has largely withdrawn from undertaking such functions under the guise that rural communities should play a more active role in facilitating their own development from the bottom-up (Markey et al., 2008, pp. 409–410). Government's withdrawal from rural development can also be understood in relation to the emergence of neoliberal policies intended to reduce aid dependency, subsidies and price supports in an effort to shift communities toward greater self-determination (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 517).

Young (2008) documents this shift toward neoliberal policies as altering traditional economic structures within BC rural communities in ways which free corporate actors to manipulate the spaces of resource production in order to gain efficiencies that are deemed crucial to global market competitiveness. This shift was both precipitated and accelerated by major recessions in the 1980s and 1990s, and Young argues it informed government efforts to restructure BC rural economies in ways which fundamentally rejected the traditional Fordist and Keynesian model of rural development which served as the province's economic cornerstone since the Second World War (Breen et al., 2019, p. 16; Young, 2008, pp. 4, 12). Notable developments from this shift include the decline in government investment in infrastructure and services, privatization of entities and functions previously held within the public interest and allowing the assumed superiority of market forces to allocate public resources (Breen et al., 2019, p. 16). Advocates of this shift in rural development policy contend that government's withdrawal was meant to address the consequences of uneven development and rural decline resulting from policies targeted at regional 'winners' in the hopes that wealth would trickle down across rural regions (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 518); others have criticized the shift to bottom-up approaches as driven by government preference to off-load responsibilities to rural places with limited capacity and inadequate funding (Breen et al., 2019, p. 16; Markey et al., 2008, p. 415). Regardless of philosophical debate, the inherent perception of rural inferiority implicit within the history of BC development policy overwhelmingly favours the latter view.

In a review of the thematic directions within the rural development literature conducted by Ryser & Halseth (2010), the authors demonstrate how pressures driving rural change since the

1980s as described above – coupled with the breakdown of the neoliberal policy approach, incoherent re-deployment of state support and the downloading of government responsibilities onto industry and communities – led to an interest in the role of 'place' in rural economic development and the interwoven nature of the social, cultural and economic challenges which rural communities contend (Breen et al., 2019, p. 17). This new place-based approach precipitated a shift in development thinking from sectoral based comparative advantage (e.g., fixed existence of resources available for development) toward an embrace of the competitive advantage contained within rural communities by giving greater consideration to the assets – as well as local actions taken within the community to capitalize on their assets (Markey, 2010, p. 3; Markey et al., 2008, p. 410). Place exerts itself as a more dynamic factor in processes of social and economic development; a strong example being how niche products that are more dependent on location and local capacity are able to viably compete for attention with generic and 'placeless' commodity products, and in doing so express utility in helping to build a greater profile and draw for their place of origin, thus contributing to its potential for endogenous development (Markey, 2010, p. 2).

Where traditional and neoliberal approaches left uncertain and complicated development legacies in BC rural communities, the place-based approach and its strong emphasis on local action and autonomy over development resources signifies how community-based strategies will play an increasingly important role in fostering conditions necessary to respond to the demands of the new 'post-productivist' economy; which favours more diversified economic activities over mere primary resource production (Markey, 2010, p. 2; Markey et al., 2005a, p. 101). The tenets of place-based development also express themselves within the practice of CED, which emphasizes how local development should be based upon the strengths and resources of communities, rather than simply focusing on 'community deficiencies' as a foundation for policy and project design (Markey et al., 2005a, p. 104). This approach seeks to address economic leakage through local resource management as a means to disengage from unequal and destructive economic relationships with extra-local interests and signifies a marked shift from the implicitly urban-centric and fragmenting approaches to development which preceded it (Markey et al., 2005a, p. 105).

CED can be understood as representing a body of strategies which could be drawn upon by rural communities according to local needs and the profile of community capacity available for mobilizing at particular junctures; yet in order to be a truly bottom-up process, decisions to employ particular strategies must emerge from within the community, signifying the importance of understanding the contextual factors of 'placeness' in shaping local development actions and outcomes (Markey et al., 2005a, p. 131). CED's emphasis on contextual factors speaks to its utility in developing – from within – the abilities of individuals and communities to address their own problems and capitalize on their own assets, signifying the necessity of community capacity building in advancing such processes (Markey et al., 2005a, p. 132).

The place-based approach to rural development thus demonstrates a marked shift from a sector-based perspective to that of a broader and more holistic 'territorial' orientation which recognizes the combination of assets, populations, histories and circumstances as being uniquely

shaped and constrained by the overall conditions of place (Markey et al., 2019, p. 105). Thus, building community capacity through competitive advantage within a place-based approach demands consideration of a variety of quantitative (i.e., infrastructure, production, location) and qualitative (i.e., social capital, innovation, institutions) variables in economic development planning; making place an operational component which drives local agency in the development process, rather than simply being a passive platform upon which development occurs (Markey et al., 2008, p. 410, 2019, p. 105). This process can be seen as precipitating the necessary conditions for endogenous development.

The Role of Local Actor Agency

Krawchenko and Cassin (2013) build upon the place-based development literature by adopting a case study approach to analyzing four community development projects in Atlantic Canada. The authors describe the role of agency in shaping how communities are adapting and responding to broader socio-economic shifts, helping to inform our understanding of community capacity and resilience in the face of change (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 2). They note how place-based development requires increased coordination at the local level, which means the 'relevant agents of development' are largely comprised of local level actors and that community capacity either has to be tapped into or developed to realize the local agency necessary to advance such initiatives (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, pp. 10–11). They note how the CED landscape is typically comprised of a core group of dedicated individuals whose loose affiliation diminishes the structural robustness of their actions taken to advance local development (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 31).

The authors question the extent of meaningful, locally-driven community development in Atlantic Canada by showing how their case studies face institutional and external pressures which limit the horizons of their agency, thus undermining the premise of endogenous growth (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 78). Specifically, the authors note how the size, scope and capacity of local government makes cross-jurisdictional collaboration problematic due to limited functions and tax contributions (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 26). Local agency is also constrained by the CED funding environment, which creates a disconnect between community groups and funders in terms of the value each place on different forms of development activity; with funders privileging an economic lens despite the development of social capital as critical for sustained community capacity (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 80). Such conditions inevitably shape the viability of local agency necessary for advancing endogenous development.

Diochon (2003) approaches the issue of agency by focusing on the role of entrepreneurship in the development process. The author draws upon two case studies and a review of the literature to propose that a community's prospects for endogenous development are dependent upon the extent to which the process it adopts fosters entrepreneurship and innovation, thus precipitating the need to incorporate a host of non-economic factors into the development process (Diochon, 2003, pp. 5, 8). This presents the same tension between social and economic interests in rural

development as described by Krawchenko & Cassin (2013); although senior government has increasingly allocated responsibility for development to the local level, it has done so without an understanding of how such processes can be effective in addressing problems faced by rural communities, precipitating the need to identify factors essential to a better understanding of what constitutes effective rural development (Diochon, 2003, p. 6).

The place-based development literature largely echoes the above sentiment (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 521) by arguing that conventional top-down development has left local communities with little agency to affect change and that empowerment of community actors is integral to successful endogenous development (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 78). By questioning how to facilitate entrepreneurship and innovation within communities where it is not emerging naturally, Diochon (2003) lends credence to the notion of studying the various antecedent conditions, actors, tasks, structures and outcomes associated with the development process as a means to understand the extent to which local actor agency is demonstrated within particular rural contexts. This premise supports the utility of investigating community capacity in relation to how it advances local actor agency as a viable means to understand how communities build and mobilize resources for rural development (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 516).

Markey et al. (2012b) outline various dimensions of the provincial and community-level response to economic restructuring in Northern BC since the 1980s and describe a clear tension within senior governments between abandoning and enabling community and regional development, noting how such restructuring sets in place strong mechanisms that steer local actors in very specific directions. They argue this steering occurs through neoliberal governance mechanisms which stifle local actor agency through regulations, funding parameters and incentives designed to advance the primacy of provincial development priorities, thus undermining the community's ability to follow through with transition to a more place-based approach to local development (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 139–140). This presupposes broad limitations to advancing local actor agency, including the expectation to fit the long-term process of community development into the sporadic three to five-year policy horizons of senior governments and the expectation to generate economic activity without control over local and regional resources or the macro-government policy levers necessary to do so (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 142–144). This explicates how neoliberal forces continue to stifle local actor agency.

The conditions described by Markey et al. (2012b) has left rural communities stuck within an 'implementation gap' where they must contend with powerful external forces as well as internal legacies of past development which has either not worked, lacked a comprehensive and integrated vision or didn't have the impact communities or governments might like (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 151–153). Local actor agency thus has to contend with policy barriers which uphold a 'stunted public imagination' about viewing our economy from a more progressive perspective, established economic pathways which suppresses innovation and risk taking in favour of maintaining commodity resource production and dependency and internal barriers which inhibit complex development planning due to local capacity limitations (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 161–163). These circumstances tend to breed inertia when applying local actor agency toward rural development

and significantly impacts local perceptions about the potential for endogenous growth, presupposing failure as an inevitability as much as rural decline.

Grillitsch & Asheim (2018) strive to develop an analytical framework to support the design of development policies which drive 'positive structural changes' with an emphasis on place-specific preconditions such as the regional system of innovation and entrepreneurship and the extent of current economic diversification as key factors. They argue that such preconditions directly relate to a community's barriers and opportunities for industrial path development and contend that local actor agency can be applied to advance any of three typologies; 'upgrading' an existing path by enhancing skills and production capabilities or leading it toward a new direction through organizational innovation or niche market development through integration of local knowledge, 'diversification' into new related or unrelated industries by building upon competencies and existing industrial (or unrelated) knowledge and 'emergence' of new paths unrelated to existing industries either through importation from other regions or through the application of radically new technologies or social innovation (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, pp. 1640–1641).

Grillitsch & Asheim contend that the viability of pursuing a particular industrial path is contingent upon the extent of local actor agency available within the community and identify three fundamental indicators; 'actors' comprising a variety of actor types with capabilities and knowledge to contribute, 'networks' fostering localized learning within and across sectors which can leverage bridging social capital to create opportunities for novel combinations of knowledge and resources and 'institutions' involving actors at multiple-levels and enable an interplay between top-down and bottom-up policy making which provides sufficient support for place-specific needs (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, pp. 1642–1643). Accordingly, they suggest that local actors may viably advance positive structural change through considering these factors in relation to an assessment of existing preconditions of innovation, entrepreneurship and economic diversification, an assessment of barriers and opportunities for new path development and an assessment of existing innovation and entrepreneurial policies as a means to design suitable and effective policy interventions (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, pp. 1655–1656).

The analytic framework provided by Grillitsh & Asheim offers a means to consider the milieux of place specific factors in shaping local actor agency and echoes elements of Chaskin's community capacity building model, in which he argues that place-specific characteristics of community capacity are engaged through some combination of three levels of social agency – individuals, organizations and networks – to carry out functions which lead to either of two outcomes; the achievement of particular goals (e.g. greater influence on public policy decision making) or an increase in community capacity generally (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 296–299). This precipitates the need to focus on how local knowledge, capabilities, funds and resources are applied within a context of localized learning in order to understand how communities confront their barriers and opportunities for industrial path development (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1643). This also precipitates the need to explore how institutional forces constrain the formation of local actor agency (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, pp. 78–79; Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 139–140).

The Importance of Institutions and Governance

No segment of Canadian society is more cognizant of how institutional forces may adversely impact local actor agency than the Indigenous population. Regional development policy in Canada emerged from a history of natural resource extraction built upon oppressive colonial practices (Breen et al., 2019, p. 13). Prior to contact, Indigenous communities in BC maintained interlinking political-economic arrangements forged through trading to capitalize on local assets, and through the outset of colonial settlement, Indigenous participation in economic activities were essential for establishing the fur trade; but as the resource bank model of development took hold and advanced toward staples production requiring fixed patterns of land use, Indigenous communities were rendered economically isolated and further marginalized through the deterritorialization of the reserve lands system and imposition of residential schools (Markey et al., 2005b, p. 33, 2012a, pp. 88–90). This legislative framework of oppression demonstrates institutionalized patterns of exploitation designed to alienate Indigenous communities from their culture and natural resources as a means to justify and facilitate economic expansion and settlement premised upon inequitable relations with colonial power structures (Markey et al., 2005b, pp. 32–33). These legacies continue to impact Indigenous communities' capacity to realize culturally appropriate forms of endogenous development and the sheer prevalence of outstanding grievances stemming from the institutional resistance to treaty resolution strongly demonstrates the continuity of the resource bank model and presents an apparent barrier to advancing place-based development (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 150–151).

Krawchenko (2016) echoes the above sentiments by demonstrating how predominant institutional arrangements often undermine endogenous development through the prioritization of economic objectives above social, cultural and community-oriented ones. The author draws upon interviews and case studies from two rural communities in Atlantic Canada to argue that governmental funders – considered instrumental in shaping local development priorities – do not give equal weight to social and economic domains, thus placing constraints on truly endogenous forms of development (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 6). Accordingly, reconciling the various priorities and objectives of local and extra-local actors involved in community development involves surmounting the power asymmetries embedded within institutional funding relationships, precipitating the need to reorient agency to the local level (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 15).

A greater shift toward endogenous development not only involves transcending the narrow development priorities and policy horizons thrust upon rural areas by senior governments, but also involves challenging the inequitable primacy of senior government policy related to place (by such entities as Indigenous Services Canada and the ALC) and how the implications of such institutional arrangements both serve to presuppose and eventuate perceptions of rural inferiority and decline (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 142, 2012a, p. 102). This presents a need to shift toward more flexible and robust policy arrangements which implicate a stronger and more autonomous role for local participation in the rural development process (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 522).

Vazquez-Barquero & Rodriguez-Cohard (2016) also support the notion that institutional arrangements must evolve to enable local actors' greater control over senior government policy

impacting local development, noting the importance of transcending senior government election cycles to facilitate long-term community learning processes which make the combination of vertical, horizontal and bottom-up policies more viable to flourish. The authors draw upon case studies and the rural development literature to demonstrate how institutions and their policy implications are key factors for explaining the success or failure of endogenous development, with success facilitated by institutions which enable local control over actions and initiatives (Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, pp. 1139–1142).

The effectiveness of local initiatives is thus not only dependent upon agreement between local actors on strategies and goals, but also confronts challenges emerging from how the compatibility of goals, the dynamics of broader development forces and the strengthening of institutions interact to condition the results (Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, p. 1138). This speaks to the tension within senior governments between abandoning and enabling community development – precipitated by state withdrawal ushered by increasing neoliberalization of development policy in Canada – which tends to absorb and reframe community initiatives into a broader framework favourable to prevailing market based political-economic arrangements (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 138–139). Endogenous development can then be understood as demanding institutional evolution and decentralization which facilitates innovations that support and add value to local initiatives while enabling greater local control over the design and implementation of policies impacting their communities (Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, pp. 1147–1148).

Vasstrøm and Normann (2019) explore the role local government plays in advancing rural development through various case studies and argue that strategies employed vary between relatively similar communities, representing compromises in socio-economic outcomes which are shaped by local context, history, institutions, culture and power relations – suggesting that development strategies should be based upon reflection of potential roles, trade-offs and desired outcomes resulting from such factors. Local government has the unique capacity to advance rural development by serving as a forum to galvanize local actors through participatory efforts that integrate external influences, mobilizing different types of knowledge and resources to address existing local needs, thus contributing to a broader rural development capacity and legitimating given development trajectories (Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, pp. 848–849, 865).

To achieve this, local government must build functional networks capable of identifying goals, mobilizing resources and consent and integrating divergent perspectives and interests in order to utilize latent local assets, but must be willing to relinquish steering control and institutional autonomy as a trade-off (Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, p. 852). This helps to harness bonding social capital – the relational capacity of the community – to enhance local problem-solving capabilities, which can then be leveraged to harness bridging social capital – the relational capacity with extra-local interests – to realize novel innovations which advance place-based development (Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, pp. 853–854, 861). Their findings indicate there is no clear path which maximizes all socio-economic outcomes, but note the construction of social networks across local and extra-local resources as essential to access resources and knowledge from a broader sphere, which over time generate policy learning and improved social capital (Vasstrøm & Normann,

2019, p. 864). Long term investment – lodged in organizational and community models that foster creativity, engagement, governance and power sharing – is thus a key component of community capacity building (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 81).

Gibson (2019) explores the rise of multi-level collaborative governance as an institutional arrangement with potential to surmount local development challenges through collective decision-making and documents its utility within place-based development through various case studies. Governance is recognized as integral to the 'new regionalism' implicit within place-based development and strives to rectify the inability of the Westminster model to address regional opportunities and challenges by seeking innovative mechanisms which involve local actors in more flexible and fulsome partnerships with extra-local policymakers (Gibson, 2019, pp. 79, 81). The extent of variety and commitment among actors can thus be seen as resulting from high quality of governance, adequate policy repertoires, multi-level policy processes and the existence of an entrepreneurial culture within such venues (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1644).

Gibson identifies key themes and challenges including the blurring of responsibilities, lack of community level resources, macro-level influences, unequal urban/rural power dynamics and issues of human resource burn-out as hindering new forms of governance necessary to advance place-based development in rural communities (Gibson, 2019, pp. 80, 85, 89, 91). Accordingly, a divestment of power and responsibility must be made in tandem from senior government to local actors – through forums of collaboration and co-development – in order to precipitate governance, but such processes are often hindered by institutional barriers which favour centralized control over local capacity development (Gibson, 2019, p. 98). Critical institutional challenges for local actors involve their lack of capacity to participate in governance processes, limited levels of trust among stakeholders and a dearth of common interest among actors involved – with such challenges being compounded by the extent of rurality in question (Gibson, 2019, pp. 88, 94). Such factors will need to be addressed by all levels of government to help facilitate locally appropriate solutions to community challenges (Gibson, 2019, p. 84).

Conclusions

The range of themes and considerations highlighted in the literature provide viable lines of inquiry for exploring community capacity and how the perceptions of local actors contribute toward prospects for endogenous development. The literature clearly demonstrates how urban/rural power asymmetries work to adversely shape and constrain rural communities' capacity to address socio-economic challenges. Primarily, this appears to occur through deference to antiquated development policy regimes which presuppose rural inferiority and the primacy of prevailing market forces, inequitable relations with extra-local actors which favour short-term election cycles over long-term community learning processes and indentured institutional arrangements which undermine the autonomy of place. By capturing the interconnected dimensions of rural development, the literature provides capacity for research to remain theoretically grounded while providing sufficient space to meaningfully contribute to the academic discourse.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

Conceptual Framework

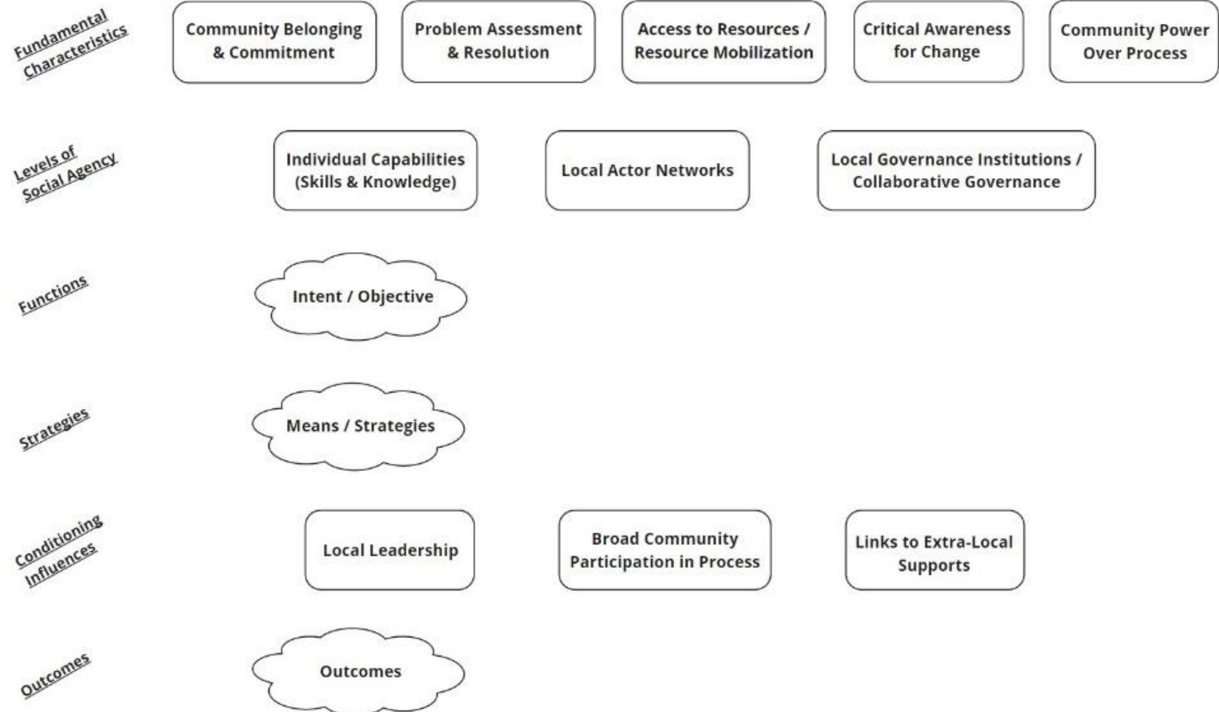
Exploring the Nuanced Domains and Dimensions of Community Capacity and Community Capacity Building Processes

The conceptual framework for this research draws upon existing literature pertaining to community capacity and capacity building processes. Community development initiatives may or may not have an explicit agenda toward capacity building, and in most cases the relations between development and capacity are left implicit and therefore difficult to articulate or assess (Frankish et al., 2003, p. 8). Accordingly, some argue that enhancing community capacity may be a strategic 'missing link' factoring into the success or failure of endogenous development initiatives, viewing it as a 'means to an end' with a separate set of objectives running on a 'parallel track' with those of particular development initiatives (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 486). Community capacity building can thus serve as a proxy for longer term outcomes that often cannot be measured within a development project's immediate period (MacLellan-Wright et al., 2007, p. 301).

Chaskin's (2001) work in this area strives to establish a definitional framework for understanding community capacity in an attempt to operationalize a capacity-building agenda. His framework situates domains of community capacity into various dimensions which interact to shape the capacity building process. These dimensions are comprised of fundamental characteristics (i.e., sense of community commitment, ability to solve problems, access to resources), levels of social agency (i.e., individuals, organizations, networks) and functions (i.e., intent) which are collectively utilized in support of community capacity building (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 296–299). The model further conceptualizes the capacity building process as consisting of how strategies and conditioning influences (i.e., means through which capacity is built and mediating circumstances which facilitate or inhibit the process) work to shape levels of social agency, thus leading toward different outcomes than previously (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 295, 299–300). How the culmination of these factors shape perceptions of local development potential comprises the crux of this research.

Chaskin's model provides a viable framework to conceptualize relationships among the key variables specified in both the community capacity and endogenous development literature and has been modified in relation to work undertaken by Gibbon et al. (2002), Laverack (2006) and Aref et al. (2010) to elaborate the concepts for greater applicability. For ease of analysis, domains related to functions, strategies and outcomes will be omitted from investigation due to their limited impact in shaping community conditions. This has been specified in figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Domains & Dimensions of Community Capacity Building



Source: Chaskin (2001) as modified by Aref et al. (2010), Gibbon et al. (2002), Laverack (2006) and Own Elaboration (2022)

Fundamental Characteristics

Community belonging and commitment pertains to the recognition of shared circumstances which compels local actors to take responsibility for what happens in their community and is evident within community members who see themselves as stakeholders willing to participate actively in that role (Chaskin, 2001, p. 296). It enables people to feel connected and motivated to work together toward common goals compelled by a sense of connection to place, concern for community issues and fulfillment of collective needs through membership (Aref et al., 2010, p. 177; Goodman et al., 1998, p. 261). It is often characterized by 'caring and sharing' within a community, mutual respect, generosity and service to others which enables collective action to address local concerns and produce desired changes, thus contributing to community capacity building as a result (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 269–270).

Problem assessment and resolution concerns a community's ability to work together to identify problems, solutions and suitable actions to resolve collective issues (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 487; Lovell et al., 2015, p. 263). It involves addressing root causes of community issues by involving target populations in a process of problem solving, translating commitment into action through formal or informal means either spontaneously or through planned action (Chaskin, 2001, p. 297; MacLellan-Wright et al., 2007, p. 303). Accordingly, broad participation helps to enhance

this capacity by imbibing the process with local knowledge necessary to generate contextually appropriate strategies (Aref et al., 2010, p. 173). The challenge lies in configuring power relations toward favourable terms necessary for communities to realize this potential (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 271).

Access to resources/resource mobilization involves the economic, human, physical and political attributes which can be drawn upon locally and negotiated from beyond the community and strategically leveraged to advance particular objectives (Chaskin, 2001, p. 297; Laverack, 2006, p. 273). It is inherent – meaning it's produced, sustained, owned and/or used by the people, organizations and relations comprising the community – and includes the ability to identify how unique attributes of place can be harnessed and elaborated to make instrumental links with larger social systems (Aref et al., 2010, p. 175; Cheers et al., 2005, p. 4). This speaks to the importance of developing the relational capacity of the community (i.e., bonding social capital) as a means to foster dynamic mechanisms that build the relational capacity with extra-local interests (i.e., bridging social capital) necessary to combine local and extra-local resources and knowledge to respond to local needs (Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, pp. 852–853).

Critical awareness for change involves the ability to critically assess the social, political, economic and other causes of inequalities based on shared awareness of problems, opportunities and workable solutions to strengthen community responses (Cheers et al., 2005, p. 3; Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 487). It speaks to the importance of scrutinizing underlying assumptions embedded within status-quo relations to better understand how external forces shape individual and community action and expresses itself in the process of undertaking critical reflection and dialogue about shared circumstances to co-develop solutions that address injustices (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 262; Lippman et al., 2016, p. 129). The process can help generate alternative visions of the world, precipitating access to innovative ideas and approaches which may facilitate meaningful change (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 264, 273). This has potential to lead toward a robust and coherent vision about viewing socio-economic conditions from a more progressive perspective, challenging established power structures as a result (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 162).

Community power over process pertains to the extent by which local actors are involved in the design and implementation of local agency programs and speaks to the control by primary stakeholders over decisions on planning, implementation, evaluation, finance, administration, reporting and conflict resolution within community-based initiatives (Frankish et al., 2003, p. 32; Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 487). It expresses itself through local influence over policy decision-making and allocation of resources – which work to create equitable relationships with outside agents, such as practitioners, funders and extra-local partners (Chaskin, 2001, p. 310; Laverack, 2006, p. 268). When applied successfully, it has potential to change the nature of the relationship between a community and its power brokers, ensuring residents are at the table in key meetings and leading to solutions that are compatible with the population being served (Hargreaves et al., 2020, p. 135). This capacity is typically advanced when communities are augured by skilled leaders and members who are well resourced, increasing their ability to create or resist change regarding local interests (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 262, 270).

Levels of Social Agency

Individual capabilities comprise all the skills and knowledge available for application toward community improving activities and can contribute to community capacity both through its availability as a collective resource and through specific individual contributions (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 297–298). This presupposes the value of local actors as key to realizing regional systems of innovation and entrepreneurship, as high capabilities not only imply the presence of a range of different actors performing high value and high skill activities, but also assumes the presence of locally contextualized knowledge which can be leveraged in novel ways to enhance localized learning (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1643). The abilities to plan and evaluate community initiatives and understand community needs, opportunities, barriers, group dynamics and conflict resolution are some of the individual capabilities integral to community capacity (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 266). Accordingly, a lack of individual capabilities can be seen as a critical barrier to endogenous development as it not only limits the extent of local participation but also contributes to a lack of leadership and domination of process by extra-local actors (Aref et al., 2010, p. 175).

Local actor networks are comprised of patterns of relations among individuals and organizations which help build social capital through trust, support, access to resources and a socially defined context that informs decision making and structures relations among members (Chaskin, 2001, p. 298). They help to identify linkages in supply and opportunities, which could be embraced to realize synergies which may increase overall development potential (Aref et al., 2010, p. 174). They express themselves through reciprocal links, frequent supportive interactions, cooperative decision-making and acknowledgement of benefits received through membership (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 261, 268). They serve as a vehicle through which people mobilize and engage in collective action by building bridging social capital – through inter-organizational linkages – that connect communities to more diverse networks and resources (Lippman et al., 2016, p. 128). Accordingly, by pooling the resources and expertise of members – within conditions which presuppose a sense of shared belonging and commitment – local actor networks can maximize a community's power and influence with extra-local partners (Chaskin, 2001, p. 298; Goodman et al., 1998, p. 268).

Local governance institutions/collaborative governance not only pertain to formal governance organizations (i.e., local government) which provide a venue to express views and maintain some measure of jurisdiction over community development matters, but also involves bringing together such organizations with local actor networks and senior government to share power and resources through a collaborative process of creating and enhancing public policy within areas of shared interest (Aref et al., 2010, p. 175; Gibson, 2019, p. 84). A shift toward collaborative governance is characterized by a reduction of senior government's role in community development, transfer of responsibilities to the local level by senior government, senior government initiatives seeking to harmonize policy delivery through partnerships, the reorganization of local institutions to address regional issues and the introduction of amendments to increase the power, responsibilities and finances of local government (Gibson, 2019, p. 82). However, such arrangements are only viable with optimal community capacity, otherwise senior government is less likely to view communities as viable agents of local economic restructuring,

presupposing the continuation of status-quo power relations and stagnant structural change as a result (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 164–165; Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, p. 1138).

Conditioning Influences

Local leadership is frequently cited as the most significant component of community capacity and is strongly correlated with critical awareness for change (Lippman et al., 2016, pp. 128, 132). It emphasizes the importance of articulating a collective vision through a collaborative, ongoing, influential process based on relationship, without which the community is unable to galvanize participation, mobilize resources or influence policy and planning with senior government or extra-local partners (Aref et al., 2010, p. 173). Local leadership enhances community capacity when it ensures the active involvement of a diverse network of community members – enabling disparate interests to take collective action – and further through the presence of pluralistic leadership comprising both positional leaders (i.e., elected or appointed leaders) and reputational leaders (i.e., opinion leaders who serve as local norm setters) working in tandem toward shared goals (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 262–263). This highlights the importance of ongoing leadership development to ensure such capabilities persist within the community (Chaskin, 2001, p. 319).

Broad community participation in process is essential to community capacity as it is interwoven into all the domains cited above, signifying its necessity for capacity to develop (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 262). Through successive interaction, community members are able to define, analyze and act on issues of collective concern – informing localized learning both within and across sectors – which may generate local knowledge ripe with place-specific context (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 487; Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1643). It increases the effectiveness of local development initiatives by helping to maintain trust and consensus for particular objectives, helping to facilitate institutional innovation as a result (Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, pp. 1136, 1141–1142). This is vital for overcoming challenges with legitimacy and representation within local initiatives and highlight the importance of incorporating meaningful participation into process (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 313, 317).

Links to extra-local supports comprise the network of relations with those agents external to the community – typically but not exclusively within senior government – who serve as a conduit for accessing external resources and who play a role in transforming power relations between themselves, outside agencies, and the community in ways which facilitate community level autonomy over local initiatives (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 487). They help to compensate for a lack of knowledge or expertise available locally and ideally work to support the enhancement of capabilities available among local actors (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, pp. 1648–1650). They also imply the presence of community power over process which facilitates equitable relations with outside agents (Laverack, 2006, p. 268). This presupposes the need for a convergence or alignment of agendas between the community and extra-local interests, highlighting the importance of

maintaining mutually beneficial arrangements to incentivize ongoing interactions (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 486; Gibson, 2019, p. 83).

Theoretical Framework

Situating Community Capacity and Endogenous Development in a Historical and Institutional Context

This research draws upon historical institutionalism (HI) as a theoretical lens through which to understand the key concepts and variables exhibited in the case study community. HI views institutions as the legacy of concrete historical processes, emphasizing political development as a structured process with institutional arrangements emerging from particular historical conflicts (Thelen, 1999, p. 382). This can be viewed as involving 'critical junctures' – crucial founding moments of institutional formation that send places along broadly different trajectories – and 'development pathways' – where institutions continue to evolve in response to changing environmental conditions and ongoing political maneuvering, but in ways that are constrained by past trajectories (Thelen, 1999, p. 387). Institutions can be seen as reflecting, reproducing and magnifying particular patterns of power distribution in politics – actively facilitating the empowerment of certain groups while disarticulating and marginalizing others – and by channeling the way groups interact in politics and policy making, institutions greatly affect the possibilities for diverse groups with the same objectives to recognize common interests (Thelen, 1999, pp. 394–395).

The inclusion or privileging of certain actors is thus an embedded process structured by predominant institutional arrangements, so when change does occur, it does so within existing institutional contexts (Krawchenko, 2012, p. 19). Accordingly, if we can identify the gaps between 'the rules' and their implementation, which open up opportunities for strategic action on the part of actors, we can capture important features of incremental endogenous change; but the aim must be to understand the way actors cultivate change from within the context of existing opportunities and constraints – working around elements they cannot change while attempting to harness and utilize others in novel ways (Streeck & Thelen, 2005, pp. 13, 19). HI is thus interested in understanding which particular interactions have the potential to disrupt the feedback mechanisms that reproduce stable patterns over time, producing the political openings necessary for institutional evolution and change (Thelen, 1999, p. 397).

The framework provided by HI will thus acknowledge the role institutions play in structuring responses to socio-economic change, how socio-economic and cultural contexts are essential to understanding local actor behaviour and outcomes, and how current development policies, institutional configurations and socio-economic contexts are shaped through historical processes (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 2). In this sense, it will facilitate a theoretically rigourous exploration of the given subject matter while paying sufficient homage to contextual factors, providing insight into the varied elements of community capacity and their implications

toward prospects for endogenous development. Further, its emphasis on how prevailing rules and practices constrain local actor behaviour and structures their actions will help to situate local actor perceptions and agency within the context of local institutional arrangements and capacities (Krawchenko, 2012, pp. 18–19). The salience of HI in theoretically and historically contextualizing collected data – along with its capacity to provide insight into how communities may work to structure responses to socio-economic conditions – has led it to be deemed highly suitable for the purposes of this research.

Positionality Statement

My primary interest in pursuing this research is to help build an understanding of the factors necessary to foster long term economic development within my rural home community. This interest stems from my lifelong residence in the Keremeos area of British Columbia, where my family has lived and farmed since 1922. Having been raised in less than ideal economic conditions and witnessing the prominence and decline of the agricultural industry in our area has made me keenly aware of local economic issues since a young age.

My research interests are also informed by my professional experience working in planning and development for RDOS and in corporate services, land administration and planning and development for VoK and this project draws heavily upon observations made within these roles from 2014 to 2022. The latter role involved working with elected officials and local stakeholders to champion revitalization and economic development initiatives in a bid to enhance the economic resilience of the community. The strong connections forged with members of the community through this work has been a foundational consideration motivating the pursuit of this research. My interests are also informed by my work in Aboriginal rights and title claims and Indigenous statutory consultations with Indian Affairs and Northern Development Canada (now Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada), Fisheries and Oceans Canada and various First Nations in British Columbia through roles held between 2007 and 2022. These experiences provided a depth of context for understanding the machinery of senior government, the challenges faced by rural Indigenous communities and the interface between these two elements of public administration. My Indigenous heritage also intimately informs my understanding of the above issues.

I remain cognizant that unconscious gender biases may impact the quality of my analysis and resolve to address this concern by persistently parsing out such implications to remain conscious of gender-based considerations. I've also worked to ensure that gender specific perspectives are represented in my analysis by involving female civic leaders as the majority of my research participants. My university education in the social sciences has provided capacity to incorporate the above into my research process while also imbibing me with a critical perspective which compels me to question how my own perceptions shape my observations.

My status as a participant-observer researcher within my own community also works to minimize issues with power relations as my observations are sufficiently tempered within an understanding of local cultural context and the prevailing public sentiment about socially acceptable forms of development and economic practice in the area. Such context has enabled me to readily accept alternative interpretations of reality as espoused by research participants and has allowed me to suspend initial judgement of collected data as a result (O'Leary, 2017, pp. 59–60). Power relations have been further minimized by offering research participants opportunity to review research findings they've generated to ensure my interpretations represent the full veracity of their perspectives. This will work to verify my interpretation of phenomena with relevant insiders and has potential to help better incorporate alternative and pluralistic points of view within the overall research findings (O'Leary, 2017, p. 60).

Conversely, a concern remains that my perceived community status could lead to response bias among research participants. This has been addressed by remaining cognizant of my own behaviour during the interview process to ensure that conditions are ideal to attain the highest quality of data possible from participants (Robson, 2011, p. 281). This has been further mitigated by posing questions in a straightforward and impartial manner – consciously eliminating cues which lead participants to respond in a particular way – and the avoidance of biased or leading questions within research instruments (Robson, 2011, p. 282).

Philosophy

As the purpose of this research is to explore prospects for endogenous development by investigating concepts pertaining to the role of community capacity in shaping local perceptions, such lines of inquiry would be best suited for an interpretivist case study approach. The interpretivist tradition focuses on how people find meaning through their surroundings and is premised upon an acceptance of multiple perspectives and realities (O'Leary, 2017, p. 142). This approach holds that the basis of reality can only be discernably understood through exploring multiple social constructions of meaning and knowledge (Robson, 2011, p. 24), lending itself to the inquiry of how local actors construct their own subjective perceptions of development as a result of their particular environmental considerations.

Approach

A case study approach involves "an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (Robson, 2011, p. 136). This strategy allows for taking into consideration how particular contextual factors interact with key variables to shape the construction of meaning among actors at the ground level (Robson, 2011, p. 135). Given the scope of this research is limited to the Keremeos area of British Columbia,

a case study approach allows for a focused inquiry which sufficiently delineates the research environment to the level of the particular community. Further, as concepts pertaining to endogenous development and community capacity are inherently contextual in nature, a case study approach would provide the means to understand such concepts within a natural environment (Robson, 2011, p. 136), facilitating a depth of qualitative data which may not be viably attained through other research strategies.

Case Selection

The Keremeos area of British Columbia has been selected as the case study site due to my connection within the community. This will provide an understanding of the historical and socio-economic factors necessary to ground the research within a local context, thus expediting the process of researcher emersion and overall project execution. Further, I maintain an established rapport with a large number of the research participants, including a large portion of the local business community and chamber of commerce, all local elected officials and local government administrators. Lastly, my intimate knowledge of local economic development issues derived through previous work in the community's regional and local government provides a depth of context for analyzing community capacity and endogenous development potential in the selected case study site.

Sampling

The clearly delineated case boundaries established by the research strategy presuppose the utility of a single case study as the primary site of investigation for this project (O'Leary, 2017, p. 216). Data obtained through single case study sampling will be considered and contextualized in relation to literature and case studies pertaining to community capacity and endogenous development. Although single case study sampling is notably limited in its capacity to generalize observations and findings within the literature (Robson, 2011, p. 140), this approach is necessary to maximize the relevance and practicality of the research design (O'Leary, 2017, p. 215), given the prescribed timeframe and resource limitations attributed to this project.

Limitations will also be minimized through the use of quota sampling techniques to ensure data is representative of the variety of economic interests and the diverse roles of local development actors (Robson, 2011, p. 274), thus generating more accurate data as a result. Further, I've employed my previously established rapport and knowledge of the local development actor network to facilitate an ease of access to high quality research participants (O'Leary, 2017, p. 218), thus enhancing the confidence in data obtained as a result. I have also been able to involve enough research participants to ensure this project has statistical power to facilitate the recognition of relationships that exist among variables (O'Leary, 2017, p. 144). Accordingly, saturation has

served as the primary means of determining that sufficient levels of data have been obtained to satisfy this statistical threshold (Robson, 2011, p. 148).

Data Collection

Semi-Structured Interviews

Data has been collected primarily through semi-structured interviews with local development actors – consisting of former and current local elected officials (including Indigenous leadership), local government staff, community organization staff and leadership and chamber of commerce staff and leadership. A semi-structured approach offers the benefits of a defined questioning plan typical of structured interviewing, but provides a measure of flexibility to accommodate the natural flow of conversation (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). This approach has the advantage of not only facilitating extraction of intended data but also unexpected data that emerges naturally through the interview process (O'Leary, 2017, p. 240). Interviews were conducted via Zoom Meetings due to pandemic restrictions and were transcribed via Zoom Meetings' auto-transcription function and audio recorded to facilitate ease of correcting non-human error and subsequent data analysis. Content consisted of open-ended questions covering themes pertaining to community capacity and endogenous development; this enabled in-depth conversation about particular concepts while providing the means to clarify any misunderstanding arising during the course of the interviews (Robson, 2011, p. 283).

Descriptive Statistics

Interview data has also been supplemented by a basic descriptive analysis of the case study site by drawing upon Statistics Canada data to describe main trends and how the community fits within its broader regional economy. This involved a thorough review of requisite socio-economic and demographic indicators – couched within a supplementary review of historical accounts pertaining to local community and economic development – as a means to facilitate a place-based case study analysis which pays sufficient homage to local contextual factors (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 3).

Data Analysis

Drawing upon an inductive approach, data collected through semi-structured interviews has been transcribed and coded thematically according to overarching themes and concepts pertaining to the community capacity and endogenous development literature (Robson, 2011, pp. 474–475). This analytical technique facilitates the process of drawing connections among the coded data and provides capacity to explore, describe and interpret patterns identified (Robson, 2011, p. 476). A deep reading of the interview transcripts has been employed in an iterative process to draw out themes overlooked through previous readings and to facilitate categorization of thematic networks underpinning the data (Robson, 2011, pp. 476–477, 481–483). Lastly, findings generated through thematic coding analysis have been considered with respect to the basic descriptive analysis of case study site statistics to converge sources and ultimately inform the overall research conclusions. Such triangulation helps to counter threats to validity (Robson, 2011, p. 158) and serves to confirm the data through comparison with differing data sources (O'Leary, 2017, p. 169). This has provided a viable framework for addressing the key research questions.

Ethical Considerations

Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and required to sign a consent form prior to their involvement, noting their consent can also be withdrawn at any time during the study. All data generated through primary research endeavours has been confidentially handled and retained to protect participant privacy and all materials have been stored in a secured location and a secured computer system. Participants were given the opportunity to choose an anonymous and non-attributed interview or an attributed interview for which all published attributions would be cleared with the interviewee in advance through written consent. As the purpose of this research does not involve subject matter of a controversial, provocative or polarizing nature, risk to participants due to their involvement has been deemed minimal. However, leading practices have been respected to ensure that research endeavours reflect prevailing ethical standards and all ethical guidelines prescribed by the university's research ethics board have been adhered to during the course of undertaking this research.

There are special ethical considerations when conducting research in small communities such as Keremeos. Despite efforts to ensure confidentiality in interviews, it can be easy to identify interview participants in a small community. As such, interview reporting has been sensitive to these dynamics to ensure that any potential negative repercussions are mediated.

Chapter 4: The Development Landscape: The Keremeos Area in Regional Context

Introduction

Nestled between the Fraser and Okanagan Valleys just north of the Canada-US border and with a population of 5091, the Keremeos area has grown from being a literal outpost into an agricultural community with recent population increases exceeding both regional and provincial averages (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 7; Statistics Canada, 2017). This chapter provides a broad overview of the Keremeos area development landscape by exploring its historical, geographic and political context within the region along with a thorough review of statistical data to better understand the socio-economic and demographic indicators which comprise the landscape.

Historical Context

Early Fur Trade and Colonial Foundations

The historical development of the Keremeos area by colonial settlers appears to be largely due to political-economic necessity given the fiercely competitive and expansionary landscape of nineteenth century natural resource exploitation in North America, which made the area a strategic location as a hub for trade and transportation at the time (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 29; Markey et al., 2005b, pp. 20, 29). Being located in the Oregon Territory which persisted prior to the establishment of the international border with the United States, the Keremeos area emerged in the early 1800s as a stopping point for fur traders passing between Kamloops and Fort Okanogan in what is now Washington State; with both the Northwest Company and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) using the area as a sometime horse pasture (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 26; Wilson, 2008, para. 7). The establishment of an international border in 1846 directly south of the Keremeos area led the HBC to move their trading post from Fort Okanogan to the Keremeos area in 1860, however the post never became a profitable trading centre and the area became more important as a centre for wintering horses and producing hay (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 29; Wilson, 2008, paras. 8, 10).

The changing focus of the fur trade led to the closure of the Keremeos trading post in 1872, but the HBC's presence and eventual departure laid the foundations for the ranching, fruit farming and mining operations which quickly became mainstay economic activities (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 30). The HBC presence provided capacity for the Keremeos area's earliest farming activity – eventually leading to the planting of the valley's pioneer commercial apple orchard in 1896 – whose success steered the local economy away from subsistence farming, hunting and gathering (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 27–28; Wilson, 2008, paras. 9, 12). Ranching also quickly became an important industry – likely due partially to the human capacity and capabilities remaining in the

area after the HBC’s departure (Wilson, 2008, para. 10). Of greatest consequence, the HBC’s interest in securing safe travel within dominion boundaries resulted in land survey activities attributed to the discovery of placer gold in 1852, precipitating the shift away from the fur trade toward mining and natural resource exploration (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 26–27, 34–35). An HI lens acknowledges these as critical junctures which precipitated trajectories toward particular developmental pathways (Thelen, 1999, p. 387).

The Rise and Fall of Mining and Natural Resources Exploration

The discovery of gold in the Keremeos area attracted prospectors and raised the outlook for development – precipitated by similar mineral discoveries elsewhere in the interior during the late 1850s – resulting in the construction of a trail from Hope to the Keremeos area and through the southern interior in 1860 to allow better transport and access for these anticipated resources (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 34, 44–45; Wilson, 2008, para. 8). An HI lens notes how senior government was able to advance their development agenda through provision of infrastructure necessary for mining and natural resources exploration to flourish (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 7). Mining quicky emerged as the dominant industry in present-day Hedley – with the Nickle Plate and Mascot mines opening in 1898 and 1936 respectively – both of which formed significant operations producing tons of gold worth over $200 million in 2005 dollars (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 52; Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 9–10; Upper Similkameen Indian Band, 2008a). By the beginning of the twentieth century, Hedley grew into the largest settlement in the entire Similkameen Valley, with growth potential buoyed by the Copper Mountain mine in Princeton, which was brought to full capacity in 1926 (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 57, 80; Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 10).

Although expectations were high for the development of mining and natural resources exploration in the Keremeos area, no significant deposits were located outside of Hedley and even the small mining operations which led to the Olalla settlement began stagnating in 1922, leading it to decline to only 80 residents by 1930 (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 11–12; Wilson, 2008, para. 30). Falling prices and low grade ore forced the Nickle Plate and Copper Mountain mines to close in 1930 only to reopen in the mid-1930s and starting a cycle that would repeat itself – at least for Copper Mountain – to this day (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 54, 82). Both the Nickle Plate and Mascot mines stopped being profitable by the early 1950s and were shut down permanently in 1955 (Goodfellow, 1958, pp. 56, 58). In the following decades, Hedley would suffer fires which destroyed many of the buildings in the original commercial area, and no significant industrial activities developed in either Hedley or Olalla ever since (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 10). An HI lens would suggest they remain constrained by their past development trajectories (Thelen, 1999, p. 387).

Agricultural Pre-eminence, Regulation and Fragmentation

The ranching and farming industries both emerged as a result of the HBC's presence in the Keremeos area and began to flourish in Keremeos and Cawston by the late 1890s (Goodfellow, 1958, p. 52). These industries enabled settlers to homestead and raise fields of oats and wheat to build capacity for further industry gains while providing a viable livelihood and prospects for further development (Wilson, 2008, para. 10). The success of the valley's pioneer commercial apple orchard in 1896 led a large number of farmers to transition into tree fruit farming and news that a railroad was going to be built through Keremeos connecting the southern interior to Vancouver assured reliable access to markets outside the Keremeos area, leading to further agricultural development and prompting farmers throughout Cawston and Keremeos to begin planting tree fruit saplings en masse to keep up with external market demand (Wilson, 2008, pp. 12, 15). An HI lens notes how these conditions precipitated an 'institutional conversion', in which existing institutional arrangements were redeployed toward a new or changed set of goals (Krawchenko, 2012, p. 28).

Ranchers began consolidating local property around the 1890s to facilitate raising cattle and were able to leverage this resource to increase their wealth through sale as agricultural property and even the townsite area surrounding the proposed railroad which now comprises the VoK (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 10; Wilson, 2008, paras. 28–29). An HI lens notes that ranchers were instrumental in shaping the socio-economic context through such land development (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 7), setting the stage for the rising pre-eminence of tree fruit farming in the Keremeos area. The second world war's demand for fresh produce precipitated a further boom within the agricultural sector, and in 1950 the Department of Veterans' Affairs purchased much of the northern bench of Cawston and Keremeos and settled ex-soldiers upon it for farming – including my own family (Wilson, 2008, p. 31).

In an effort to ensure BC's capacity for continued agricultural production, the ALC was established in 1972 and led to agricultural properties in the Keremeos area being mostly brought into the ALR, restricting land use to agricultural purposes for the majority of properties to this day (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 8, 24). In the 1980s, diminishing returns led some farmers to begin growing wine grapes and open the first locally-operated wineries in the Keremeos area (Similkameen Independent Winegrowers, 2021). The pre-eminence of farming persisted until the early 1990s when some farmers pursued organic certifications and formed other producer led organizations as a means to add value to their produce. This created tensions among local producers, which drove prices down and with the long-term decline in the prices of commodities, precipitated the beginning of the decline in farming as a lucrative small-holdings enterprise in the Keremeos area (Markey et al., 2005b, p. 19). An HI lens notes this as 'institutional drift', as changing circumstances altered the effects of local efforts toward diminished returns (Krawchenko, 2012, p. 239).

Late Twentieth Century Agricultural Decline Precipitates Economic Diversification

Although the decline in agricultural pre-eminence diminished the economic capacity of agricultural property owners, many went on to supplement income through off-farm work, resulting in a common local practice of undertaking just enough farming operations to benefit from property tax exemptions gained through maintaining farm status. The decline also provided space for other types of economic activity to flourish – sometimes facilitated by active negligence to enforce ALC regulations on the part of the BC liberal government – as small pockets of light industrial operations such as automotive parts manufacturing, milled log home manufacturing and metal fabrication began in earnest around the 1990s (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 2). An HI lens would note how the prevailing regulatory framework structured these responses to socio-economic change (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 2), as lax enforcement of ALC regulations enabled proliferation of non-agricultural land use by disincentivizing compliance at the local level.

The uncertainty of conventional agricultural production led some tree fruit growers to switch over to wine or cider production, leading to the development of over 14 highly-rated award winning wineries and cideries which produce exceptionally high quality products and account for over 800 acres of planted wine grapes per year in the Keremeos area (Similkameen Independent Winegrowers, 2021). Not only did this new industry provide an avenue to increase the income potential of agricultural property, it enabled the emergence of value added products which genuinely reflect the place-based characteristics of the Keremeos area while also providing capacity for growth and expansion of the local tourism sector. An HI lens notes this as 'institutional displacement', where new models emerge and diffuse, calling into question existing organizational forms and practices (Streeck & Thelen, 2005, p. 19).

In-Migration, Tourism Amenities and Equitable Development into the Twenty First Century

The early 2000s saw a wave of in-migrants – attributed to the dramatic increase in real estate prices in the Vancouver metropolitan area – and of the total 2620 in-migrants identified in the 2006 Census, an estimated 80% were aging amenity in-migrants and only 9% were migrating to the area for economic opportunities (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 7, 2010a, p. 13). The in-migration also led to the re-emergence of Hedley and Olalla as affordable bedroom communities for retirees and those commuting to larger centres in Princeton and Penticton (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 10, 12). By the early 2010s, the balance of recent in-migrants and current residents was enough to sustain the core local businesses and the Copper Mountain mine – which closed in 1996 – was reopened in 2011 and has been employing a number of Keremeos area residents ever since.

By the late 2010s, additional tourism amenities began taking shape as small outcrops of B&Bs and guest suites were built and more businesses emerged in the rural portions of the

Keremeos area. The wineries also began expanding facilities to include high end guest suites, hot tubs, resort spas and even an artificial cave with a waterfall feature used for tours, events and high-end dining experiences. More recently, the range of quality dining options grew to include a highly rated fine dining restaurant in Cawston, which gained recognition as a destination attraction within provincial and national publications. The current trajectory suggests the importance of enhancing local tourism as a means to build capacity for increased sale of value added artisan products however, the authority which agricultural property owners require to realize increased income potential through innovation, entrepreneurialism or development of such amenities appears to unequally favour winery operations over small land holders who produce consumable crops and simply strive to sell value added products out the gate to sustain their farming operations. An HI lens suggests that power-distributional biases may persist within the current developmental path (Thelen, 1999, p. 395).

Community Profile

Geographic Context

Figure 3: Map of the Keremeos Area (Project Area)

Source: Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen. (2021). *Parcel Viewer*. Retrieved from: https://maps.rdos.bc.ca/Html5Viewer/?viewer=publicparcels

The Keremeos area – also known as the Lower Similkameen Valley - comprises the entire eastern or 'lower' half of the Similkameen Valley in south central British Columbia and is situated around the Similkameen River which runs west to east between the Coast and Cascade mountain ranges (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 1; Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 4). It is home to some of the richest biodiversity in British Columbia and contains hundreds of plant and animal species found only in the region (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 1; Village of Keremeos, 2020, p. 6). The Keremeos area is located at the northern extremity of the Sonoran Desert, containing a semi-arid climate, fresh mountain water and excellent soil conditions conducive to growing a wide variety of fruit, including apples, peaches, apricots, cherries, grapes and other produce (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 1; Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 10). The Keremeos area comprises a land area of approximately 2,453.42 km^2 and accounts for roughly 23.56% of the total land area within the RDOS (Statistics Canada, 2017). It consists of RDOS Electoral Areas "B" (Cawston) and "G" (Rural Keremeos) which contain the reserve land territories of the USIB and LSIB as well as the communities of Hedley, Olalla, Cawston and the Keremeos fringe.

The VoK is the only incorporated municipality within the eastern or 'lower' portion of the Similkameen Valley, with the Town of Princeton being the only incorporated municipality within the western portion. The area is bounded by the international border with the United States to the south and abuts the rural areas of RDOS Electoral Area "H" (Rural Princeton) to the west and north, RDOS Electoral Area "F" (Rural Summerland) to the northeast, and RDOS Electoral Areas "I" (Skaha West), "C" (Rural Oliver) and "A" (Rural Osoyoos) to the east (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 6). The RDOS abuts the Fraser Valley Regional District to the west, the Regional District of Kootenay Boundary to the east and is approximately 159 km from the City of Vancouver at its western boundary.

Political Economic Context

Centrality of the Village of Keremeos within the Lower Similkameen Valley

Due to its location at the heart of surrounding RDOS Areas "B" (Cawston) and "G" (Rural Keremeos), the VoK has grown to become the main hub for transportation and commerce in the Keremeos area; being situated roughly 10 to 15 minutes away from the communities of Cawston, Hedley and Olalla and a 45 minute drive from the City of Penticton and Towns of Princeton and Osoyoos (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 3; Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 4–5). The consumer capacity of the combined Keremeos area communities allows businesses in the Village to offer products and services which satisfy a few market needs aside from basic necessities, contributing to new development and investment being focused toward the Village and away from other Keremeos area communities with less developed infrastructure and centres. This is reflected in how the Village also serves as a centre for delivery of public services for all Keremeos area communities, including a high quality health facility, an elementary and secondary school,

recreation facilities, public library and RCMP detachment (Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 10–11).

These factors have led some Keremeos area residents to either assume they reside within the Village despite being located outside municipal boundaries or be more connected to municipal than regional issues (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. 4, 7) and in some cases, assume the Village owes them accountability despite not living or paying taxes there; typically arguing that shopping in the Village entitles them to a say in municipal affairs. This somewhat signifies a public need for a centralized local government presence in the Keremeos area, as residents of RDOS Areas "B" (Cawston) and "G" (Rural Keremeos) must travel all the way to Penticton to liaise with administrative staff responsible for their electoral areas, encouraging residents to bring such matters to the Village office out of sheer convenience and further advancing the amorphous local governance landscape of the Keremeos area among its residents.

Proximity and Relation to Larger Centres in the Region

Although centrality and consumer capacity work to maintain strong ties between the VoK and surrounding Keremeos area communities, all the communities in the region - including within the Keremeos area - travel to the regional population centre of Penticton to shop for higher order goods and affordable alternatives to products available locally; acknowledging the infeasibility of satisfying the full breadth of market needs at the local level (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 12). This is seen to impact the local economy of the Keremeos area by stifling innovation among the local business community and limiting prospects for viability of businesses which cater to higher order market needs such as boutique retail, electronics or furniture/home decor due to the limited consumer traction in the Keremeos area. This is evidenced by the fact that farmers in the Keremeos area willingly travel to sell their produce at the Penticton farmer's market, which attracts a larger segment of the regional consumer base than could be realized in the Keremeos area.

The Similkameen Valley's adjacency to the Okanagan Valley does not result in significant traffic inflow to the Keremeos area and while it does experience high traffic volumes and seasonal travelers, they're mostly comprised of tourists enroute from the lower mainland to the Osoyoos area or Kootenay region and does not result in significant tourist commercial activity except for at the fruit stands along Highway 3 in Cawston and the Keremeos fringe just west of the Village (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 3; Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 4–5). As a result, businesses in the Keremeos area have tended to be more risk averse and typically only cater to provision of basic necessities (groceries, pharmacy, etc.) knowing that mid-range and higher end items will be purchased and brought in from outside the community. The relative distance between the Keremeos area and larger centres also ensures that catering to basic necessities remains lucrative business, as a portion of residents aren't able to frequently travel into larger centres and the convenience of quick transactions also work to encourage shopping local despite at a slightly higher cost than in larger centres.

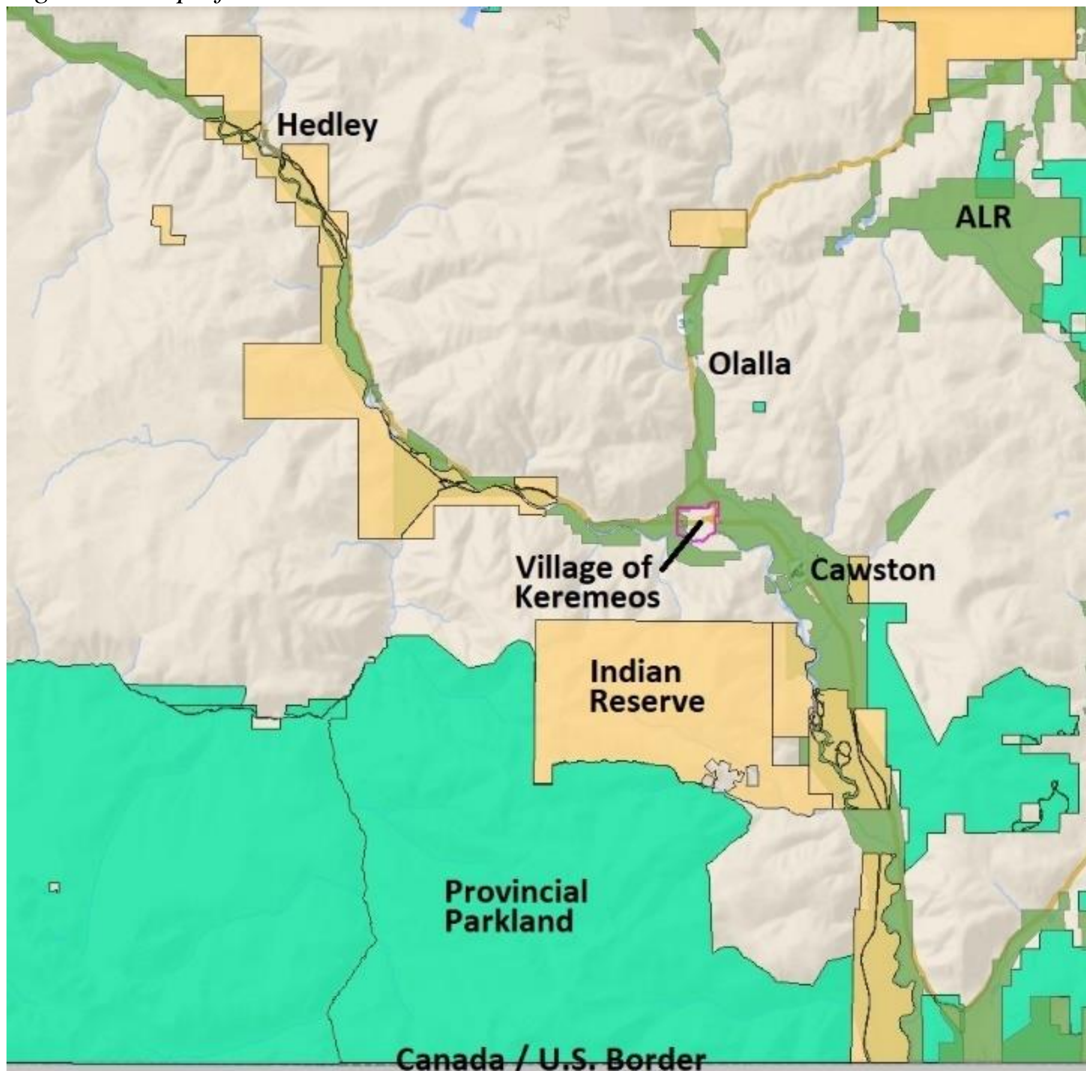
Political Context within the Region

Despite comprising 23.56% of the total land area within the RDOS, the Keremeos area comprises a mere fraction of the regional population (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 30), helping to account for the political inequities between elected officials from the South Okanagan and Similkameen at the RDOS Board table. Not only do the Similkameen Directors represent only 5 of the 19 Board seats but weighted voting criteria also allot greater votes to Directors representing higher population areas; both of these factors work to constrain the political power of Similkameen Directors to meaningfully sway the direction of regional affairs, particularly with respect to financial matters such as budgeting (Brydon, 2015). On an anecdotal level, funding for community development initiatives granted at the regional level appears to mostly get allocated to the Penticton and Naramata areas (two of the regional centres for tourism and wineries) at the expense of underfunding much needed community development initiatives in rural and less resource abundant parts of the region. Such inequitable arrangements with larger regional partners presents a challenge to building a more collaborative approach toward addressing collective community and economic issues (Gibson, 2019, p. 95) and to date, there appears to be no real collaboration or meaningful support at the regional level for CED in the Keremeos area, aside from financial contribution toward ad-hoc research and studies focusing on the Similkameen Valley and Keremeos area (particularly with respect to housing and sustainability).

Major Land Use Considerations

The Keremeos area is comprised of various federal, provincial and local government land use jurisdictions which shape and constrain prospects for development. Aside from the historical settlement sites of Keremeos, Cawston, Olalla and Hedley, the majority of private lands are almost exclusively within the ALR, which favours agriculture as priority use and limits development potential for other land uses (Sagewood Research, 2016, pp. 9, 25). All the remaining lands consist of Provincial Crown lands, Provincial Parklands and Federal Indian Reserves (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 4) as specified on the figure below.

Figure 4: Map of Land Use Jurisdictions in the Keremeos Area



Source: Land Title and Survey Authority of British Columbia. (2021). *ParcelMap BC*. Retrieved from: https://parcelmapbc.ltsa.ca/pmsspub/

The ALR designation is pervasive in the Keremeos area and although the VoK maintains its own land use and zoning regulations, even it contains properties which cannot be developed until they're formally excluded from the ALR – as is the case for two multi-unit development proposals in the Village. The figure above shows the properties within the ALR shaded in dark green and indicates the vast majority of properties in the valley bottom are contained within it; even segments of USIB and LSIB reserve land territory, which are shaded in orange. Lands designated as Provincial Parkland are shaded in light green on the figure above and are mostly situated on mountainous terrain and serve to protect the ecosystems of the many rare species which inhabit the Keremeos area (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 28). Lands not shaded on the figure above comprise the few properties which remain excluded from the ALR or are uninhabitable Provincial Crown land subject to provincial forestry, mining and other regulations.

A major land use issue in the Keremeos area is the proposed establishment of a National Parkland Reserve in the mountains which separate Cawston and Oliver (currently containing Provincial Parkland, Crown land and private lands). Although the proposal has tremendous ecological value and gained approval from the local Syilx communities, it has been a contentious issue among some of the Keremeos area residents who are concerned about further land use restrictions – particularly with respect to cattle grazing and hunting activities. Public meetings held for Parks Canada to provide information and address concerns from the community have devolved into hostile situations requiring the RCMP to provide support with additional security. This issue remains contentious as Parks Canada proceeds with the plan.

ALC regulations undoubtedly shape the development potential of the Keremeos area by constraining the land use to primarily agriculture (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 6), thus limiting the profit potential of the land to only that provided by such activities. Public opinion research into Keremeos area residents indicates many local concerns with community development are in response to land use jurisdictions outside of local and regional control – including the ALC – and that this lack of control limits the ability for local government to effectively navigate the changing socio-economic circumstances of their communities (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. 2–3). Concerns have also been raised about how ALC regulations allow some people to seemingly game the ALR into allowing them to maximize the profit potential of their lands through quasi-agricultural means, as more often ALR lands are being paved over for packing houses, wineries, restaurants and parking lots/driveways for these operations; permanently removing the land from growing food while barely meeting the definition of agricultural use (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 11). Conversely, ALC regulations help to preserve the rural character of the Keremeos area by preventing unmitigated development and helps to maintain local market balance through the absence of speculative purchasing, which works to keep the cost of living relatively low. Further, there appears to be high public support for agriculture among Keremeos area residents, as local public opinion research indicates there's local concern for loss of ALR lands and that 75% of respondents thought it was important or very important to maintain the ALR land primarily for farming and food production only (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. 5, 2).

Statistics and Demographics

A Sparce Population with Growth Potential Centered in the Village

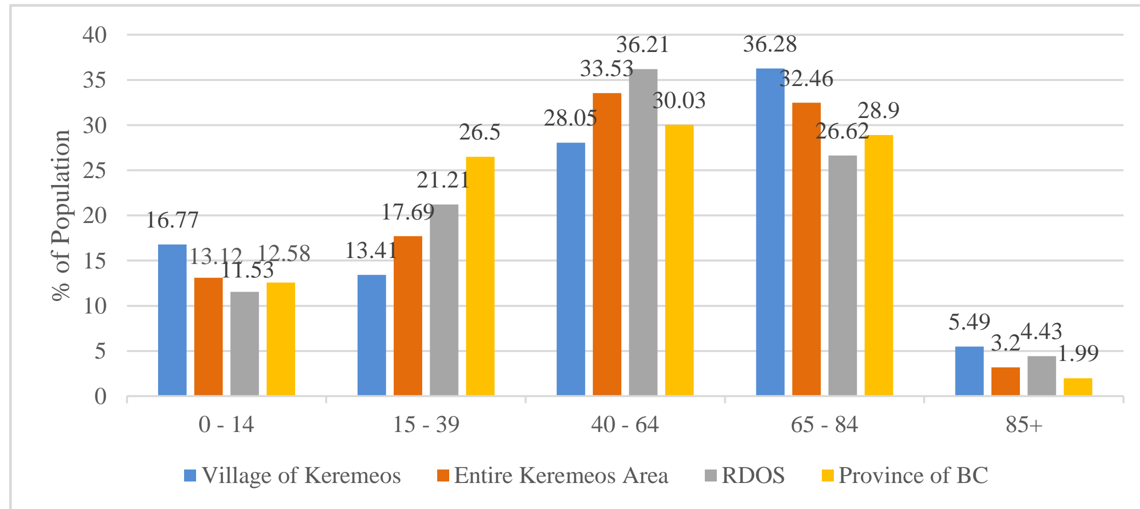
The Keremeos area's population was 5091 in 2016 - compared to the regional population of 83,022 (Statistics Canada, 2017) - and BC Statistics projects a growth rate of 0.9% for the Keremeos area between 2020 and 2040, translating into a potential population increase between only 0.5% and 1.5% within the next 20 years (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 11). A 2020 regional housing needs assessment report indicates that as growth slows between 2021 and 2026, the Keremeos area should expect a growth rate around 5.56%; slightly higher than the regional

growth rate of 4.1% but well below the roughly 12% growth rate experienced in the region and parts of the Keremeos area between 2016 and 2021 (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 25, 81, 98, 139).

Of note is that most of the population is located within the Village, which has a population density of 717.50 residents per km^2 compared to 41.6 residents per km^2 everywhere else in the Keremeos area (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is further reflected in the population statistics for the Keremeos area, which has seen an overall population decrease of 0.43% between 2011 and 2016 but a stark increase of 12.9% in the VoK; well exceeding regional (2.8%), provincial (5.6%) and national (5.0%) averages for the same time period (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is likely attributed to land use regulations outside of the Village which restrict development along with the abundance of uninhabitable mountainous terrain in the area. Accordingly, growth potential is centered primarily within the Village, which possesses the requisite infrastructure and population density to provide capacity for economic development.

An Aging Cohort of Residents

Table 1: Age Distribution in the Keremeos Area, Region and Province (2016 Census Data)



Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

The Keremeos area has a higher proportion of older residents compared to youth and young adults. Among the current population, the "baby boomer" generation comprise the largest proportion of residents (33.53%) followed very closely by residents aged 65-84 (32.46%) and all other residents comprising the remaining 34.01% of the population (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 13–14; Statistics Canada, 2017; Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 12). The proportion of residents aged 65-84 in the Keremeos area was more than 7.5% and 20% higher than regional and provincial averages in 2016 (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 82, 99, 140) as

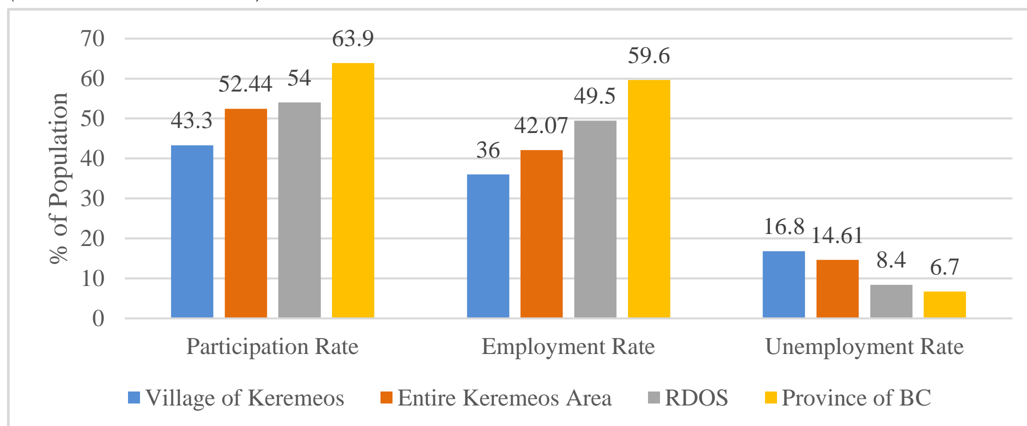
somewhat reflected within the table above; not only rivalling all other age cohorts but reaching the highest percentage of overall population in the VoK (36.28%).

The proportion of seniors in the Keremeos area increased by 6.5% between 2006 and 2016 and is projected to comprise nearly 45% of the population by 2026 (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 87, 104, 145). This may account for why BC Statistics projects the Keremeos area will continue to maintain the third highest elderly dependency ratio in the province through 2022, behind only Qualicum and the neighbouring community of Princeton (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 17). This trend will likely continue or even increase as the "baby boomer" generation moves further into retirement age (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 16) and younger workers and families continue a trend of out-migration in search of professional and educational opportunities in larger centres (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 15). This will likely diminish the potential for economic development going forward.

Labour Market Participation Typically Below Average

Labour market participation in the Keremeos area remains below regional and provincial averages (Statistics Canada, 2017) as shown on the table below, particularly within the VoK which maintains an unemployment rate significantly higher than regional and provincial averages (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 15). This can be attributed to the large percentage of residents over the age of 65 within the Village (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 14), precipitated by an increase in amenity led in-migration of retirement age residents since 2000 (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, pp. 6–7, 2010a, pp. 13–14). Additionally, it's noted that the disaggregated data for RDOS Area "B" (Cawston) also indicates an unemployment rate (13.0%) which exceeds regional and provincial averages, but remains lower than the entire Keremeos area at 14.61% (Statistics Canada, 2017). This may work to limit economic development potential as such endeavours would likely need to adhere to the market preferences and financial scope of aging in-migrants while persisting in an environment with lower working age residents available to advance such interests.

Table 2: Labour Market Participation in the Keremeos Area, Region and Province (2016 Census Data)



Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

Income Distribution Skewing Lower and Income Gap Widening

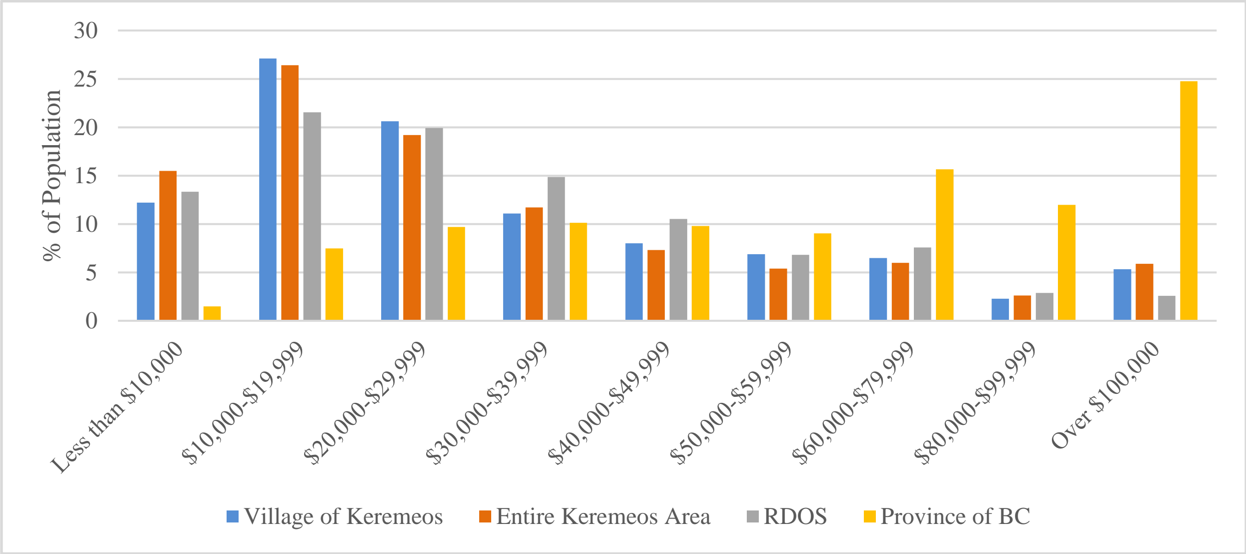
Household income in the Keremeos area undoubtedly skews toward the lower income brackets and largely reflects the regional distribution, while the gap between owner and renter household income widened slightly between 2006 and 2016. A 2020 regional housing needs assessment report estimates the income gap is $47,171 and $27,946 in the Keremeos area and $65,700 and $37,700 regionally with the median income being around $43,133 in the Keremeos area, substantially lower than both regional ($57,000) and provincial ($70,000) averages (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 28, 32, 84–85, 87, 101–102, 104, 142–143, 145). Conversely, the proportion of households spending more than 30% of their income on shelter costs has decreased around 1% since 2006, but remains at an untenable 18.9% in the Keremeos area and 20% regionally (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 32, 87, 104, 145). These pressures can be seen as limiting the potential for CED through the sheer necessity of simply trying to stay afloat.

After tax household income for the Keremeos area indicates the majority of residents persist on less than $30,000 annually, with the $10,000-$19,000 bracket making up the largest proportion of residents (26.4%) followed by $20,000-$29,000 (19.2%), less than $10,000 (15.5%) and all other brackets comprising the remaining 38.9% (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is likely attributed to the larger than average aging population, who tend to subsist on fixed pension income and typically own their residence outright or with minimal mortgage encumbrance, according to 2016 survey data (Sagewood Research, 2016, pp. 21–23). This is further supported by the stark contrast with the provincial average, which shows the over $100,000 bracket comprising the largest proportion (24.77%) and the three highest brackets making up the majority of the provincial distribution (Statistics Canada, 2017).

Of note within the data is the higher distribution of residents with an income over $100,000 in both the VoK and the entire Keremeos area when compared to the regional average. This could

be attributed to a higher level of discretionary wealth among recent in-migrants, who typically arrive with higher equity from the sale of properties in high value housing markets (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 15) and who tend to leverage their wealth into investment income returns in addition to receiving other transfer payments (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 33). In any event, these figures provide an indication that despite the lower skewing income, significant financial resources are still being brought into the community, which could be leveraged to facilitate locally driven economic development given the right investment conditions.

Table 3: Household Income (After Tax) for the Keremeos Area, Region and Province (2016 Census Data)

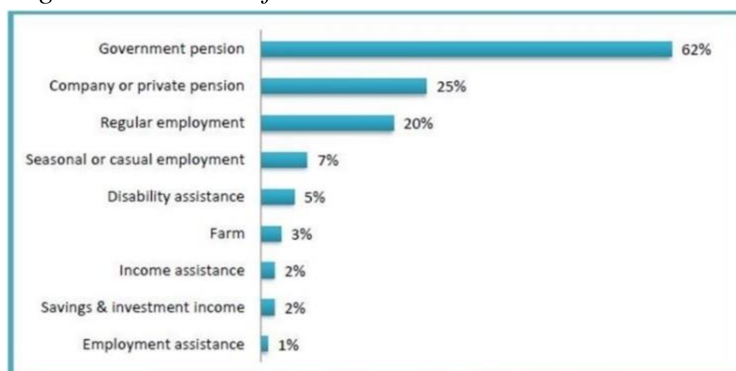


Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001 Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

Income Largely Drawn from Pensions Rather than Employment

Recent survey data from the Keremeos area taken in 2016 indicates the top three sources of household income were government pensions, private pensions and regular employment, with savings & investment income making up only 2% of responses (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 20). Although the authors state they attained a scientifically representative sample of the Keremeos area within their study, they also note these figures exceed 100% due to multiple responses to a 'top source of income' survey question (Sagewood Research, 2016, pp. 7, 20, 51). This led them to interpret the results for both single response and multiple response scenarios and find that despite the variations in the way the question was answered, government pension, regular employment and company/private pension remain the top three sources of household income and in both scenarios, government pensions are the leading source (Sagewood Research, 2016, pp. 20, 75).

Figure 5: Sources of Income in the Keremeos Area



Source: Sagewood Research. (2016). LSCSS Household Survey, 2016. In *Housing needs & demands assessment for the Keremeos area* (p. 20). Retrieved from: http://ttpwebhost.com/lscss/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Housing-Needs-and-Demands-Assessment-Keremeos-Area-2016.pdf

The 2016 survey data appears to be supported by earlier survey data from South Okanagan-Similkameen residents taken in 2007, which indicates that 59.3% of recent amenity in-migrants came to the region expecting to be living on pensions, capital and investments, with the most important source of income being their pensions and not earnings from capital or investment (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, pp. 11, 35). This suggests the current composition of income sources has been well entrenched for some time and further supports the notion that any potential economic development must work to thrive within such local market conditions. Conversely, the 2016 survey data for employment income should be viewed with caution however, as the response rate of 27% for all employment types is not necessarily apparent within the Statistics Canada 2016 Census Profiles.

Over Half the Population Persists on High School Education or Less

Table 4: Highest Educational Credentials in the Keremeos Area and Region (2016 Census Data)

TOTAL (%) OF THE KEREMEOS AREA	4780 (100%)	TOTAL (%) OF RDOS	70910 (100%)
Secondary (High School) Diploma	1400 (29.29%)	Secondary (High School) Diploma	21415 (30.20%)
None	1105 (23.12%)	College Certificate/Diploma	15185 (21.42%)
College Certificate/Diploma	790 (16.53%)	None	13335 (18.81%)
Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate/Diploma	645 (13.49%)	Apprenticeship or Trades Certificate/Diploma	8880 (12.52%)
University Certificate/Diploma	505 (10.56%)	Bachelor Degree	6385 (9.00%)
Bachelor Degree	255 (5.33%)	University Certificate/Diploma	2195 (3.10%)
Master Degree	50 (1.05%)	Master Degree	2040 (2.88%)
Post-Baccalaureate Certificate/Diploma	20 (0.42%)	Doctorate Degree	740 (1.04%)
Doctorate Degree	10 (0.21%)	Post-Baccalaureate Certificate/Diploma	735 (1.03%)

Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001 Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

The educational profile of the Keremeos area reflects the unskilled nature of the local economy, with the majority of residents having only obtained a high school diploma or less (52.41%) followed by certificates/diplomas (40.58%) at the college, apprenticeship or trades and university levels respectively; only 7.01% of Keremeos area residents have obtained education at a university degree level (Statistics Canada, 2017). These figures are supported by earlier survey data from Similkameen residents taken in 2007, which found the majority of long term residents (79%) had only some college or less (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 15). This may reflect a lack of demand for skilled labour within the workforce or a tendency for local employers to only support on-the-job training or upgrading as necessary to maintain limited scale operations. Of note, the 2007 survey data suggests a large portion of bachelor degree or higher education was obtained by recent in-migrants (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, pp. 14–15), which may also factor into the statistics presented above. When comparing educational attainment with that of the region, the data is relatively consistent but with college certificate/diploma and none being in different rank order within the distributions and nearly double the amount of university degree holders at 12.92% (Statistics Canada, 2017). This indicates a stronger value placed on skilled labour at the regional scale and suggests the presence of more senior level occupations which require advanced knowledge/skills than are typically located within the Keremeos area. In terms of potential for CED, this signifies a diminished level of social agency which may pose limitations on successfully advancing and sustaining such initiatives.

A Predominantly Agricultural Local Job Market

The occupational characteristics by industry type for the Keremeos area shown on the table below reflect a traditionally agriculturally based economy, with the agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting sector making up the largest proportion (26.50%), followed by retail trade (11.56%), health care & social assistance (9.63%) and construction (6.98%) (Statistics Canada, 2017). ESRI Community Analyst data from 2019 for RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) appears to support this ranking, showing the same four industry sectors in the same order as listed above (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 17). The consistency of rankings from 2016 through 2019 speaks to the established nature of the Keremeos area industry composition as being agriculturally based and supported by commercial and retail industries that serve key sectors and provide basic necessities to sustain a rural lifestyle.

Table 5: Occupational Characteristics (15+ Labour Force by Industry, NAICS) in the Keremeos Area and Region (2016 Census Data)

TOTAL (%) OF THE KEREMEOS AREA	**2075 (100%)**	TOTAL (%) OF RDOS	**37760 (100%)**
11 – Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing & Hunting	**550 (26.50%)**	62 – Health Care & Social Assistance	**4980 (13.19%)**
44-45 – Retail Trade	**240 (11.56%)**	44-45 – Retail Trade	**4715 (12.48%)**
62 – Health Care & Social Assistance	**200 (9.63%)**	72 – Accommodation & Food Services	**3705 (9.81%)**
23 – Construction	**145 (6.98%)**	23 – Construction	**3560 (9.43%)**
31-33 – Manufacturing	**140 (6.74%)**	11 – Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing & Hunting	**2900 (7.68%)**
72 – Accommodation & Food Services	**120 (5.78%)**	31-33 – Manufacturing	**2745 (7.27%)**
61 – Educational Services	**110 (5.30%)**	91 – Public Administration	**1995 (5.28%)**
81 – Other Services (Except Public Administration)	**105 (5.06%)**	61 – Educational Services	**1975 (5.23%)**
91 – Public Administration	**95 (4.57%)**	54 – Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	**1770 (4.69%)**
21 – Mining, Quarrying, Oil & Gas Extraction	**80 (3.85%)**	81 – Other Services (Except Public Administration)	**1690 (4.47%)**
54 – Professional, Scientific & Technical Services	**70 (3.37%)**	56 – Administrative & Support, Waste Management & Remediation	**1370 (3.63%)**
48-49 – Transportation & Warehousing	**65 (3.13%)**	48-49 – Transportation & Warehousing	**1245 (3.30%)**
52 – Finance & Insurance	**35 (1.68%)**	52 – Finance & Insurance	**995 (2.63%)**
41 – Wholesale Trade	**30 (1.44%)**	71 – Arts, Entertainment & Recreation	**955 (2.53%)**
71 – Arts, Entertainment & Recreation	**30 (1.44%)**	41 – Wholesale Trade	**945 (2.50%)**
56 – Administrative & Support, Waste Management & Remediation	**25 (1.20%)**	53 – Real Estate, Rental & Leasing	**840 (2.22%)**
53 – Real Estate, Rental & Leasing	**20 (0.96%)**	21 – Mining, Quarrying, Oil & Gas Extraction	**785 (2.08%)**
22 – Utilities	**0 (0%)**	51 – Information & Cultural Industries	**430 (1.13%)**
51 – Information & Cultural Industries	**0 (0%)**	22 – Utilities	**145 (0.38%)**
55 – Management of Companies & Enterprises	**0 (0%)**	55 – Management of Companies & Enterprises	**30 (0.07%)**

Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001 Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

The prevalence of public sector services – specifically, health & social services – reflects a broader shift towards services for an aging population precipitated by increased in-migration of aging residents (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 22). The construction sector has seen a marked increase since 2006 – specifically within the VoK (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 15) – and further underscores the current growth trajectory and its impact on housing demand resulting from increased in-migration (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 14). The strong presence of a manufacturing sector reflects the contributions that small and medium scale fabricating, axel and log home manufacturing operations provide to the local economy. Of note is the rise of accommodation & food services as an emerging sector in the Keremeos area, which reflects the growth of award winning wineries, cideries and fine dining over the past decade. Lastly, attention should be given to the low strength of the mining, quarrying, oil & gas extraction sector as no major operations have been active in the Keremeos area since the mid-1900s, with the closest of such operations being conducted at the Copper Mountain mine in Princeton.

When comparing the Keremeos area data to that of the broader region, the shift away from a primarily agriculturally based economy is more pronounced, with the health & social services sector making up the largest proportion (13.19%), followed by retail trade (12.48%), accommodation & food services (9.81%), construction (9.43%) and then agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting at only 7.68% (Statistics Canada, 2017). This signifies the region's transition

from an economy historically dominated by agriculture to one based on lifestyle, amenities and services for an aging population (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 15), albeit at a more advanced stage than the Keremeos area due to an earlier and more sustained influx of aging resident in-migration to the South Okanagan (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 7). The status of the health and social services and construction sectors as leading regional industries is evident of this shift, as facilities and development in the South Okanagan struggle to keep up with increased demand due to increasing in-migration (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 21, 2010a, p. 14).

An argument can be made that the strong presence of retail trade at the regional level also supports the needs of aging in-migrants while providing necessities and higher order goods not readily available in smaller centres (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, pp. 12, 37). The prominence of the regional accommodation and food service sector also speaks to the rise in tourism amenities over the past decade such as wineries, vacation resorts and associated fine dining options and highlights the strong role which viticulture and value-added processing plays within the regional economy (South Okanagan Regional Growth Strategy Bylaw No. 2770, 2018, pp. 9, 31). The largest contrast is within the agriculture, forestry, fishing & hunting sector however, as the regional average of 7.68% is well below the 26.50% industry composition evident in the Keremeos area. This not only speaks to the in-migration trends and established economic diversification at the regional level but also reflects the primarily agricultural land use restrictions in the Keremeos area. Accordingly, industry composition in the Keremeos area does not indicate a shift to a late-modern economy (i.e., knowledge/skills based) when compared to the broader region and as observed within advanced amenity migration locations like Santa Fe, New Mexico and other Rocky Mountain communities (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 35). Further, these occupational characteristics limit the extent of viable economic diversification and industry development in the Keremeos area to activities which complement the primarily agricultural nature of the local economy.

A Growing Population Due to Rising In-Migration

Table 6: Mobility Status (1 Year and 5 Years) in the Keremeos Area and Region (2016 Census Data)

	TOTAL (%) OF VILLAGE OF KEREMEOS		TOTAL (%) OF THE KEREMEOS AREA		TOTAL (%) OF RDOS	
	1Y	5Y	1Y	5Y	1Y	5Y
Non-Movers	**1310 (90.66%)**	**870 (61.92%)**	**4385 (88.58 %)**	**3250 (67.35%)**	**67980 (85.13%)**	**46530 (59.94%)**
Movers Who Are Non-Migrants	**65 (4.50%)**	**165 (11.74%)**	**125 (2.52%)**	**380 (7.87%)**	**5345 (6.69%)**	**12480 (16.08%)**
Internal Migrants – From Within The Province	**65 (4.50%)**	**280 (19.92%)**	**355 (7.18%)**	**865 (17.92%)**	**4505 (5.64%)**	**12780 (16.46%)**
Internal Migrants – From Outside The Province	**5 (0.34%)**	**90 (6.42%)**	**75 (1.52%)**	**310 (6.42%)**	**1675 (2.10%)**	**4885 (6.29%)**
External Migrants	**0 (0%)**	**0 (0%)**	**10 (0.20%)**	**20 (0.41%)**	**345 (0.44%)**	**950 (1.23%)**
TOTALS	**1445 (100%)**	**1405 (100%)**	**4950 (100%)**	**4825 (100%)**	**79850 (100%)**	**77625 (100%)**

Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

Mobility status statistics suggest that between 5-10% of the population migrated to the Keremeos area within 1 year prior to 2016 and between 25-27% within 5 years prior to 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). This appears to align with 2016 Keremeos area survey data, which found that 26% of respondents had moved to their current residence within the past 5 years and a total of 65% of respondents lived in the area for less than 20 years (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 13). This also happens to mirror 2007 survey data of Similkameen residents, in which 64% of respondents classified themselves as in-migrants who originally moved in search of natural and/or cultural amenities (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, pp. 4, 8–9). A review of mobility status data in 2020 indicates that the proportion of long-term residents who have not moved in more than 5 years is also increasing (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 22), which may signal a levelling off of in-migration for the time being.

When comparing the Keremeos area data to that of the broader region, a more pronounced version of the same trend is observed. The 2016 census data suggests that between 8-15% of the regional population moved within 1 year and between 24-40% within 5 years (Statistics Canada, 2017). This is somewhat consistent with 2011-2016 regional growth data, which suggests an increase between 2-11% within RDOS Electoral Areas outside the Keremeos area and negative growth between 3-8% within the Keremeos area, when excluding the Village (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 13). The greater level of mobility at the regional level may also be attributed to the South Okanagan's longer experience managing in-migration when compared to the Keremeos area, which has historically seen less in-migration and only began experiencing significant numbers after the South Okanagan did (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 7).

In terms of where these in-migrants are originating from, the local and regional data appears to be more consistent with between 22-25% originating from within British Columbia, 7-

8.5% originating from another province and 0.6-1.6% originating from outside Canada (Statistics Canada, 2017). This also appears to align with the 2016 Keremeos area survey data, which found that the largest proportion of respondents had migrated from communities outside the RDOS, but within the Province of BC (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 13). This indicates that the Keremeos area and the region as a whole are likely attracting the same in-migrants and mostly from larger centres within British Columbia (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 11). This suggests that the Keremeos area experience may be largely shaped by forces occurring at the regional and greater levels and that our local economic prospects depend heavily on the interplay and outcome of such factors.

Housing Options Inadequate and Overwhelmingly Skew Toward Single Family Residence

Table 7: Household/Dwelling Characteristics in the Keremeos Area and Region (2016 Census Data)

	TOTAL (%) OF KEREMEOS AREA		TOTAL (%) OF RDOS
Single Detached House	**1685 (70.95%)**	Single Detached House	**23195 (61.57%)**
Movable Dwelling	**485 (20.42%)**	Apartment in Building with Fewer than Five Storeys	**6015 (15.97%)**
Apartment in a Duplex	**55 (2.32%)**	Row House	**2540 (6.74%)**
Row House	**50 (2.11%)**	Movable Dwelling	**2390 (6.35%)**
Semi-Detached House	**45 (1.89%)**	Apartment in a Duplex	**1325 (3.52%)**
Apartment in Building with Fewer than Five Storeys	**45 (1.89%)**	Semi-Detached House	**1070 (2.84%)**
Other Single Attached House	**10 (0.42%)**	Apartment in Building with Five or More Storeys	**950 (2.52%)**
Apartment in Building with Five or More Storeys	**0 (0%)**	Other Single Attached House	**185 (0.49%)**
TOTALS	**2375 (100%)**	TOTALS	**37675 (100%)**

Source: Statistics Canada. (2017). *Census Profiles*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E.

The Keremeos area contains approximately 78.5% homeowners and 21.5% renters – higher than regional and provincial averages for owners and lower for renters – with housing comprised of 70.95% single family dwellings, 20.42% mobile/manufactured homes and all other housing types comprising the remaining 8.63% (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 27, 83, 100, 141; Statistics Canada, 2017). From 2016 to 2018, the region saw an increase in all housing types except bachelor suites, with 45% of new homes being single family dwellings, 33% being multi-unit homes and 22% being purpose-built rentals (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 27). The pre-eminence of single family dwellings is further pronounced in the Keremeos area, which has seen 14.6% of new homes being 1 bedroom units, 39.5% being 2 bedroom units and 45.9% being 3+ bedroom units, with growth rates indicating a trend toward construction of three and four+ bedroom units through to 2026 for both the Keremeos area and region (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 27, 82–83, 100, 141). The figures shown on the table above also align with the 2016 survey data of Keremeos area residents, with 67% of respondents indicating they live in single detached homes, followed by mobile/manufactured homes at 21%, townhouse/multiplex unit at 6%, apartment/condo at 2% and housing community at 2% (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 21).

Although BC Housing's new homes registry indicates over 1200 homes were built annually from 2016 to 2018 and the region appears to be on track to meet basic housing demand, the authors

argue that more must be done over the next five years to eliminate core housing need through provision of affordable and appropriate housing options within the region (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 30–31). Other studies have found that the Keremeos area needs to pursue multi-family, mixed-use development and small lot residential as a means to fulfill such demand (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, pp. 11, 32), and the VoK has since amended land use regulations to allow for secondary suites and carriage housing (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 23) however, construction of such units or other diverse housing options appears to be non-existent to date. There also appears to be a preference among recent amenity in-migrants toward purchase of small single detached housing to ensure personal autonomy with minimal encumbrances through retirement (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, pp. 1–2, 10–13). This may also partially explain the prominence of movable dwellings as the second most frequent housing type in the Keremeos area (Statistics Canada, 2017) as it allows for autonomous and affordable living and a number of mobile home park developments are situated along the Highway 3 and 3A corridors to facilitate their prevalence (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 8). It is hoped that the development of 67 single-unit and multi-family affordable housing units currently underway in downtown Keremeos will help to alleviate the lack of diverse housing options (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 11; Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 10–11), but given the housing needs described above and the potential 20 year housing demand of over 322 additional units (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 22; Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 17) meeting such demand remains uncertain.

When comparing housing type with that of the broader region, we see the majority of housing remains to be single detached housing (61.57%) but to a slightly lower extent than in the Keremeos area (Statistics Canada, 2017). However, the remaining data paints a picture of a moderately diverse stock of housing type in the region, with low rise (15.97%) and high rise (2.52%) apartments being the second most prominent, followed by row housing (6.74%), movable dwellings (6.35%), duplex (3.52%), semi-detached (2.84%) and other single attached housing (0.49%). The higher diversity of housing type at the regional scale may signify the greater extent of built infrastructure to facilitate such developments in the South Okanagan, as the majority of the Keremeos area is only serviced by on-site septic and by a patchwork of irrigation districts covering only a limited range within each community (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, pp. 31–35). As a result, most of the local diverse housing development has remained within the VoK due to higher infrastructural capacity for such construction. This is evident in the complete absence of any 'high-rise' apartments in the Keremeos area compared to the region, where it makes up 2.52% of the housing stock and primarily cater to the demands of higher wealth aging in-migrants who are attracted to the South Okanagan over that of the Similkameen (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, pp. 12–13). The higher diversity of housing type at the regional scale may also be attributed to less strenuous land use regulations in the South Okanagan compared to the Keremeos area, which largely restricts development due to agricultural land use (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. 2–3, 6, 11). Given the extent to which housing availability relates to increased disposable income, the lack thereof certainly poses a threat to prospective CED in the Keremeos area.

Housing Affordability is Rapidly Becoming Less Attainable

There appears to be a high correlation between increased in-migration to the Keremeos area and decreasing housing affordability, with the average dwelling value increasing to just slightly below the provincial average at 45% between 2001 and 2006 and the affordability ratio recently climbing to 7.8; well beyond the common threshold of 3.0 or 3.5 (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, pp. 36–37; Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 21). Amenity migration of aging residents has been documented as contributing toward housing unaffordability in other high amenity communities (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 13), which may be perceived as a welcome change in the early phase of in-migration, but result in out-migration of younger populations as housing becomes increasingly unaffordable (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 36). This appears to be the case in the Keremeos area, as an influx of aging in-migrants drawn to the stock of affordable real estate has ironically worked to increase the cost of living for younger residents, dissuading them from remaining within or migrating to the area (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 14; Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 15). This is supported by a 2020 regional housing needs assessment report, which indicates that renter households – comprised of typically younger residents – are more likely to be in core and extreme core housing need in both the Keremeos area and region at a rate of 35% and 29% for renters compared to 7.5% and 6% for owners for core housing need and 10.6% and 13% compared to 4% and 3% for extreme core housing need respectively (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 31, 86, 103, 144).

Table 8: Real Property Sales (Comparing 2021 and 2019 Year to Date) in the Keremeos Area and Region

	Keremeos Area						RDOS					
Property Type	**2021 Year to Date**	**2019 Year to Date**	**%Δ**	**2021 Dollar Value**	**2019 Dollar Value**	**%Δ**	**2021 Year to Date**	**2019 Year to Date**	**%Δ**	**2021 Dollar Value**	**2019 Dollar Value**	**%Δ**
Single Family Dwelling	**35**	**18**	**94**	16993200	6303005	**170**	**1083**	**659**	**64**	786757477	339986326	**131**
Mobile/Manufactured Homes	**6**	**9**	**-33**	961985	996800	**-3**	**74**	**78**	**-5**	10390635	8293720	**25**
Condos/Apartments	**4**	**6**	**-33**	930500	1129500	**-18**	**674**	**331**	**104**	281256512	106136408	**165**
Farms	**7**	**4**	**75**	6040000	2095000	**188**	**47**	**34**	**38**	67577900	36684795	**84**
Vacant Land	**7**	**5**	**40**	1849000	444000	**316**	**287**	**70**	**310**	104071854	15485997	**572**
Industrial, Commercial & Institutional	**5**	**1**	**400**	5155000	1290000	**300**	**79**	**37**	**114**	78648144	29333127	**168**
TOTALS	**64**	**43**	**49**	31929685	12258306	**160**	**2244**	**1209**	**86**	1328702522	535920373	**148**

Source: Association of Interior Realtors. (2021). *South Okanagan comparative activity report – July 2021*. Retrieved from: https://www.interiorrealtors.ca/files/SOREB -July 21.pdf

A review of real property sales from July 2019 to July 2021 also appears to indicate such a trajectory. The chart above shows a marked increase in both the quantity and real dollar value of sales from this time period in both the local and regional housing markets. The data suggests the Keremeos area has seen an almost 50% increase in property sales in that timeframe, with a 94% increase in single family dwellings and a 400% increase in industrial, commercial & institutional property sales (Association of Interior Realtors, 2021). Sales values tracked steadily upward going into 2019 for both the Keremeos area and region to an average of $411,666 and $530,000 or an increase of approximately 44.7% and 30% respectively, and sales continue to trend upward with average sales values for November 2020 cresting over $463,333 and $600,000 respectively (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 28, 84, 101, 142). While the trend toward increased residential

sales has been described in detail above, the increase in industrial, commercial & institutional property sales may reflect speculative purchasing activity precipitated by the COVID-19 pandemic as observed anecdotally in the local property market. This is supported by an over 300% increase in vacant land property sales at the regional scale, which also signifies purchasing activity meant to garner easy profit due to assumed future price growth. In both cases however, increasing property unaffordability is signified by the dollar value for such transactions, with a 100% and 262% increase in both property classifications when adjusting for the increase in transactions. This also appears to be demonstrated within Keremeos area property classifications with declining sales, which have not experienced a similar dollar value decline and in the case of mobile/manufactured homes, has only seen a 3% dollar value decline despite 33% less sales in the same time period (Association of Interior Realtors, 2021). When adjusting for increase in transactions, the dollar value increase for the Keremeos area appears to be hovering around 100%.

When comparing this data with that of the broader region, this trend appears to be further exacerbated, with an almost 90% increase in property sales and a nearly 150% increase in dollar value for such sales (Association of Interior Realtors, 2021). Aside from vacant land sales described above, the highest gains were seen within single family dwelling, industrial, commercial & institutional and condo/apartment sales, which saw an adjusted dollar value increase of 67%, 54% and 61% respectively. Of note is the similar activity around mobile/manufactured homes sales at the regional level, which saw a 25% dollar value increase despite also seeing a 5% decline in sales for the same timeframe (Association of Interior Realtors, 2021). This appears to signify increased competition for mobile/manufactured homes as an affordable alternative to single family dwellings in the region, given the extent of price growth in all other property types. Accordingly, the sum of this data appears to support previous trends showing median cost of real property as being slightly lower in the Similkameen compared to the South Okanagan, and aligns with property value trends experienced in other high amenity in-migrant destinations within western North America (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, pp. 13–14). Such unsustainable price growth will undoubtedly place a strain on local financial resources and severely constrain the viability of CED in the Keremeos area.

Acknowledging Limitations with the Data

Given the number of different primary and secondary data sources utilized to compile this profile of the Keremeos area – along with the range of dates in which such data was compiled – a number of notable limitations persist within the data and warrant acknowledgement. First, survey data of South Okanagan-Similkameen residents taken in 2007 and further explored in 2010 (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, 2010a) does not entirely represent the current development situation or local perspectives given both studies were conducted over a decade since the time of writing and the composition of residents in both valleys has changed since then. This diminishes the integrity of the data somewhat but despite this, both studies serve as invaluable sources given no similar studies have been conducted in the Keremeos area ever since. A similar concern persists regarding the use of arguably dated primary sources utilizing Statistics Canada 2016 Census data and secondary sources citing Statistics Canada 2011 Census data and BC Stats data from 2015 and 2018 (CTQ

Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 7; South Okanagan Regional Growth Strategy Bylaw No. 2770, 2018; Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 8; Statistics Canada, 2017). Although concern for the timeliness of such data is warranted, the use of these data sources is unfortunately necessary given more recent data sources do not exist at the time of writing.

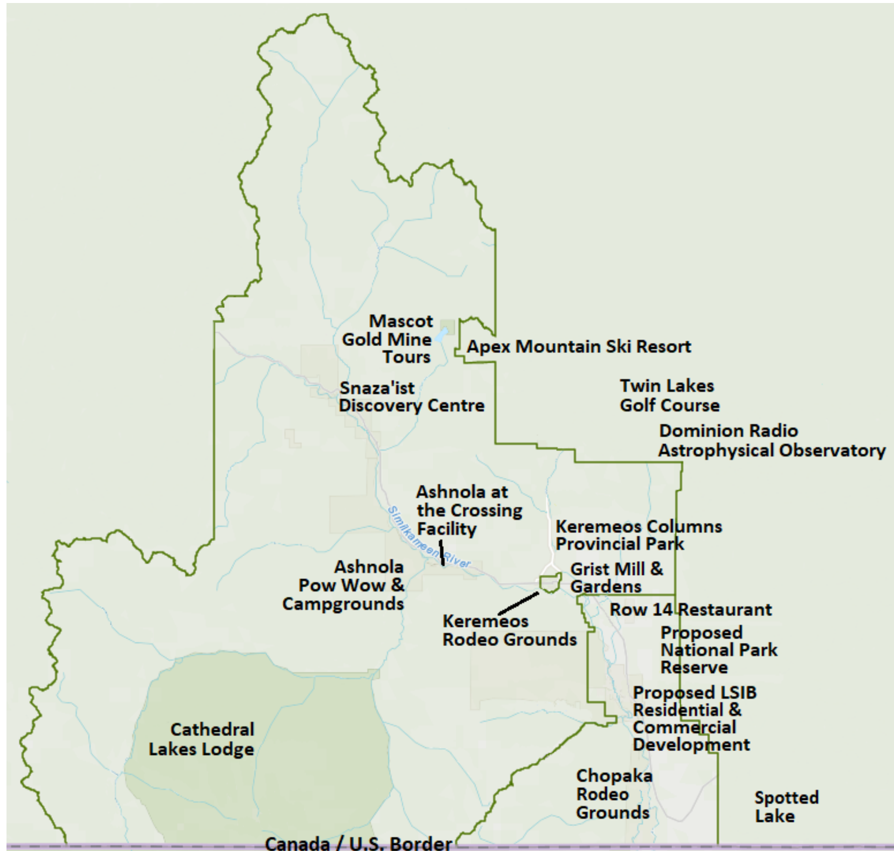
Similar to the above, the 2016 Census data is also not entirely representative of the current development situation given the impact of COVID-19 on the local economy and housing market, hence the inclusion of recent local housing market data to supplement the more dated sources of information. Additionally, the 2016 Census data used tables which only represent 25% sample data – precluding any expectation the data provide exact figures – and some of the data from USIB and LSIB was marked as 'unreliable' or 'suppressed' for some of the data fields, further preventing the ability to generate exact figures for the aggregated data. Lastly, tables containing aggregated data from the 2016 Census required manual calculations to compile but were reviewed thoroughly to reduce potential for human error and were necessary to ensure representativeness and robustness by integrating data from USIB and LSIB as the secondary sources cited did not include such data. Also, and while not directly cited, the Statistics Canada 2011 National Household Survey contained a non-response rate equal to or above 50% for RDOS Area "B" (Cawston), which is noted as having potential to precipitate data quality issues and contribute extreme change in growth rate cited in secondary sources (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 98).

I've worked to mitigate concern for these data limitations by cross-referencing statistical information with other secondary sources of data pertaining to the Keremeos area to provide additional context and depth for the information presented. Such a process helps to critically assess the integrity of data sources by scrutinizing how they corroborate or refute each other. In addition, I've also drawn upon personal observations from extensive emersion within the community to help further contextualize the integrity of data provided. This approach has served to draw out the similarities and differences among the different data sources necessary to lend credence to their collective value as meaningfully describing the lived conditions and statistical composition of the Keremeos area.

Chapter 5: Local Development Assets and Opportunities

Introduction

Figure 6: Major Community Assets in the Keremeos Area



Source: Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen. (2021). *Parcel Viewer*. Retrieved from: https://maps.rdos.bc.ca/Html5Viewer/?viewer=publicparcels

The Keremeos area features a number of unique assets which may serve as viable means for advancing CED given optimal circumstances and community capacity. The figure above provides an overview of major community assets which have the highest likelihood of being incorporated into local development strategies and suggests a greater applicability of these assets toward agriculturally based tourism development compared to other industries. Other assets – including reasons for moving to the area, perceptions about local governance capacity and prevalence of community building activities such as volunteerism and local philanthropy – also appear to favour agriculturally based tourism development as a means to maintain the rural charm of the Keremeos area while providing additional avenues for wealth creation within the community. This chapter provides a broad overview of tangible and intangible assets in the Keremeos area which could be leveraged to advance endogenous development, explores what local government officials have identified as assets, challenges and priorities for local development, and describes activities undertaken to capitalize on the opportunities these assets are currently providing.

Major Community Assets

The Keremeos area features two rodeo grounds which host annual rodeos with lucrative purses which attract participants from throughout Canada and the United States and the Ashnola Pow Wow & Campgrounds hosts year round visitors for camping and annual Pow Wow ceremonies which attract participants and visitors from throughout Canada and the Northwest United States (Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 14–15). All three of these venues have capacity to serve other purposes, with the Keremeos Rodeo Grounds currently hosting an annual bluegrass festival and other private functions. Cathedral Lakes Lodge is a full service hiking and fishing wilderness lodge which offers all-inclusive accommodations for visitors year round and Twin Lakes Golf Course is a highly rated 18 hole course and clubhouse which incorporates the site's natural beauty and caters to visitors during the warmer tourism season (Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 14–15).

The Grist Mill & Gardens and Mascot Gold Mine Tours are heritage sites which maintain historic facilities, operate tours and programs and curate local industry artifacts and the Snaza'ist Discovery Centre maintains interactive exhibits and operate tours and programs highlighting local Indigenous pictographs, mining and trade (Upper Similkameen Indian Band, 2008b; Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 14–15). Both Mascot Gold Mine Tours and Snaza'ist Discovery Centre are owned and operated by the USIB and form part of their economic development activities. The Keremeos Columns Provincial Park features natural basalt columns akin to the Giant's Causeway in the UK and Spotted Lake is a mineral rich lake featuring calcium deposits which form giant spots and while both sites are rare natural phenomena unique to the area, both have limited development potential due to the columns' lack of public access and the status of Spotted Lake as a sacred site among Syilx communities – which must be respected as such. Apex Mountain Ski Resort maintains a variety of ski and snowboard slopes and related resort facilities (Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 14–15) and while they also maintain lodging and accommodation, an opportunity exists for Keremeos area B&Bs to pursue deals with the resort to offer discounted lift tickets to increase occupancy of their units while also alleviating housing demand at the resort.

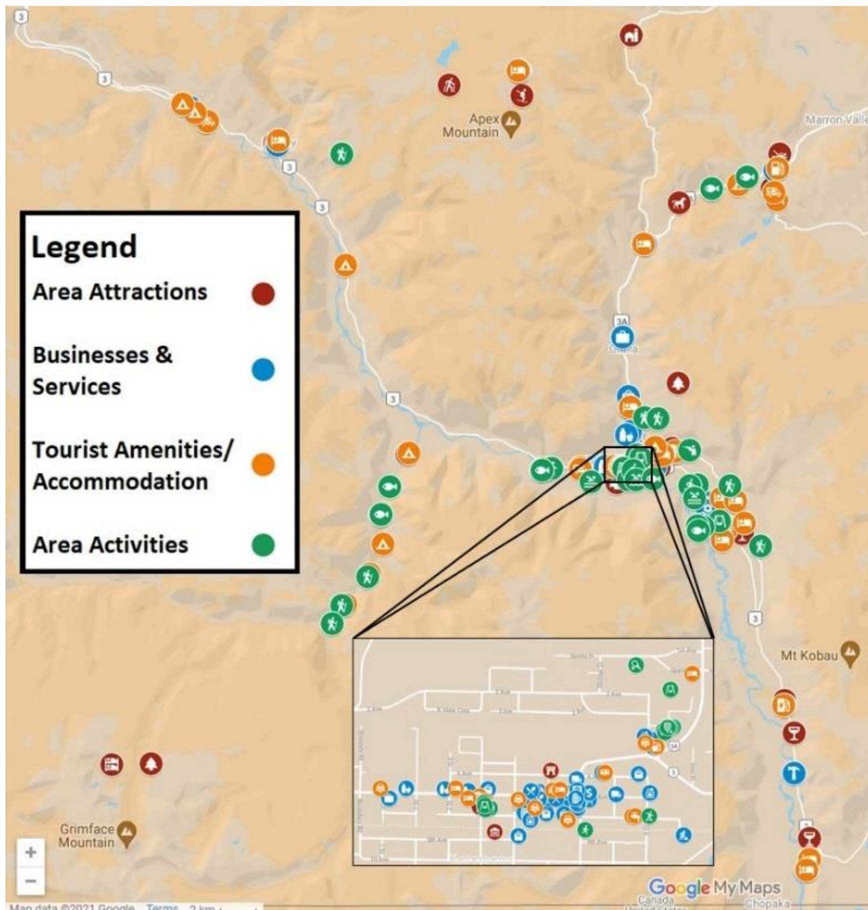
The Dominion Radio Astrophysical Observatory is a national research site containing Canada's largest radio telescope and operates the CHIME project which is currently mapping the largest volume of space ever surveyed (Government of Canada, 2020). Row 14 Restaurant is a rustic farm destination restaurant run by experienced fine dining chefs featuring local ingredients and gaining prominence on the provincial and national culinary scene (Gill, 2019), demonstrating potential to increase higher scale tourism to the area. The LSIB have conducted a feasibility study/site plan for a proposed residential and commercial development adjacent to their office along Highway 3 in Chopaka (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 172), which if completed may add value to their economic development activities given their recognition of the untapped opportunity for growth and expansion in retail which the Highway 3 frontage provides (Sməlqmix Investments Ltd., 2021c). The proposed National Park Reserve in the mountains between Cawston and Oliver has the potential to limit land use and impact potential economic output however, the benefit of preserving the natural ecosystem helps to retain the rural charm of the Keremeos area and there's

potential for Parks Canada to incorporate amenities designed to increase tourism capacity given sufficient parameters and community support.

The Ashnola at the Crossing Facility is an old adventure ranch retreat equipped with dining, lodging and activities spaces which was converted into a youth drug treatment centre by the province and operated intermittently until being closed for the last time in early 2021 (Phillips, 2021). Given the tenuous operating environment, its uncertain whether the site will continue being pursued as a drug treatment facility going forward, but if so the Keremeos area should consider how it can support such operations at the community level or work to envision other long term functions which the site may serve and advocate accordingly with the province. Lastly, the Keremeos area also hosts the bicycle component of the internationally renowned Ironman Triathlon held annually in August – running along Highway 3 from Chopaka to Highway 3A through Olalla – and opportunities exist to cater to the many triathletes who train along this specific course throughout the year.

Businesses and Attractions

Figure 7: Major Businesses & Attractions in the Keremeos Area



Source: Village of Keremeos. (2021). *Keremeos & area interactive business map*. Retrieved from: https://www.keremeos.ca/Interactive-Business-Map

The figure above contains a map showing all the businesses, attractions, tourist amenities and activities within the Keremeos area drawn from an interactive map maintained on the VoK website. The map indicates a local business composition comprised of the professional services, restaurants, grocery, pharmacy, hardware and self-storage typical of most communities but with retail consisting largely of giftshops and antique stores along with a substantial number of fruit stands and greenhouses (Village of Keremeos, 2021). Public meeting feedback from 2016 suggests that Keremeos area residents would like to see a greater variety of business and service offerings including health food, clothing, electronics, professional services, kitchen/home décor and a variety store (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 14). The map also indicates a modest variety of attractions including hobby farms, art galleries, skiing, golfing, wineries, cideries and heritage sites along with a range of tourist amenities including gas stations, EV charging stations, mechanic shops, campsites, guest suites and B&Bs (Village of Keremeos, 2021). The map also indicates a variety of activities including hiking, fishing, swimming, parks and trails; all of which complement the outdoor lifestyle and rural atmosphere of the Keremeos area (Village of Keremeos, 2021). It is likely that building out the variety of attractions, tourist amenities and activities will be necessary to advance prospects for prolonged economic prosperity in the Keremeos area.

Reasons for Moving to the Keremeos Area

A 2016 survey of Keremeos area residents indicates the highest ranked reason for migrating to the Keremeos area within the past 20 years was retirement (18%), followed by the small town quality at 17%, climate at 15%, affordability at 13%, proximity to family and friends at 11%, economic opportunity at 8%, environment at 5% and family history and health both at 4% (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 73). This somewhat reflects 2008 survey data from South Okanagan-Similkameen residents, which suggests that the same key factors motivated and facilitated the in-migration of amenity migrants, economic migrants and returning residents in both valleys – with climate, clean environment, rural lifestyle, quietude and outdoor recreation opportunities being the main natural and cultural attractions for both moving to and remaining in the region (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 15). The 2008 survey data also suggests the most important facilitating factor for amenity migrants (typically aging in-migrants) was cheaper property, compared to all other migrant segments which identified lower cost of living as the most important facilitating factor (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 16). These reasons bring to light the place-based characteristics of the Keremeos area which are working to attract newcomers; how the small town rural lifestyle facilitates a more affordable, healthy and harmonious balance with nature than can be achieved in larger centres. This is evident in the region's higher than average aging population, due partly to its popularity as a retirement destination provincially and nationally on account of its mild winters, warm summers and high quality of life (EcoPlan International, 2021, pp. 26, 33).

Public Perception of Development, Governance and In-Migration

As previously discussed, public sentiment appears to express concern for how extra-local land use jurisdictions such as forestry, mining and the ALC impose restrictions which limit the sphere of local government influence over development matters in the Keremeos area (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. 2–3). Concerns have also been raised that a patchwork of different community development initiatives have been done in 'pieces' (e.g. signage, tourism) but no overall plan has been developed or implemented on an area wide scale (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 5). A 2008 survey of South Okanagan-Similkameen residents indicates a great majority of respondents stated that local government should do more to address community issues however, when asked if local governments have the capability (planning, managerial and financial) to act on the issues, 2.3% answered 'Yes', 25.1% said 'No', 35.1% answered 'Don't know', and 11.5% had 'No opinion' and when asked if local government had the will to act on the issues, 15.4% answered 'Yes', 25.8% said 'No', 43.1% said 'Don't know' and 15.5% had 'No opinion' (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 29). When comparing data from the Similkameen and South Okanagan, 7% less respondents in the Similkameen thought local government was capable of acting on community issues and 7.2% less respondents in the South Okanagan thought local government had the will to act on such issues (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 30). These factors appear to suggest Keremeos area respondents feel that local government would be willing to address community issues but have yet to hone the optimal capabilities to do so; a sentiment echoed by key informants who bemoan the lack of public control measures to deal with unmitigated population growth in the Keremeos area (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 30).

Further exploration of the survey data in 2010 appears to suggest a positive correlation between length of residency and perception of local government – as 43% of local respondents thought local government was capable of addressing community issues and 40% thought local government had the will to address community issues (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, pp. 30–31) – signifying how the extent of community belonging and commitment positively shapes their perceptions about local development prospects. Interestingly, public sentiment also appears to support concern for the increasing in-migration of aging residents to the Similkameen Valley, stating they often have a different view of the future for the area compared to long time residents, they often attempt to impose their biases onto their adopted neighbours, they may bring bad city habits and attitudes which don't integrate, may try to change the area to greater reflect where they came from and seem to want to change the local way of life to suit theirs (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 24). Conversely, key informants interviewed for the same study perceived in-migration of aging residents as more of an opportunity, but only in the context of being appropriately planned and managed to mitigate socio-economic issues and ensure a sustained quality of life for all residents (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 37). Since this study was authored, no substantive initiatives have been implemented to mitigate such socio-economic issues.

Prevalence of Volunteerism and Philanthropic Giving

Due to the rural nature of the Keremeos area, volunteerism has always served as a means to demonstrate commitment to shared community interests and has played a necessary role in helping to ensure collective survival; especially in the community centres, which have particularly strong social capital bases and where neighbours regularly step up to lend a hand in times of need (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 55). The Keremeos area features a number of community support services which are provided by the not-for-profit sector and delivered primarily by volunteer staff – including Lower Similkameen Community Services Society (LSCSS) programming such as meals on wheels and volunteer drivers for health appointments – and the local Legion, Elks and various churches step in to provide volunteer services and occasional financial support (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 40). Anecdotally, numerous community groups such as the Elks, Legion, Search & Rescue and Keremeos Volunteer Fire Department have noted difficulties in recruiting new members due to the lack of younger residents precipitated by rampant in-migration of aging residents, echoing concerns for burnout of volunteers and the impending shortfall of working age residents as a consequence (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 18; Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 14).

As a variety of support services in the Keremeos area are currently provided by the volunteer sector, concerted action is required to attract and retain younger cohorts to deliver the services necessary to sustain such a vast aging population (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 55). The state of such efforts appear to be grim however, as further exploration of South Okanagan-Similkameen survey data in 2010 suggests that Similkameen Valley residents are only 42% likely to volunteer their time and skills to help resolve community issues, that aging in-migrants are less likely (at 34%) to volunteer compared to economic migrants (at 54%) and returning residents (at 46%) and that overall, aging in-migrants are less likely to participate in the community compared to other migrant segments (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, pp. 23–24). This may be attributed partly to aging in-migrants' advanced age and their reasons for migration (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 27), as elderly residents may be more concerned for their own health matters or may have migrated simply for leisure and not to participate in their new community.

Conversely, although a large segment of Keremeos area residents subsist on modest income, a propensity toward local philanthropic giving persists within the community nonetheless; particularly in the area of housing where the LSCSS were easily able to recently raise over $150,000 to purchase land and become eligible to secure funding for construction of a 43 unit affordable housing project in Keremeos (McLachlan, 2020). The LSCSS were even able to raise enough money shortly after to purchase adjacent lots for future expansion and even though it appears the majority of these funds were provided by a few donors (McLachlan, 2020), such origins need not stoke concern for the community's overall commitment to philanthropic giving and merely serve to demonstrate the sheer extent of community commitment of the few more prosperous residents of the Keremeos area. Such concerns are further diminished by exploration of Similkameen Valley survey data in 2010, which suggests that 61% of aging in-migrants have donated money to help resolve community issues compared to 22% of economic migrants and only 6% of returning residents (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a, p. 25).

Potential Socio-Economic Drivers of Endogenous Development

Given the social, economic and regulatory landscape of the Keremeos area, potential avenues for CED must pay homage to and complement the agricultural heritage and rural lifestyle of the area. The following drivers of potential development have been identified as serving the largest number of residents while being compatible with the social, economic and land use configurations of the area.

Increased Tourism Development

Tourism has the greatest growth potential in adherence with ALR land use regulations and the overall community character. This presents opportunities for advancing agritourism, ecotourism and Indigenous cultural tourism as a means to add local value to the growing selection of tourism amenities in the Keremeos area while showcasing the environmental value of local activities. This also provides potential to co-locate on lands primarily used for agricultural purposes, providing a means for local farmers to realize potential to create additional wealth to supplement meagre farming income. Given the region's natural beauty, the range of diverse local ecosystems and the potential for increased capacity resulting from the proposed national park reserve, the positive stock of these community assets signifies how enhancing tourism may serve to advance endogenous development, given enhanced governance capacity and community participation and support.

Increased Film Production Development

Having served as a filming location for a range of feature and independent films, the Keremeos area has potential for developing into a hub for filming which requires rural, forest or agricultural landscapes. This again provides opportunity to capitalize on the area's natural beauty without depleting its stock while also benefiting from the area's relative proximity and easy access to the industry centre in Vancouver. Currently the Keremeos area is catering to around 3 to 4 small scale filming productions per year, with a growing number of locals now working in the industry in Vancouver and bringing film production opportunities to the Keremeos area, thus increasing the capacity for potential industry growth in this realm. It is likely that pursuing this avenue would require strong community participation – with a number of residents comprising the majority of lands agreeing to allow filming on their properties and a willingness of residents to retrain and support local film related industries – therefore providing a viable means to champion endogenous development in the Keremeos area.

Increased Arts and Culture Development

The Keremeos area contains a vibrant artist community with works spanning all styles and mediums and fostering conditions for local artistic and cultural expression has potential to complement growth in the local tourism sector by adding value and depth to the community, local

economy and area attractions (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 22; Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 15; Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021, p. 60). Celebration of local Indigenous culture has capacity to help indenture respect for Syilx pre-eminence in the Keremeos area and reverence for their expectations toward the land. This approach also provides opportunity to capitalize on the area's natural beauty without depleting its stock as the serene natural environment could also serve the development of arts incubators or writers villas as a means to increase cultural and artistic exchange with local artists and residents and as a source of environmentally sustainable revenue being brought into the community. All endeavours would require a measure of community participation, providing a viable means to champion endogenous development in the Keremeos area.

Increased Cottage Industry/Handcrafted Manufacturing Development

Supporting home-based start-up and small scale businesses which manufacture local products has the potential to support and complement tourism growth by providing the local market with unique items containing local value and resources for sale to the increasing number of tourists (Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 14). The potential for such items to build local profile for the Keremeos area as a source of authentic product offerings may help persuade the passing vehicle traffic along Highway 3 to stop and engage in local commerce, thus providing a means to increase foot traffic in the Keremeos downtown core and supporting the viability of other businesses such as restaurants and service industries (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, pp. 12, 36). Provision of the resources and support services necessary to advance such manufacturing activities – along with a shift in local culture toward entrepreneurial leanings – could foster local conditions conducive to prolonged endogenous development.

Increased Development of Service Industries for Aging Residents

Supporting locally owned and operated enterprise designed to cater to the needs of the ever increasing seniors population in the Keremeos area will likely be vital for maintaining a measure of balance between the growing income inequalities among the younger and older residents by somewhat binding the two sides of the inequality through perpetual economic transaction. All the demographic and statistical data described appear to indicate strong market viability for such ventures, the success of which may serve to provide a buffer against the increasing out-migration of younger residents resulting from the increasing economic stability. Provision of high quality jobs through such industries may help to provide the concerted action necessary to attract and retain younger cohorts to deliver the support services required by the local aging population (Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 55) and could help ensure consistent service levels in the event the mostly volunteer based service model currently in place temporarily or systemically fails due to external market pressures. Such ventures would be best configured as a social enterprise model

requiring buy-in and involvement from the community, providing a viable means to champion endogenous development in the Keremeos area.

Local Governance Institutions' Outlook for Endogenous Development

In order to gain insight into how the Keremeos area core local governance has appraised the prospects for endogenous community development, a number of local policy documents commissioned by their organizations were reviewed. These documents focus on aspects of business, community and economic development and were evaluated to identify assets, challenges and development priorities identified by communities in the Keremeos area then aggregated into tables to better display the major themes and frequencies contained within the data. It's noted that the majority of local policy documents reviewed involved direct input or key informant interviews with all members of the core local governance, making the aggregated body of data gathered somewhat more representative of the entire range of perspectives contained within the Keremeos area than would be otherwise. The following local policy documents were reviewed:

- Plan to Improve the Visual Appeal of Downtown Keremeos: (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2016)
- Village of Keremeos Business Recruitment & Resident Attraction Strategy – Final Report: (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017)
- Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen 2020 Housing Needs Assessment Report: (EcoPlan International, 2021)
- Amenity-Led Migration in the Similkameen & Okanagan Valleys, BC, Canada: Project Phase I Technical Report – Amenity-Led Migration Survey: (Glorioso & Moss, 2008)
- Amenity-Led Migration in the Similkameen Valley, BC, Canada; Amenity-Led Migration Survey – Final Report: (Glorioso & Moss, 2010a)
- Strategy for a Sustainable Similkameen Valley (2011-2020) – Final Report: (Glorioso & Moss, 2010b)
- Village of Keremeos Age-Friendly Action Plan: (MMM Group Ltd., 2015)
- Electoral Area "G" Let's Talk Land Use! Community Engagement Report: (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019)
- Electoral Area "G" Official Community Plan Project – Community Profile (October 2020): (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020)
- Housing Needs & Demands Assessment for the Keremeos Area: (Sagewood Research, 2016)
- Village of Keremeos Strategic Plan 2015 to 2018: (Village of Keremeos, 2015)
- Keremeos & Area Opportunities Guide: (Village of Keremeos, 2019)
- Village of Keremeos 2020 Annual Report: (Village of Keremeos, 2020)
- Village of Keremeos Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850: (Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850, 2021)

Assets Identified Among Keremeos Area Communities

The table below highlights the different community assets identified within local policy documents ranked in order of their frequency throughout the body of all documents reviewed. These assets were categorized according to Glorioso & Moss' (2008) distinction between motivating and facilitating factors; being that the former build interest in potential migration where the latter serve to actualize it (Glorioso & Moss, 2008, p. 1). The most frequent assets identified were 'lifestyle/community' at 18.26% - encapsulated by references to rural atmosphere, sense of belonging and peace and quiet – followed closely by 'natural environment' at 15.65% and the highest rated facilitating factor of 'property availability and affordability' at 12.18%. The late introduction of facilitating factors in the frequency suggests an affinity toward the more intrinsic 'place-based' value of the Keremeos area over that of its simple utility function as an economically viable area of residence.

The fourth most frequent asset identified was 'public infrastructure' at 10.44% - speaking to water/sewer service, transportation system and emergency services – followed by 'growth potential' at 6.09% - referencing above average growth and long-term trajectories. The next five assets were all tied at 5.21% and include 'active development efforts' – referencing local initiatives designed to facilitate development – followed by 'health facilities', then 'public/community resources' – speaking to community services and facilities – followed by 'parks and trails', then 'business/tourism sector'. The remaining assets include 'agricultural character' at 4.35% followed by 'local/cultural heritage' and 'economic potential' both at 3.49%. The inclusion of 'economic potential' at the bottom of the frequency supports the above claim about affinity toward more intangible community characteristics but also suggests a potential absence of concerted business recruitment/development activities in the Keremeos area. Conversely, 'agricultural character' and 'local/cultural heritage' do not appear to align with the other intrinsic motivating features at the top of the list, which is notable given that such elements would need to coalesce to ensure viable place-based endogenous development approaches.

Table 9: Assets Identified by Core Local Governance

Type of Asset	Frequency/Rate
Motivating Feature – Lifestyle/Community	21 (18.26%)
Motivating Feature – Natural Environment	18 (15.65%)
Facilitating Factor – Property Availability and Affordability	14 (12.18%)
Facilitating Factor – Public Infrastructure	12 (10.44%)
Motivating Feature – Growth Potential	7 (6.09%)
Motivating Feature – Active Development Efforts	6 (5.21%)
Facilitating Factor – Health Facilities	6 (5.21%)
Facilitating Factor – Public/Community Resources	6 (5.21%)
Facilitating Factor – Parks and Trails	6 (5.21%)
Facilitating Factor – Business/Tourism Sector	6 (5.21%)
Motivating Feature – Agricultural Character	5 (4.35%)
Motivating Feature – Local/Cultural Heritage	4 (3.49%)
Motivating Feature – Economic Potential	4 (3.49%)
TOTAL	**115 (100%)**

Sources: CTQ Consultants Ltd. (2016, 2017), EcoPlan International (2021), Glorioso & Moss (2008, 2010a, 2010b), MMM Group Ltd (2015), Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen (2019, 2020), Sagewood Research (2016), Village of Keremeos (2015, 2019, 2020), Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850 (2021)

Challenges Identified Among Keremeos Area Communities

The table below highlights the different challenges identified within local policy documents ranked in order of their frequency throughout the body of all documents reviewed. The most frequent challenge identified was 'housing' at 10.75% followed by a three-way tie at 9.68% between 'economic circumstance' (including diversification and seasonality), 'community appearance' (including streetscape and vacant commercial properties) and 'infrastructure'. The fourth most frequent challenge was 'migration/demographics' at 8.60% - including out-migration of youth and in-migration of aging residents – followed by 'environmental' at 7.52%, then 'affordability/cost of living' at 6.45%. 'Land use considerations' – such as conflict between residential and industrial/commercial development - also had a frequency of 6.45% along with 'transportation issues' such as traffic and lack of transit options. The next three challenges pertain to capacity limitations related to core local governance's ability to advance local development and include 'internal affairs' at 6.45% (including aging leadership and low public participation), followed by 'capacity limitations – general' at 5.38% (including small tax base, amenity use by non-ratepayers) and 'external relations' at 4.30% (including senior government downloading and short-term policy time horizon). Rounding out the list are 'development pressures' at 3.23% (including concern for unregulated development and loss of ALR land) followed by 'health facility capacity' at 3.23% and 'lack of tourist amenities' (including visible attractions and quality accommodation) at 2.15%.

Table 10: Challenges Identified by Core Local Governance

Type of Challenges	Frequency/Rate
Housing	10 (10.75%)
Economic Circumstances	9 (9.68%)
Community Appearance	9 (9.68%)
Infrastructure	9 (9.68%)
Migration/Demographics	8 (8.60%)
Environmental	7 (7.52%)
Affordability/Cost of Living	6 (6.45%)
Land Use Considerations	6 (6.45%)
Transportation Issues	6 (6.45%)
Capacity Limitations – Governance – Internal Affairs	6 (6.45%)
Capacity Limitations – General	5 (5.38%)
Capacity Limitations – Governance – External Relations	4 (4.30%)
Development Pressures	3 (3.23%)
Health Facility Capacity	3 (3.23%)
Lack of Tourist Amenities	2 (2.15%)
TOTAL	**93 (100%)**

Sources: CTQ Consultants Ltd. (2016, 2017), EcoPlan International (2021), Glorioso & Moss (2008, 2010a, 2010b), MMM Group Ltd (2015), Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen (2019, 2020), Sagewood Research (2016), Village of Keremeos (2015, 2019, 2020), Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850 (2021)

The prominence of 'housing' as the most frequent challenge reflects the statistics and housing data reviewed so far, along with the broader forces of late-stage capitalism at play throughout the developed world. The status of 'lack of tourist amenities' as the least frequent challenge identified is consistent with the status of 'business/tourism sector' as the least frequent facilitating factor among the assets identified by core local governance, signifying a potential for lower affinity toward a business and tourism focus within local development strategies. It's also striking that 'affordability/cost of living' has a lower frequency than would be anticipated given its pervasiveness in the Keremeos area and the developed world writ large – particularly when juxtaposed against higher frequency challenges such as 'community appearance' or 'migration/demographics' which arguably cannot be sufficiently resolved without addressing affordability/cost of living issues. The late introduction of challenges pertaining to 'capacity limitations' within the frequency suggests the focus in the Keremeos area may be devoted to addressing community challenges rather than developing capacity to better surmount such issues through a broader community approach however, the ordering of these particular challenges within the frequency suggests the core local governance may be positioned to work through internal divisions preventing greater collaboration at the community level as a means to build clout for later cultivation of the strategic alliances with extra-local partners necessary to advance endogenous development.

Development Priorities Identified Among Keremeos Area Communities

Table 11: Priorities Identified by Core Local Governance

Type of Priority	Short Term		Medium Term		Long Term	
	Frequency/ Rate	Rank	Frequency/ Rate	Rank	Frequency/ Rate	Rank
Capacity Limitations – Governance – Internal Affairs	9 (20%)	1	2 (2.57%)	11/12/13	3 (6.98%)	7/8
Community Appearance	6 (13.33%)	2/3/4	13 (16.66%)	1	2 (4.64%)	9
Development Planning	6 (13.33%)	2/3/4	9 (11.54%)	3/4	5 (11.63%)	3/4/5
Development Efforts - Community	6 (13.33%)	2/3/4	9 (11.54%)	3/4	5 (11.63%)	3/4/5
Infrastructure	5 (11.11%)	5	7 (8.97%)	5	8 (18.60%)	1
Transportation Issues	3 (6.68%)	6/7	6 (7.69%)	6/7	4 (9.30%)	6
Community Resilience	3 (6.68%)	6/7	3 (3.85%)	9/10	0 (0%)	0
Development Efforts – Economic	2 (4.44%)	8/9	12 (15.38%)	2	6 (13.95%)	2
Parks and Trails Development	2 (4.44%)	8/9	3 (3.85%)	9/10	0 (0%)	0
Capacity Limitations – General	1 (2.22%)	10/11/12	2 (2.57%)	11/12/13	3 (6.98%)	7/8
Capacity Limitations – Governance – External Relations	1 (2.22%)	10/11/12	0 (0%)	0	1 (2.33%)	10/11
Housing/Affordability/Cost of Living	1 (2.22%)	10/11/12	6 (7.69%)	6/7	1 (2.33%)	10/11
Environmental/Conservation	0 (0%)	0	4 (5.12%)	8	5 (11.63%)	3/4/5
Health Facility Capacity	0 (0%)	0	2 (2.57%)	11/12/13	0 (0%)	0
TOTAL	**45 (100%)**	**-**	**78 (100%)**	**-**	**43 (100%)**	**-**

Sources: CTQ Consultants Ltd. (2016, 2017), EcoPlan International (2021), Glorioso & Moss (2008, 2010a, 2010b), MMM Group Ltd (2015), Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen (2019, 2020), Sagewood Research (2016), Village of Keremeos (2015, 2019, 2020), Official Community Plan Bylaw No. 850 (2021)

The table above highlights the different priorities identified within local policy documents ranked in order of their frequency throughout the body of all documents reviewed. These priorities have been categorized into short, medium and long term timeframes based on a subjective evaluation of the scope of each priority described. Accordingly, there are limitations to which this data accurately represents the priority timeframes currently maintained by the core local governance. Building off the observations made in the previous section, 'capacity limitations – governance – internal affairs' is easily the most frequently identified short term priority at 20% but then falls to only 2.57% and 6.98% in the medium and long term respectively. This is in stark contrast to 'capacity limitations – governance – external relations', which maintains the lowest frequency within all categories and speaks to the less than ideal links to extra-local supports maintained at the whole-of-community level. Of interest is the fact all priorities pertaining to 'capacity limitations' maintain the same order in relation to each other as per the table of challenges identified in the section above, with 'general' only one rank higher than 'external relations' for all timeframe categories.

Also in line with previous observations, 'community appearance' is in a three-way tie for second most frequent short term priority at 13.33%, then moving to the highest rank in the medium term at 16.66% before falling to only 4.64% in the long term. In contrast, both 'development planning' (including encouraging growth in existing areas and managing unmitigated growth) and 'development efforts – community' (including promoting rural values and developing a tourism action plan) which share the three-way tie maintain a consistently high rank for both medium and long term at 11.54% and 11.63% respectively. On the other hand, 'Infrastructure' is the fifth highest frequency short term priority and maintains this rank into the medium term before becoming the highest frequency long term priority; reflecting the current status of critical

community infrastructure as seemingly viable but in need of serious consideration into the long term.

Both 'transportation issues' and 'community resilience' (including evacuation planning and dike safety work) tie as the 6/7th most frequent short term priority but where 'transportation issues' maintains the same rank into the medium and long term, 'community resilience' becomes less of a priority into the medium term at 3.85% before disappearing as a long term priority. Also in line with the ranking of its corresponding challenge in the table above, 'development efforts – economic' (including championing economic diversification and business recruitment) ties for 8/9th most frequent short term priority but then moves to the second highest rank in the medium and long term, suggesting the priorities identified may be informed by the frequency of challenges identified in the previous table. 'Parks and trails development' also ties for 8/9th most frequent short term priority but falls slightly to 3.85% in the medium term before disappearing as a long term priority, perhaps signifying the extent of viable land for parks and trails development into the long term.

Surprisingly, 'housing/affordability/cost of living' is the lowest ranked short term priority and only rises slightly to 7.69% in the medium term before dropping back to lowest priority in the long term. This echoes the observation that local focus may be devoted to addressing community character issues rather than macro-level considerations as well as a possible local aversion to expending resources on matters perceived to be the responsibility of higher levels of government. 'Environmental/Conservation' does not appear as a short term priority but is ranked the 8th most frequent medium term priority before rising to become the 3/4/5th most important long term priority, again reflecting the ranking of 'environmental' as among the most frequent challenges identified in the table above. Lastly, 'health facility capacity' also doesn't appear as a short term priority and only emerges as the lowest frequency medium term priority before disappearing as a long term priority, again likely signifying a perception that such matters are the responsibility of higher levels of government.

The configuration of priorities identified in the table above appears to place less of an emphasis on overcoming capacity limitations than may be necessary to truly realize an effective place-based approach toward endogenous development. This may simply suggest that core local governance assumes such issues will be addressed naturally through the development process, however effective internal collaboration is required to develop sufficient traction to attract the extra-local partnerships necessary to advance endogenous development. Revisioning priorities to address capacity limitations and mitigate macro-level considerations would be a positive step.

Jurisdiction Specific Development Activities Undertaken

Village of Keremeos

Recent development activities undertaken by the VoK include the production of an Age-Friendly Community Action Plan in 2015, which serves as a framework for establishing policies, programs

and services designed to make it easier for older adults to stay active and healthy with the goal of achieving continued contributions economically and socially (MMM Group Ltd., 2015, p. i). This project was funded by the Union of British Columbia Municipalities (UBCM) Age-Friendly Community Planning Project Grant – as per the province's financial commitment to advancing such initiatives – and it's further noted that the VoK was the first municipality in the region to receive Age-Friendly Community status by the province (MMM Group Ltd., 2015, p. iii; Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 11). As a means to address the pervasive issue of community appearance in the downtown core, the Village also developed a Business Façade Improvement Program in 2015/2016 which provides grant funding to assist business owners with the visual improvement of their commercial properties with funding provided by revenue generated through business licensing fees (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 27; Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 11).

Continuing with the approach toward downtown revitalization, the Village commissioned a plan to improve the visual appeal of downtown Keremeos in 2016 with the intent to promote beautification of the downtown core as a means to spur economic revitalization in terms of tourism, small business success, local expenditure and investment in both public and private realms (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2016, p. 1). This was followed by a Business Retention and Resident Attraction Strategy in 2017 with the intent to diversify the local economy, attract young families to Keremeos and increase the overall commercial and residential tax base (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, p. 4). Both of these projects were funded by UBCM via the province's Rural Dividend Fund, established to provide financial support for economic development projects in communities with less than 25,000 people (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2016, p. 1, 2017, p. 6).

All of these reports allowed the Village to access additional grant funding for the purchase of outdoor exercise equipment, playground equipment, public art installations, public signage, murals on downtown commercial properties, park amenities and accessible infrastructure. In addition, these reports also allowed the Village to obtain $1.5 million in 2018 to upgrade water lines in the downtown commercial core - including the installation of curb flares and additional park amenities – along with $4 million to upgrade the sewage treatment plant to ensure long term capacity for commercial and residential development (Village of Keremeos, 2019, p. 10). The reports also allowed the Village to secure Rural Dividend Fund grants to compile a Keremeos & Area Opportunities Guide in 2019 along with a social media strategy to promote the area in larger centres, website upgrades and an interactive business map featuring area activities and attractions (CTQ Consultants Ltd., 2017, pp. 23–25; Village of Keremeos, 2019, pp. 18–19). As the pandemic took hold in early 2020, no substantive action appears to have been taken as a precaution for community safety however, the Village has plans to update business development materials and the social media campaign going forward (Village of Keremeos, 2020, p. 14). Of note with these development activities is how extensively they've depended on financial support from funding bodies created by higher levels of government, signifying the importance of strong leadership and links to extra-local supports in fostering successful community development.

RDOS Electoral Area "G" (Rural Keremeos)

Progress of development matters in RDOS electoral areas is slower than in the Village due to the limited capacity provided to RDOS Area Directors and their sole representation over their entire jurisdiction, which serves to spread their efforts thin in some instances. Following the election of a new Director in 2018, RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) embarked upon a community engagement process to determine local views on future land use planning, culminating in a public engagement summary report in 2019 indicating there appears to be sufficient evidence to proceed with developing an Official Community Plan (OCP) (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, pp. i, 2). There are currently no land use bylaws or building inspection services in RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos), making it difficult for elected officials to respond effectively to queries from other levels of government and prompting the new Director's interest in developing an OCP (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 4).

The report also notes the strong sense of place within each of the different communities and the importance of assessing and providing policies locally, it identifies opportunities to collaborate on Keremeos 'fringe' planning with the Village and stresses the integral nature of local Indigenous involvement in development planning processes (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2019, p. 3). In late 2020, RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) advanced this initiative by compiling a community profile highlighting the core communities, population and demographics and proposed land use designations – setting the stage for what may ultimately develop into an OCP for the electoral area (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020). While it is assumed that funding for these projects came from RDOS Planning and Development funds, UBCM funding for planning and development may have also been provided and will likely be sought for developing the final OCP document if such a course is taken by the RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) Director. If properly executed, an OCP could serve as a framework for collaborating on shared interests and help advance place-based endogenous development.

RDOS Electoral Area "B" (Cawston)

Being the smallest electoral area in the RDOS with only 2.3% of the total land area, progress toward community development in RDOS Area "B" (Cawston) has been less fruitful despite being pursued prior to RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos), with the appointment of an OCP Advisory Committee by the RDOS Board in March 2011 and completion of an OCP Background Report by RDOS staff in April 2011 (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2021). OCP Advisory Committee deliberations led to the adoption of a draft community vision statement and broad goals, which were presented at a public open house in 2012 and informed how RDOS staff would subsequently compile a draft OCP for RDOS Area "B" (Cawston) in 2013 however, the project was ultimately abandoned in late 2013 (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2021).

Although no reason for this abrupt shift in direction has been specified, it may be partially attributed to previous experiences with land use regulations in RDOS Area "B" (Cawston), which

included imposing and eventually abandoning building inspection regulations which were highly criticized for limiting the freedom to construct buildings for farm or residential use without surmounting burdensome requirements. It's also noted that sections of the draft OCP include community vision and growth management, but not sections pertaining to community or economic development. The negative experience advancing this development initiative suggests a lack of critical awareness for change which stifles endogenous development.

Lower Similkameen Indian Band (LSIB)

The LSIB administers 11 reserves covering over 152 km^2 in the Keremeos area and has a membership of around 506, around half of which live on reserve (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 172; Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 9). The LSIB is a member of the Okanagan Nation Alliance (ONA) – which facilitates collaborative work in areas of shared interest including economic development – and through a regional economic development function, the Chief's Executive Council and the Economic Development Working Group has been advancing a number of planning and development initiatives (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 40). In 1972 the LSIB was the first Indian Band in BC to start a commercial orchard, signifying a potential for and affinity toward agricultural ventures along with the tradition in ranching and hay farming – with several families running their own ranches and hay farms (Pecarski, 1987, p. 65). The LSIB has demonstrated strong interest in taking steps toward self-management of their community and economic interests even before completion of one of their earliest Comprehensive Community Plans (CCP) adopted in conjunction with the USIB back in 1986 (Pecarski, 1987, p. 136).

Economic development proposals indicate LSIB identified access to capital for community businesses and training of community members in business development as key needs for advancing endogenous development as early as the 1980s (Pecarski, 1987, p. 112). Since then, their economic ambitions have grown to include tourism, small business (particularly arts and crafts retail), forestry management and operation of a daycare facility which I attended (Pecarski, 1987, pp. 88, 90, 119, 121). In addition to the activities described above, the LSIB Economic Development Corporation – Sməlqmix Investments – works to expand and enhance the economic self-sufficiency of their membership by undertaking activities such as leasing office space in Keremeos and expanding business services through land development and partnership opportunities in food/fruit processing, retail, storage and industries such as construction, equipment supply, energy, concrete and mining services (Sməlqmix Investments Ltd., 2021c, 2021b, 2021a). LSIB has also conducted a feasibility study and site plan for a residential and commercial development adjacent to their office along Highway 3 in Chopaka and are updating business plans for a future gas bar and convenience store (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 172; Sməlqmix Investments Ltd., 2021d). This shows community vision which speaks to how community belonging and participation shapes development prospects.

Upper Similkameen Indian Band (USIB)

The USIB is located 30 kilometers west of Keremeos extending as far as Princeton with a land base of over 27 km^2 and a membership of around 200, mostly residing on reserve land adjacent to Hedley (EcoPlan International, 2021, p. 173; Sagewood Research, 2016, p. 9). As such, the USIB's area of responsibility resides largely outside the Keremeos area and only extends to about 15 kilometers west of Keremeos (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 20). The USIB were also a member of the ONA until recently stepping away and previously united their administrative functions with LSIB under the auspices of the Similkameen Indian Administration before separating sometime in the 1990s (Pecarski, 1987, p. 67). It's been suggested their relatively small membership and land base may precipitate limited capacity and apprehension toward advancing shared development issues, as evidenced by USIB concerns for participating in joint CCP processes with LSIB for such reasons – in addition to the lack of USIB representation in shared administrative matters (Pecarski, 1987, p. 108).

Accordingly, USIB has tended to take an autonomous approach to their CED and have increasingly become one of the largest employers in the Hedley community – with interests in forestry woodlots, timber licenses, harvesting contracts, silviculture and infrastructure development capabilities. USIB also own and operate two of the major tourist attractions in Hedley – the Mascot Gold Mine Tours and Snaza'ist Discovery Centre – both supported through federal funding and containing interpretive programs showcasing archaeological research and natural resources projects undertaken by USIB (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 41). Prospects for future collaboration over shared interests with other core local governance entities in the Keremeos area appear hopeful however, as the USIB endorsed a Memorandum of Understanding with RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) in 2019 to support the development and understanding of Indigenous issues including heritage, culture and economics and to provide a framework for increased collaboration to ensure the mutually beneficial relationship of both parties going forward (Regional District Okanagan-Similkameen, 2020, p. 42). This is welcome news given that USIB's contribution to collaborative governance would be necessary to realize truly endogenous development.

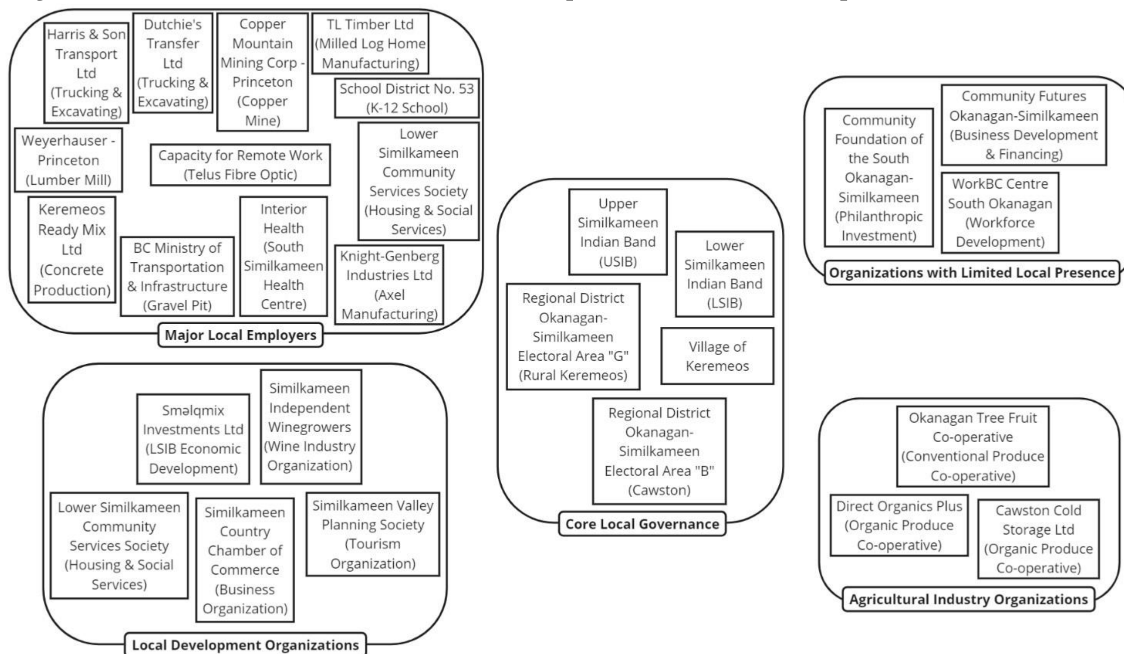
Chapter 6: In Their Own Words:
Community Capacity and Development Ambitions

Introduction

Perceptions of endogenous development held by local actors in the Keremeos area are multifaceted and stem from their nuanced experiences attempting to advance such initiatives through their work within the community. This chapter provides a brief overview of the Keremeos area development actor landscape, highlights some of the key players, and provides an overview of qualitative accounts provided by interview participants regarding such experiences.

Local Development Actor Landscape

Figure 8: The Keremeos Area Local Development Actor Landscape



Source: Own Elaboration (2022)

The figure above provides an overview of key local development actors in the Keremeos area. This was compiled by drawing upon personal knowledge that was obtained through my work for VoK. It has been categorized according to the different functions they serve within the community. This list is not inclusive of all local organizations nor does it include local property developers as it focuses on entities which have an intrinsic interest in local CED. Although the rural development literature indicates that enhancing relations among these entities is needed to build the local capacity necessary to undertake sustained community development efforts (Markey et al., 2005a,

p. 132), there appears to be limited cross segment collaboration among most actors aside from that of local core governance and local development organizations. The categories comprise five different segments as discussed below.

Core Local Governance

At the centre are the core local governance bodies which express jurisdiction and authority over their geospatial interests within the Keremeos area, including responsibility over land use and CED in their respective communities. Rural development literature indicates that increased collaboration among these bodies will be necessary to face the new challenges and opportunities being encountered by rural regions (Gibson, 2019, pp. 97–98), and currently all but the USIB participate on the SVPS Board along with representatives of the Town of Princeton and RDOS Area "H" (Rural Princeton).

Local Development Organizations

Local development organizations play a role in administering programs and services within their particular realm of CED along with providing a venue for advancing their membership's interests and in some cases, serving as a vehicle for volunteer recruitment to further their mission. SIW and SimCo represent the interests of the local wineries and business community respectively along with sponsoring and hosting local community events and undertaking marketing to advance tourism and business in the Keremeos area. SVPS undertakes similar tourism marketing but for the entire Similkameen Valley along with serving as a venue for discussing long-term planning and development matters among core local governance bodies and commissioning research and studies pertaining to watershed planning, amenity in-migration and ecological sustainability within the valley. LSCSS provides volunteer based community services and programs such as meals on wheels, family development and seniors programs to area residents along with owning and operating long-term care facilities, seniors housing and affordable housing units within the Keremeos area. Smәlqmix Investments Ltd is the economic development arm of the LSIB and work to achieve members' economic self-sufficiency by supporting LSIB businesses and projects pertaining to forestry, land leasing, agriculture, ranching, tourism and retail (Smәlqmix Investments Ltd., 2021c).

Agricultural Industry Organizations

The Keremeos area has a long history of maintaining producer led co-operative management in support of tree fruit farming operations, which over time have resulted in three separate produce packing co-operatives taking shape to represent the interests of their particular membership. All of the co-operatives serve as collective marketing vehicles for sale of their members' produce and

maintain facilities for the storage and housing of produce prior to distribution. The Okanagan Tree Fruit Co-operative represents members undertaking conventional farming (practices which may include limited use of chemicals) and is the largest Keremeos area co-operative in terms of membership and facility space. Both Cawston Cold Storage Ltd and Direct Organics Plus represent members undertaking organic farming and have smaller memberships and facilities based solely in Cawston. All the co-operatives work to advocate for higher prices for their members' produce and work to advance CED by realizing economies of scale, thus ensuring sufficient returns for their members to help sustain local commerce.

Organizations with Limited Local Presence

Due to the expansive land area of the RDOS, there are few regionally based organizations that provide services to all residents in the region but only maintain limited outreach or ground level presence within the Keremeos area. Three of these organizations provide regionally based services which directly impact the CED landscape in the Keremeos area. WorkBC Centre South Okanagan offers employment counselling services two days a week in Keremeos and provide resources to assist with job application processes, retraining opportunities and skills development on days in which their services are available. The Community Foundation of the South Okanagan Similkameen (CFSOS) maintains outreach within Keremeos area communities every couple of months and operates an annual community grants program which has been successfully marketed in the Keremeos area and which provides residents with small amounts of funding to hold community events or undertake community-based initiatives. Community Futures Okanagan Similkameen (CFOS) has no presence in the Keremeos area but offer business development services for locally based business start-ups in the region and administer financing and loans to support the growth of small businesses, including some which are now serving in leadership capacity for SimCo.

Major Local Employers

Although the agricultural sector remains the prevailing source of employment in the Keremeos area, other major local employers maintain operations pertaining to natural resources, aggregates, manufacturing, healthcare and education services. Harris & Son Ltd and Dutchie's Transfer Ltd are two of the oldest businesses in the Keremeos area and have been instrumental in the delivery and installation of critical public and private infrastructure necessary to sustain prolonged community development. Keremeos Ready Mix Ltd operates a concrete production facility which produces greatly needed aggregate materials for construction throughout the region. BC Ministry of Transportation & Infrastructure (MoTI) maintain gravel excavation operations in support of highways maintenance throughout the Keremeos area. Both Knight-Genberg Industries Ltd and TL Timber Ltd provide a significant amount of employment opportunities for skilled labourers

and manufacture heavy duty truck axels and milled log homes respectively. The recent installation of Telus fibre optic internet also provides capacity for remote work opportunities.

Copper Mountain Mining Corp maintains and is currently expanding their copper mining operations in the Princeton area and are not only a major source of high quality employment for both the region and Keremeos area, but also maintain likely the highest profile involvement of a major global corporation in the Similkameen Valley, with Mitsubishi owning a 25% stake in their operations (Copper Mountain Mining Corp, 2021). Weyerhauser operates a lumber mill in Princeton which also employs a number of Keremeos area residents and maintains relations with USIB for logging rights in their traditional territory. School District No. 53 operates a K to 12 school system in the Keremeos area which provides employment for the more educated local residents and Interior Health is a major source of employment due to previous local advocacy which resulted in the construction of a state of the art health centre in the Village. LSCSS also employs a large number of residents for both skilled and entry level positions to help fulfill their housing and social services operations. These employers contribute to the development landscape by providing stable and high quality employment for local residents which helps to sustain local commerce and by giving back to the community through philanthropic contribution, funding community programming and undertaking community service campaigns.

Interview Participants

Interviews were conducted with 11 participants representing the varied geographic, jurisdictional and organizational interests comprising the Keremeos area development landscape as highlighted in the figure below. What follows are verbatim accounts of their experiences advancing endogenous development.

Figure 9: List of Interview Participants

Interview Participant	Position / Title
Manfred Bauer	Mayor, Village of Keremeos Village of Keremeos Director, RDOS Chair, SVPS
Marg Coulson	Chief Administrative Officer, Village of Keremeos Former City Manager, City of Vancouver
Mac Watson	Current President, SimCo
Brian Mennell	Chair, LSCSS
Joan Bauman	Past President, SimCo
Sara Crockett	Marketing Director, SIW
Colleen Christensen	Manager, SimCo
Tim Roberts	Area “G” (Rural Keremeos) Director, RDOS
Robin Irwin	Natural Resources Director, USIB
Kim English	Community Development Officer, CFSOS Co-Founder, Hedley Community Land Trust Initiative
Joe Dennis	Former Board Chair, Sməlqmix Investments Ltd Former Chief, LSIB

Place-Based Assets

The place-based assets described by participants reflect those highlighted within local policy documents and strongly emphasized the area's relaxing natural environment which supports agriculture, retirement and outdoor activities. Of note is the importance of the river, with Robin saying "the Similkameen River is a unifying geographical element used to irrigate the orchards (and) for mining processes. The economics behind the health of that river is undeniable". The agriculture and quality wineries were also noted, with Colleen saying "the economic interests will always be the food industry (and) the wine industry is huge". These activities help build a sense of local identity, with Colleen saying "the food industry is a very important part of who we are". She also notes how "the community thrives on tourism" resulting from these assets, with Brian saying "a lot more bed and breakfasts, a lot more restaurants that have stature (are emerging) and people are just turning up". Tim also notes how the historical context could also be leveraged to enhance tourism opportunities.

Local assets speak to the place-based potential for CED, with Joan noting "we have many repeat people that love going into the community for organic food, the unique restaurants and the new little farm store in Cawston". Kim says that "people are moving from urban to rural to have a better quality of life and be more engaged in community". Sara notes "how unique we are as a wine region, as a draw, to increase (businesses') economic performance. We're known for organic produce quality, we're a fruit Mecca". Manfred notes the presence of decent paying jobs, with Joe adding "we have loggers in this place. This valley has always been mines and logging". Joe further notes that "we have a large land base on places to grow crops, places to have built infrastructure for manufacturing".

Local infrastructure helps enhance CED potential, with Manfred highlighting the Village's playgrounds, recreation centre, EV charging stations, schools, health centre and ambulance services, and Sara noting "I think the LSCSS' new affordable housing is a great asset to the community. Housing, schools, daycares, those things enable resources you need to develop your region". Many participants mentioned how the new fibre optic internet may facilitate telecommuting to larger centres and help attract younger families to the area. Participants also noted the high interest in trails development from Red Bridge to Cawston, with Manfred saying "(it's) a huge attraction to everybody, young and old" and Tim noting how "pedestrian traffic can connect to the winery tours, (it can) promote health and safety and access for agricultural workers to go to town".

Community organizations also play a key role in place-based development, with Manfred noting how the garden club improves the streetscape of the commercial core each year, and Tim adding "we have a really strong arts community. We have a strong value and strong sense of community about the valley". Retirement in-migration was also noted as bringing prosperity, and Kim notes how "more people (are) moving in and (have) different level of skills. The assets of the people are going to help mobilize (CED)". Recent murals in the commercial core also help provide a sense of community, with Joan saying "the murals that are starting to appear give you a sense that the community cares".

Place-Based Opportunities

Local agriculture has seen an increasing transition to 'added-value' activities, with Brian saying "there are already some secondary industries development, not just wineries and cideries, but different ways of processing fruit and things". Colleen adds "the agricultural industry (is moving) to another dynamic industry. There're some (other) businesses coming on board, organics and butchering and selling meat right here". Sara notes how this has potential to overcome seasonality of economic activity and Mac notes how businesses on ALR land can leverage cost effectiveness of resources produced on site. Sara also notes how restaurants on ALR land are "developing a food scene here and leveraging contacts from the lower mainland to achieve success". Brian feels that agri-tourism has potential if the community supports a long term vision, noting "it may develop into a much bigger thing and we can envision it".

The agricultural transition speaks to the need for more concerted place-based production, with Tim noting "we need to look at what we provide locally, how we encourage (that) becomes some of the draw for people". Joe adds that "(we need to) start putting in more niche market, something they want to stop and kind of walk through. Try to catch them to spend money on something they don't see anywhere else". Joan agrees by saying "we know we can never compete with the Walmarts, so we have to look for other reasons for people to stop, because once we find it, man, we will sell". Sara notes how "many wineries developed fantastic products and improvements in their products and ancillary (offerings)" as a means to strengthen production capacity which showcases the unique local assets of the area.

The agricultural transition also precipitated growth in local amenities, with Sara noting how wineries are working to bundle amenities at their locations to build out additional tourism potential. She says "there's lots of other things like combinations of other kinds of amenities that go into (supporting) the wine industry". Joan agrees but highlights the need for greater amenities by saying "we don't have the infrastructure in place for camping, we really don't have any accommodations to speak up". Joe feels that "we need to start building more stuff that people want to just sit and enjoy the view. Our valley is here to sustain and feed families, we're not here to feed them a day at the beach". Tim notes how "we're losing ground from understanding and dealing with tourism. We have a great opportunity to remake it, but we need the infrastructure to change."

There's strong potential for utilizing local assets to showcase place-based aspects through marketing and branding, with Colleen saying "I think the next step would be with the organic aspect of it. It's a goal we can bring into the mainstream". Robin feels there's potential to market the area and attract traffic from Highway 3 to advance CED and Sara notes "I think (we) can draw upon the beauty of the region, (that's) something we can leverage. Mac notes the utility of marketing local assets too by saying "the trails for hiking and biking are something we need to promote more". Kim adds "I think for this region, it really comes down to preserving what the perceptions of people's pride of the region is. It's maintaining the values, that's what's most important".

Challenges

One of the main challenges for the Keremeos area is how the lack of financial resources inhibits CED. Manfred notes "when you have small communities with the low tax base, that is a challenge" and Colleen echoes "this community (has) hard workers, but short of funding, and it's hard". Joan notes that "the Village (is only) 13 blocks. It's not like Penticton, (there's) no real business tax revenue". Marg agrees the Village has limited capacity by saying "I don't see a small town like Keremeos getting a whole lot more resources, it's not reasonable with our population. Other than grants, we're driven by property taxes and there will only ever be so many taxpayers".

Another major challenge involves the lack of human capacity to advance CED. Manfred notes "right now everybody's busy with surviving so that might not be a priority, particularly when organizations have strained capacity". Sara argues this prevents businesses from growing their leadership acumen, stating "they need to have a mindset that it's an investment, not a time robber". Brian notes how LSCSS struggles with "finding people who will do the job" and Sara notes how seasonality factors in, stating "(it) means people aren't permanent in their roles, (and) you're constantly recruiting". Colleen notes how "our base (of) volunteers is largely getting old" with Joan adding "you get volunteer burnout when you have five people running every event in town". Brian also observes that "people moving in, they don't really get involved. It's that sense of community building, (it) doesn't really exist as much as it used to".

The impact of in-migration is seen to be gentrifying the area, with Mac noting "we have seniors coming into this community because they're seeing their dollars going further, and we're just not catching up to it". Brian says "land prices (have) gone up and people are buying whatever lands are available and putting big houses on them". Marg feels the pandemic precipitated "a couple of key players who came into Keremeos and bought up a whole bunch of properties and flip them". Robin cautions how increased population may impact the watershed by saying "if we're going to continue to flourish economically, physically and spiritually, that watershed and river should be paramount".

Increasing in-migration has put a strain on local housing stock, which inhibits CED as Manfred notes "this is important for younger families to move here, but some of the newest subdivisions are insanely expensive now". Mac echoes this concern by saying "I'd like to see more rental type development so we can draw younger families to continue serving the aging people in our community" with Marg adding "housing and child care are important pillars to help sustain a community and make it resilient". Mac suggests that any land not locked into the ALC should be devoted to housing, arguing "make it something affordable, something within the realm of low income families".

The lack of public transportation also limits CED potential, with Manfred noting "we have to make it attractive enough for government (to support), which is hesitant because there just aren't enough votes in it for them". Mac feels there should be "transit morning and night doing Keremeos to Penticton if you're working. Just give those people that opportunity".

Local Perceptions Presuppose Inferiority

In discussing public sentiment, Joan notes how "the community is very hard to accept change, because of our population base age and whatever. They're just '(that's) the way it was done and that's the way it should be'". This limits capacity for innovative problem solving, with Tim saying "we have the old standby that's been around 'ahh it never worked before, we tried that'". Sara argues "I think there's not big enough vision. People are easy to say 'oh we can't do it'". Kim feels this impacts critical awareness for change by noting "it's often the loudest voices that are kind of the old timers. Over the years I've seen people move to Hedley and try to champion different things and the pushback is so great it just becomes exhausted". Joan agrees by stating "you have our lifetimers fighting it (CED) like 'you just moved here, you think you're better than us'". Negative perceptions can lead to sabotaging efforts to advance CED, with Joe noting "you got so many naysayers, jealously people, they don't want to see it done, they like to see it just desolated. They always like to be grumpy about stuff".

The Unrealized Benefit of CED

Public sentiment views CED as a threat, with Sara noting "not everybody necessarily sees the benefit. There's a good portion that want things to stay the way they are". Brian confirms this by stating "I see (it) as a healthy thing for tax base but (not) for place to live. I'd love to just see it stay the way it is". The concern stems from how CED may conflict with community values, with Tim saying "they see the gem that we have, and it's a fear like it's a double edged sword. You invite people to enjoy what you value then you destroy what you value". There's concern it will become unmanageable without community power over the process, with Brian adding "As soon as you put it on the map, people want to go there and then there's chaos. The big worry is the valley is going to become one of these tourist Meccas". Both Joan and Joe note how concerns may also stem from fear that development will only result in property tax increases, further demonstrating the perceived lack of community power over the advancement of development.

Pointing the Finger Toward Endogenous Development

The public thinks the Village is responsible

A lot of blame is placed on the Village for the state of local economic conditions, with Tim noting how some residents say "'the Village doesn't do nothing, they don't like us, they don't want to do nothing'". Conversely, Marg states "people look at the Village Office and feel we should be responsible. (They) look at us and say 'that's your responsibility and how come you're not doing more'". Manfred notes how property taxpayer expectations have shifted to include CED due to senior government downloading, stating "the correlation between paying taxes and what to get for

it has kind of morphed into different expectations in the last 20 years". Joan agrees by noting "people get upset, they look at their (business) and go 'what did I get for my tax dollars' (but) they're not looking at the whole picture".

The Village can only provide a framework for CED

"We as local government have actually done a great job, it's businesses understanding that they have to do their part, and we can do our part" – Manfred Bauer, Village of Keremeos Mayor

Negative perceptions espoused by the business community dissuades local initiatives, but those same businesses need to innovate to stay relevant as Marg notes "some of the businesses are throwing rocks and saying 'why aren't you (VoK) doing more' but it's actually their responsibility with the Chamber of Commerce (SimCo) and if you bring something to us, we can support it". Manfred adds "our capacity (VoK) is limited to be the catalyst of economic development, but not actually do it". Marg feels that "public expectations are out of sync with what's possible. The community has to build a plan they have aspirations to do that fits, and not make the goals so lofty that they can't be achieved". Marg notes the lack of viable local partners to 'hand off' CED initiatives to, stating "(we need to) take some of those things and hand off to the community to act upon as partners. Had the community said 'hey this is what we need' we would have got in there and help get further funding. The Village itself doesn't have capacity to take on a lot (of CED) but infrastructure is our responsibility and we can help secure money to put a bit of a roadmap in place".

The business community and SimCo capacity limitations help fuel public sentiment

"I think we don't have a functional chamber and that's a real challenge"

– Sara Crockett, SIW Marketing Director

The business community appears unwilling to innovate, with Joan saying "we have to think of what's going to bring people in, and with the culture in agricultural business, it's hard to get them to think outside the box. (I ask business owners) if you are driving through town, what would make you stop (and they say) 'oh we're not here for the tourists, we're here for the locals', (but) the locals aren't shopping here". Joe adds "for some reason our town does not want to invest in our own businesses. I think it's because mainly all these outside retired people, they don't care about the businesses in town, they go to Penticton". Sara feels local businesses lack individual capabilities, stating "people need to understand who they're targeting, getting a plan, developing some process then executing the plan so people know how they want to position themselves". Joan

notes “we tried to get businesses involved in beautification plans, but people were not excited about spending money to do improvements”. She also notes challenges getting businesses involved with chamber restructuring, stating “we’ve tried surveys and talking with members, but nobody’s come forward to help us make changes”. Reluctance to mobilize resources have even hampered these efforts, with Joan noting “I remember one year a previous (SimCo) president threw in the budget $5,000 to hire somebody (to build capacity) and it got shut down, ‘we can’t spend that kind of money, it’s not worth it’ (was the sentiment)”.

Meanwhile SIW has made gains due to co-operation and shared interests

Where the local business community are less inclined to co-operate, the wine industry thrives when a variety of operators are successful. Joan notes how “the wineries have a different mentality. (They know) to be successful, we have to work together. People aren’t going to drive from Kelowna to see one winery”. Sara notes how they share staff and expertise under the guise they’re stronger together, stating “everybody is genuinely interested in the success of everybody else, it’s an attitude of lifting each other up as opposed to purely competing”. Sara describes this as her “theory of abundance”; how tourism based industries are encouraged and even incentivized to collaborate as a means to carve out a sense of ‘placeness’ among other competing tourist markets. She states “you need to create a draw for people to consider stopping, the more amenities (the) more likely people are to stop. People realize there are 14 amazing wineries here, you can get something great to eat and visit these other things while you’re here, that will be a draw for the community”. She notes how SIW has banded together to create a brand strategy and marketing plans which drive their annual activities, both individually and collectively.

But no one seems to be blaming senior government, demonstrating how institutions condition the sense of rural inferiority

Only a few people are even aware the Keremeos area has a provincial economic development lead as they’re never visible in the community. Marg notes “(on CED continuity), it should be Larry (Olsen, Provincial Economic Development Officer for the Keremeos area), he should be providing leadership in this area, (but) his role seems to come down to sending me an email every so often”. Sara – the only other person aware of Larry’s existence – says “there’s not a lot of government support, resources to leverage to help advance (CED). (Regarding Larry Olsen), you need someone who’s not a civil servant who’s just attending to show a face, you need someone who’s driving (CED) process”.

A growing need for more equitable collaborative relations with extra-local partners

SVPS recently severed ties with the Thompson Okanagan Tourism Association (TOTA) to assert community power over local tourism development, as Manfred notes "we worked with TOTA, but we went away because we want to have more hands on. We want to make sure we don't get lost". Tim says "there's so much potential, but it's outside powers that are our barriers. We have to create a process of collaboration where we're at the table". Mac notes how senior government needs to work closer with communities to champion innovative solutions, stating "we all have to work very closely instead of pulling both directions like a tug of war". Sara notes "there hasn't been a call for a lot of strategic planning within the region across different groups. So, the kickoff of that to create a longer term vision for the region might be a great baseline to start from". Joe agrees by adding "we have to have something in place that actually gives everybody in the valley support on creating sustainable businesses otherwise you won't have anybody creating nothing without capacity".

Institutional Barriers and Constraints

"Global interconnectedness means there are factors you can influence (for CED) and some you can't" – Manfred Bauer, Village of Keremeos Mayor

The ALC Limits Prospects for Endogenous Development

The ALC is pervasive in the Keremeos area, with Manfred noting that "over 90% land use is farming" and Brian adding "I think we're limited with what entity could come in, because the agricultural land all around, there's (a) very limited amount that can be for economic development". Joan notes how the ALC inhibits risk taking and critical awareness which stifles innovation, noting "I think the ALR restrictions and insurance liability (factor in) because 'what if I get sued'". These predominant institutional arrangements minimize community power over process, as Tim notes "the ALC regulations are more supportive of corporate farming". Tim feels this status quo is preventing small holdings farms from being viable by stating "the problem (is) because of corporations coming in and upping our price (through) speculative buying. We need to (get) ALC (to regulate it)". Conversely, this status quo also restricts ALC property owners to activities which prevent small farmers from maximizing their economic potential, as Tim poignantly states:

"(Under ALC regulations) if you want to do something and have agritourism and have someone stay at your place, you got to make booze (i.e., wine or cider). ***Why can't Bobby carrot farmer have a carrot cake tea room?*** *(emphasis mine) Valuing the necessity for the smaller farm to*

diversify in (their) economic needs, and giving more room for family to be excited about stepping out, doing stuff, understanding that we have rules and regulations so that we don't cover all our ground with asphalt" – Tim Roberts, RDOS Area "G" (Rural Keremeos) Director

Prevailing Senior Government Arrangements Limit Prospects for Endogenous Development

Senior government grant funds are available to leverage for CED, but only exist for initiatives which advance senior government priorities, with Marg stating "part of our problem is that the Rural Dividend Fund, when COVID-19 hit, kind of changed faces, and the last thing we were able to get out of it was for the (wheelchair) ramp". Joan echoes this by noting their funding can't be used for CED via chamber development because "all the grants we receive are designated to running the (tourist) information centre". In terms of LSCSS, Brian notes that "most of our programs are based on political decisions, whether they downsize mental health service contracts. And we're just functioning on the skin of our teeth because, most of those contracts have a 10% administration charge, and you really can't function on 10%".

Senior government red tape also impacts capacity for CED, with Marg stating "you know we got that $4 million (for sewer upgrades), and we couldn't proceed with work (because) Ministry of Environment (MoE) held onto that report, (for) years, and we are just now approaching that work". Robin agrees that red tape and election cycles diminish local autonomy over resource-based decisions, stating "everything has to line up perfectly between the province, the nation and the feds. It's a glacial process. There's always moving parts and every time there's a change in any of those three political dynamics, there's a three to six month delay. It gets to the point where the nations just kind of start to wash their hands of the process and find another direction". In speaking about how senior government allowed construction in floodplains which exacerbate local climate change mitigation, Tim highlights how extra-local entities create externalities then provides minimal funding to mitigate the impact. He states "all of them put together (ALC, MoTI, MoE) and nobody takes responsibility at all. The province allowed (it) to happen, and then they will provide us money to deal with the problem they created".

Prevailing Regional Government Arrangements Limit Prospects for Endogenous Development

Inequitable regional relations prevent the Keremeos area from attaining community power over process. In working to implement an OCP for rural Keremeos, Tim observes that "they're not listening, we're saying 'you are going to subvert this whole process'. (And) there's a complete disconnect, you are not getting the buy-in". He feels the RDOS board tends toward a 'Penticton centric' mentality which undermines potential for CED due to the parameters of regional governance. He also observes how sub-regional differences seem to get glossed over by stating "it makes things easier for (RDOS) staff if everything is straightforward answers like one size fits all. They hire people, go in that Penticton centric mentality, and when we try to centralize everything,

we lose local knowledge". He feels this limits local autonomy over CED by making things at the RDOS board either about the region as a whole or about the interests of more powerful electoral areas; he states "it's set up to pit us against each other, and I'm starting to believe the regional district system itself is come to its extent, it needs to evolve".

Reserve Land System Regulations Limit Prospects for Endogenous Development

"Oh it's suppose to not be top down, it always is top down. Those on the bottom are still waiting by decision making people on top of them. They got to have somebody pulling them up to give them a hand" – Joe Dennis, Former LSIB Chief

Nebulous reserve land approvals processes also stifle Indigenous CED potential, as Robin notes "we're trying to develop some gravel pits, so I get an email back from MoTI (prospective buyer) and he says 'do you have a (federal government) permit to sell us this rock'. It's on reserve and USIB has every right to be selling this material. And now we have to go back to the feds to obtain this permission, and I think that can become a real roadblock". She notes how a range of extra-local factors must align for Indigenous communities to realize CED by noting "you've got Indigenous communities that may have access to water and land and resources, lots of opportunities, but to even develop a campground is onerous. You have to have the province and the feds, you have to have their attention and you have to have funding. Moving forward the opportunity, sometimes it's gone by the time we get to that point".

Joe echoes the bureaucratic nature of these arrangements by noting "a lot of the restrictions mainly is funding, we're always asking the government for money, and they have to fit the stipulations, and once we get to that point, we have to get all the community to do their due diligence. So there's many stages to go through. But once it trickles down from the government's hands, we get nothing, it's not even enough to pay a consultant to come in". He also notes how on reserve housing policies diminish Indigenous community capacity by forcing them to sacrifice resources to service housing debt imposed through inequitable relations with extra-local partners. He states "these guys (LSIB and USIB members) don't own these houses, the Band is like a landlord, and they pay the bills, and that's why every Band across the country is in deficit, because CMHC robs us blind".

Opportunities That Failed

The Stagnant Efforts of Sməlqmix Investments Ltd

"The biggest weakness is, we can't get along with one another. Not due to the fact that we don't, the past has been so devastated due to residential schools, fear, colonization and alcoholism that

was brought in, we've had to survive first and it's taken so long to fight the government, fight the outside world to believe us. It's caused so much damage to our communities and it affects us because we're so family oriented. But that's not a weakness of ours, it's a creation. Until you heal and change your mindset, start developing that we're good enough, we won't create business"
– Joe Dennis, Former LSIB Chief

The internal dynamics of Indigenous CED directly shape outcomes, as Joe states "(we tried) to build organic crops for the band, also do a college that fell through. Politics is pretty tough when you get involved with a lot of stuff like that, so there's always votes and people have to vote to do these things in our community, so that fell through". He notes how these dynamics precipitate fissures in their planning process by stating "we do a hell of a lot of business plans that fail instead of concentrating on something that's going to actually move forward. We've wasted a lot of time on things that weren't feasible for the valley, we get to be too big of a dreamer". Manfred notes how the LSIB's geographic split causes frictions in their collaboration over CED by stating "(on LSIB lack of consensus) and his (current LSIB Chief) answer really is half of the band is going west and the other half is going (east) so it's very difficult they can come to an agreement". Marg notes that "it sounds like there is divergent interests at play, as far as the direction they take".

Joe feels this resulted from the legacy of colonial institutions diminishing local Indigenous capacity by stating "government split us up because they don't want us to be a team, you split the team up (and) you break up the whole community". He feels the recent move of their Band Office from Keremeos to Chopaka further diminished their sense of belonging and problem solving capabilities by stating "the Band Office is so far away, it's split us apart. That's the hard thing about keeping people together to work". Tim also notes how geospatial divisions are a barrier to the sense of belonging in rural Keremeos by stating "40% of Area "G" live in mobile home parks, and those people aren't necessarily connected". Joe doesn't feel this will be resolved any time soon, stating "we still divide ourselves and yet we're not very far apart".

Despite this, Manfred notes LSIB had some good ideas by stating "they want to open an abattoir (slaughterhouse) here, they have good projects in line, and it always takes a little bit longer because resources right, without political support it's difficult". However, since then both Joe and the CEO left Sməlqmix Investments Ltd due to how political the process became, stating "I'm now concentrating on myself because politics all have to fall under their government run stuff, so instead of counting on them like I was always told, you go out and make yourself a job, you will bring in people and you will hire people just like Clarence (Louie, Osoyoos Indian Band Chief)". He notes that diminished capabilities precipitate politicization by stating "our weakness is our policy writers, we don't have the capacity to have a trained professional. You have to have good proposal writers". Joe feels LSIB would have greater capacity if colonial institutions provided more equitable relations with extra-local partners which could have led to gains in their access to resources, stating "We wouldn't be in this situation if (government) would have even just been fair and give us 50% and we could have changed things back in the day".

The Hedley Community Land Trust Initiative

Kim moved to the Keremeos area 'accidentally' over a decade ago and met up with a friend of hers from the lower mainland who also recently moved to the area. The two of them started a Hedley Community Land Trust Initiative with the goal of ensuring housing stock in Hedley remains equitable given the impending gentrification of the area. But instead of being viewed in a positive light, Kim describes how the Hedley community viewed their efforts as a threat to the community, mistrusting them as outsiders seeking to change the community to their own benefit. She notes "the pushback from a small group of people was so great that we decided to take it out of Hedley, and the study got moved to Kelowna. The challenge was it got to a point where it became very volatile in the community. My safety, our house was vandalized. There was a lot of violence against us. The misconception and fear around the people in Hedley was 'if I haven't heard of this Community Land Trust, then obviously it doesn't work'". She notes how a lack of capabilities and community power may breed conditions where self-interest prevails by stating "certainly in a community like Hedley where there's resistance to government, to real organization because there's fear, there's mistrust around people with greater education from outsiders. So there's always that polarization of us and them because self-interests dominate (and) if you're on the wrong side, your life is miserable living hell". Since then, property values in Hedley continue to rise due to increasing in-migration from larger centres.

The Mascot Mine Divestment

In the early 2000s the province divested the Mascot Mine as a resource for USIB to gain tourism potential, but did so in a way which left the venue less viable to make profit. Robin states "the Mascot Mine has been a blessing and a curse. The province wasn't interested in being the caretaker anymore and the intention was to protect the site and create economic development for the local First Nations. I think the intentions were good, but the sustainability and long term viability of a business like that just wasn't really well thought out. It was served to USIB as an opportunity, and what it really became was a responsibility". The challenge had to do with requiring extensive staff expense regardless of revenue taken in, as Robin notes "the economic problem was how do you get enough bodies up to the site in a way that isn't going to cost a lot".

Robin describes how investors wanted to build a gondola to Mascot Mine and the community was excited about the proposal, but the only suitable site has contamination due to previous mining, and the province wouldn't compel the owners to remediate the site or assist with costs, so the proposal was abandoned. She states "so they had $20 million on the table, they were ready to build a gondola, but once we realized the level of contamination, the investors ran". Kim feels the gondola proposal spoke to the community's mining history and how this shaped the 'placeness' of the area by stating "people were excited about it, that spoke to the community, that is what they're proud of right, history of mining. People seeing that we have a great asset which could be heightened, maybe we're getting to a place of readiness". Yet the result demonstrates how extra-local interests fail to facilitate conditions for local success, as Robin notes "the outcome

is going to be a direct reflection of what was the intention at the beginning. And so we need to be honest about was the intention of offloading that site to USIB. Was the intention to protect a historical site or was (it) to build economic capacity for a First Nation. The outcome kind of speaks for itself, it's very short sighted".

Strategies Being Undertaken

SimCo Restructuring

SimCo is currently working to regain their footing in the community by working with SVPS and SIW to build shared vision for tourism development. They're also leveraging resources by collaborating with RDOS and LSCSS on community events. Mac states "I'm just trying to bring the (business) community back together" and notes "we've got a very good VP and more Directors and just that alone, they (local businesses) are excited to come back and join the fold. SimCo is mobilizing resources to offer better membership services, as Joan states "we weren't giving our members any reason to be members, so the focus has been what can we do for our members. We've split our operations (with the Info Centre), but we now have a working chamber, we know how much money is available to come up with plans and ideas". Joan feels that SimCo needs a few success stories to compel further participation and states "(it would be great to) find a consultant to look at things one on one (with businesses). It'd be nice if we could have a few successes we could say 'well, we've helped this person'".

LSCSS Leveraging Resources

LSCSS is striving to work more closely with LSIB to leverage collective needs, as Brian notes "if we combine our needs and the First Nations' needs, it would probably be a large enough group, and there's an economy of scale for that". LSCSS is also realizing synergies with senior government by building and operating affordable housing, with Brian noting "the whole area of housing, pursuing it meets a need for society (and) gives us consistent revenue". This approach seems fruitful given how it aligns with senior government priorities. They also plan to leverage housing resources to address their human resource challenges, as Brian notes "we're continuously short of line staff, and we could actually have five suites that we just rotate workers who come and hopefully they start living in the community". As the housing development they're undertaking includes a new office space, LSCSS also plan to convert their old office into daycare, both realizing a new revenue stream while providing another vital service for the community. Once these new resources are mobilized, they plan to build further capacity with Brian stating "once we stabilize with the potential we have now, somebody can spend more time seeking out programs and doing developmental work".

Village of Keremeos Revitalization Efforts

Due to Marg's extensive capabilities, VoK was able to secure millions of dollars worth of grants to improve the commercial core infrastructure, with Manfred noting "we have really provided a perfect picture frame for businesses to be successful". Revitalization has been a core component of how VoK is trying to champion place-based development, with Marg stating "the downtown (needs to) just be more appealing to spend time in and be a place where travelers want to stop". Her strong proposal writing capabilities have even allowed VoK to find funding for community led initiatives such as public murals and accessibility, with Marg noting "the wheelchair ramp that's being built right now at the end of 11th was another thing based on trying to paint the town as fully accessible". Such initiatives are vital to building resilient rural communities.

USIB and LSIB Industry Partnerships

"You can wait for the Supreme Court, you can wait for title and rights, you can wait for decisions. But ultimately, we're not asking for people to respect the rights of (First Nations), we're demanding it" – Robin Irwin, USIB Natural Resources Director

USIB has been able to leverage their natural resources to enable their nation to build expertise and capacity, with Robin noting "when you have this much industry around you, you end up with experts in water quality, health of water systems, teaching, running daycare, growing and harvesting, understanding the local landscape, geography, geology and all the Indigenous knowledge". Joe notes how the shifting industrial landscape holds potential for LSIB as well by stating "our forestry division started (with) the forest and range agreement to the government and logging. It was a government initiative where they finally come to the table and give us a little bit". Robin feels that industrial buy-in helps to forge mutually beneficial arrangements between First Nations and industry by stating "(the) unintended side effect of having a logging division is that we're intrinsically involved in forestry so we're not just policing or halting but finding a responsible balance. If we sit down at the table with these folks (industrial partners), we educate them. We let them know what the rules of the game are for operating in this territory. And once you've got that foundation, you have a partnership".

Robin sees opportunity for Indigenous communities to play a role as 'guardianship stewards' for the lands and natural resources, which can help build capacity to undertake sustainable CED practices in their traditional territories. She notes "We are now doing reforestation prescriptions and remediation from a traditional knowledge perspective, that's building capacity in allowing nation members who know their backyard better than anybody to guide that healing prescription. We're buying high quality drones and the next thing you know you're getting calls to say 'hey can you run out there and send us footage' and it's starting to build its own sort of opportunity machine". This has helped to build latitude with industrial partners, as

Robin notes “our relationship with Weyerhauser has taken almost a complete turn around. We’re dividing tasks, sharing responsibilities and have a meaningful role at the table so we can build our capacity further”.

This is also helping USIB to take on local responsibilities typically undertaken by senior government, as Robin states “it’s become apparent especially in this catastrophic last year (unprecedented winter flooding affecting the Fraser Valley and Princeton area) that Indigenous leadership is deeply required. The province is not able to get here, there’s not enough wildfire people or flood mitigators. And so USIB ended up sending field technicians who have mapping programs and lots of experience doing forestry and archaeological work, they were able to go and support Princeton, helping to map and do geo-referenced imaging. We became the eyes and ears on the ground as technical support for that work”.

USIB plans to use these capabilities to build their community capacity and seize opportunities to maintain natural resources operations for senior government entities on a contract basis, as Robin states “I’m looking forward for long term stability for First Nations people who really know the land better than anybody, to start filling those gaps for the province, to be funded technicians, funded fisheries people, forestry technicians, silviculture, and really support that workload for government. We can start to develop a business that will support those environmental issues and initiatives on a broader scale”. Joe agrees this approach is viable for legitimating industrial interests while reducing senior government’s dominion over local Indigenous communities by stating “the only way to make change, you build relationships and they start forcing the government’s hand. Business started changing the mindset to start working directly with First Nations, now government has had to step up and start working with First Nations because they know they’re behind the eight ball”.

Conclusions

As this chapter demonstrates, the research participants interviewed have explored the key themes of place, agency and institutions that are so formative in the literature on rural development. The theme of place expresses itself within the place-based development potential provided by agricultural transition to added-value production and the general public perception of rural inferiority stemming from legacies of exploitative urban/rural dynamics. The theme of agency expresses itself through local apprehension toward development resulting from lack of community power and how the presupposition of local government responsibility inhibits the general public from precipitating it endogenously. Lastly, the theme of institutions expresses itself through how predominant institutional arrangements eventuate rural inferiority and decline through barriers and externalities which limit local autonomy and the necessity for rural communities to challenge such arrangements to forge their own paths for endogenous development. It is noted that Indigenous communities offer hope for rural areas by challenging and rearticulating these arrangements to the advantage of their communities and interests. These thematic areas offer a strong basis for devising a thorough analysis of local prospects for endogenous development.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Analysis

Introduction

This study has highlighted how capacity limitations experienced by rural communities directly shape their perceptions about the viability of locally led CED initiatives, thus influencing the extent to which they feel compelled to organize local agency for the advancement of endogenous development. This chapter relates the research findings to that of the literature on community capacity and endogenous development through a discussion of the overarching research questions, provides a range of policy recommendations which could be implemented by senior government and the community level to enhance prospects for endogenous development, and summarizes the Keremeos area's community capacity building profile to further contextualize the findings within the auspices of the conceptual and theoretical frameworks employed by this study. Within the following discussion of the overarching research questions, it is noted that question 1 has been omitted as it merely contains descriptive information which has already been covered at the beginning of the previous chapter.

Answering the Research Questions

The Presupposition of Rural Inferiority

"I believe in local wealth of knowledge and of money, and we have so much of it. But when you come from a place of deficit, it's really hard to see that"
– Kim English, Co-Founder of the Hedley Community Land Trust Initiative

In answering the question 'what are these actors' perceptions of their community's economic development and where do these ideas come from (i.e., how do they gain an understanding of CED)?', it is noted that local perceptions indicate the broad public has 'drunken the kool aid' of rural inferiority which has been presupposed and projected onto rural areas through the framework of prevailing urban/rural dynamics engrained within predominant institutional arrangements in Canadian society (Markey et al., 2008, pp. 409, 419, 2012a, p. 104). While the local actors interviewed appear to favour CED generally, the broad consensus about development among the public views it with reluctance, arising from a concern for a perceived lack of community power over process. This is further evidenced by the deficit of individual capacities and financial resources displayed within the local statistics. Accordingly, such perceptions stoke fear that private interests would benefit above community interests, that development may not align with the community's agricultural and environmental values, or that it will simply lead to property tax increases which will precipitate unaffordability among longtime residents. Observations made within my local government work confirm this sentiment.

This engrained perception of inferiority limits local agency for CED by conditioning the public away from thinking that local innovation and risk taking has capacity to surmount the predominant institutional arrangements which reinforce and recreate such perceptions (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1644; Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 161–163). This suggests the sheer lack of community power over process strongly factors into the reconstruction of such local sentiments (Krawchenko, 2012, pp. 18–19), thus diminishing the extent to which community capacity building may emerge endogenously among longtime residents (Gibbon et al., 2002, pp. 485–486). Local perceptions are further exacerbated through geospatial and internal divisions (Breen et al., 2019, p. 21) which shape the community's ability to develop their collective sense of belonging and commitment – thus constraining the community's overall capacities for problem assessment and resolution and critical awareness for change – limiting their ability to develop the community power necessary to advance endogenous development (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 296–297, 310; Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 272–273). This precipitates a 'stunted public imagination' which reinforces rural power asymmetries (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 162). Accordingly, the broad public must learn to realize how predominant institutional arrangements work to reconstruct their sense of rural inferiority in order to liberate their thinking toward an embrace of collective resolve and the utility of local agency in order to recognize their true prospects for endogenous development.

Collaboration Premised Upon Self-Interest

"It's been very siloed everyone has their own initiatives and moving stuff forward and a lot of communities are very proprietary. They feel it's their own back yard, their tax base"
– Robin Irwin, USIB Natural Resources Director

In answering the question 'how do these actors work together (or not) and what are the main institutional vehicles to support CED processes?', it is noted that local actors largely work together by realizing synergies and leveraging resources. Both approaches are viewed in the literature as having potential to overcome funding challenges precipitated by a lack of senior government support for local development initiatives (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, pp. 78–79) by working to strategically utilize local resources in ways which enhance their effective mobilization. The realization of synergies is observed through VoK and LSCSS actions to join-up efforts with LSIB and develop economies of scale for service area programming and opportunities to enhance day care services. These can be seen as viable efforts for endogenously strengthening associative relations to capitalize on collective needs and assets (Markey et al., 2005a, p. 132; Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, p. 849) and reflects how increased collaboration among local Indigenous and non-Indigenous interests presents a critical juncture through which predominant institutional arrangements are challenged in ways which help precipitate their evolution (Thelen, 1999, p. 388). Synergies are also observed through SimCo working with RDOS Recreation Services and LSCSS on community events which align all of their interests, demonstrating how mutually beneficial arrangements work to incentivize ongoing interactions (Gibbon et al., 2002, p. 486; Gibson, 2019, p. 83).

The leveraging of resources is observed within how SIW members are more compelled than other businesses to work together and build a shared vision for their operations in ways which allow them to mutually benefit from their collective action. This mentality is seen as precipitating a strong sense of belonging and commitment within their organization premised upon a sense of connection to place and the fulfillment of collective needs through membership (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 261). This is observed through how SIW members willingly share staff, exchange expertise, bundle amenities to build collective tourism potential and develop a brand strategy and marketing plans which help to carve out a sense of 'placeness' within the local economy. This too is seen as challenging predominant institutional arrangements by applying local knowledge, capabilities and resources within a context of localized learning to confront barriers to industrial path development (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1643), demonstrating how local actor agency can precipitate transition to place-based development in spite of external pressures. An HI lens views this as presenting a new 'logic of action' which serves to cultivate a new development path through layering revisions onto existing institutional arrangements, with capacity to supplant them over time (Streeck & Thelen, 2005, pp. 18, 21, 24).

In terms of how these local actors don't work together with respect to their main institutional vehicles for CED process, it is noted that SVPS is not being utilized for its collaborative governance potential, as each member jurisdiction seems to be advancing initiatives in more of a proprietary fashion. This demonstrates how predominant institutional arrangements preclude senior government investment in local capacity building, favouring instead for development to be left to prevailing market forces which presuppose, contribute to and eventuate rural inferiority and decline (Breen et al., 2019, p. 16; Markey et al., 2008, p. 419). Such conditions can be seen as limiting the extent to which a broader development capacity may be realized, as the lack of linkages enabling new resources and knowledge signal a continuation of a top-down neoliberal policy framework at the local level (Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, p. 853). SVPS also demonstrates what Gibson describes as the 'governance conundrum' – in which the potential benefit of collaboration is realized but is matched with the inability or unwillingness for local participants to do so – typically precipitated by lack of human capacity, limited levels of trust or a dearth of common interests among actors (Gibson, 2019, p. 88). As demonstrated within the qualitative interviews, the lack of human capacity among different local interests may account for why proprietary actions are typically advanced and why local collaborative governance has not evolved past ad-hoc efforts premised upon mere self-interest despite the utility of a more horizontal and concerted approach to endogenous development.

The public sentiment presupposing VoK responsibility over CED also limits the extent to which local collaboration emerges endogenously as it reinforces the notion of implicit top-down relations archetypal of the state intervention development era, thus recreating past legacies which fail to recognize the utility of new development paths for surmounting predominant institutional arrangements (Breen et al., 2019, pp. 26–27). This is further stoked by increasing in-migration from larger centres, resulting in newer residents who don't contribute to community development to the same extent as previous generations and whose expectations of municipally centralized economic development – carried forward from their communities of origin – has become projected onto VoK despite such expectations being out of sync with both locally available resources or their

own willingness to pay additional property taxes to facilitate such efforts. This too can be seen through the auspices of how predominant institutional arrangements have conditioned a deference to authority in ways that reproduce stable patterns of interaction over time which inhibit institutional evolution and change (Thelen, 1999, p. 397). Both newer and longtime residents would benefit from a recognition of how limited municipal capacity compels the need to abandon narrow self-interest in favour of the participatory action necessary to sustain long-term community-based development processes (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 164).

A Place-Based Approach to Development

In answering the question 'what actions have they (local actors) taken to date to support CED and what are their ideas for the community's future?', it is noted that local efforts largely reflect a place-based approach to development. As shown within the review of local policy documents and echoed within qualitative interviews, VoK has leveraged Marg's strong grant writing capabilities to action revitalization efforts by securing funds from extra-local partners. These funds have been used to devise a Downtown Revitalization Plan and a Business Retention and Resident Attraction Strategy along with infrastructural upgrades to the commercial core water services, curb flares and sidewalks, wheelchair ramps and enhancements to the Village's sewage treatment plant necessary to capacitate further development. Efforts of this nature can be seen as contributing to the Keremeos area's 'competitive advantage' through acquisition of the physical infrastructure and concerted strategies necessary to advance a place-based approach to development (Markey, 2010, p. 3). An HI lens indicates such efforts are fruitful largely due to how they align with the priorities of government funding bodies (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 14), which speaks to the utility of Marg's individual capabilities and leadership in navigating such parameters (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 297–298). Yet as described within the qualitative interviews, the Keremeos area runs the risk of falling into the trap of leadership dependence if they fail to imbibe others with similar capabilities at the community level, leading efforts to advance place-based development in VoK to stagnate upon Marg's retirement (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 262).

SimCo's restructuring also reflects a place-based approach to development. By focusing efforts toward chamber development to offer their members with services which enhance their business operations, SimCo is working to help build capacity for local agency by fostering conditions for entrepreneurship and innovation within the local business community. This can be seen as establishing the business community as the 'main unit of analysis' in determining appropriate community-based solutions to locally specific development matters, with entrepreneurial patters of congruence (i.e., broader frameworks for collective marketing) serving as evaluative criteria for their strategic effectiveness in responding to changing local circumstances (Diochon, 2003, pp. 6–8). This approach may help to harness innovative strategies to build place-based competitive advantage in support of a broader economic transformation agenda championing endogenously led development (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1639). Conversely, the lack of available grants for chamber development explicates the advancement of economic over social priorities within senior government funding parameters, failing to transform power

relations necessary to precipitate coordinated local agency as a result (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, pp. 10, 80). The irony being that doing so would likely pay economic dividends.

A less obvious example of how place-based development is being advanced is found within the LSCSS strategy of leveraging their new housing resources to attract additional human resource capacity. The establishment of working synergies with senior government through aligned interests pertaining to affordable housing demonstrates how LSCSS has effectively utilized links to extra-local supports to acquire resources which may be mobilized in ways that enhance the availability of individual capabilities, thus helping to build community capacity as a result (Chaskin, 2001, pp. 297–298; Gibbon et al., 2002, pp. 486–487). Although such efforts do not fit within the prevailing framework of enhancing place-based attributes to attract increased economic activity through market differentiation, it does contribute to a place-based capacity building agenda by working to dismantle barriers to social capital production, increasing the availability of individual capabilities necessary to further local operational needs and bringing in wealth generating assets necessary for advancing additional community-based initiatives (Chaskin, 2001, p. 319; Markey et al., 2005a, pp. 134–135). This is furthered through how such efforts will aid LSCSS in building out their administrative capacity to undertake additional programs once revenue generated through their housing resources is realized and additionally within their plan to convert their old office space into daycare, working to further dismantle barriers to social capital production while realizing additional revenue as a result. Conversely, an HI lens would indicate that such trajectories wouldn't be possible if not for how well they align with current senior government interests, signifying the tenuous nature of local initiatives and how easily their trajectories may be swayed by minor shifts in senior government funding priorities (Krawchenko, 2016, pp. 14–15).

In terms of local actors' ideas for the community's future, both the qualitative interviews and local statistics seem to indicate high favourability for agricultural transition to added-value production and activities. This includes building a complement of place-based assets, amenities and niche market products for showcasing to visitors who pass along the Highway 3 corridor and working to enhance capacity to construct fulsome and inclusive strategies for place-based branding, marketing and development – premised upon local values and identity – which distinguish the area from other comparable markets (Markey et al., 2019, pp. 104–105). An HI lens recognizes how such actions work to redeploy existing institutional arrangements toward a new or changed set of goals, facilitating new development pathways as a result (Krawchenko, 2012, p. 28). As local statistics indicate a strong prevalence of individual capabilities pertaining to agriculture, competencies and knowledge already present in the community could easily be leveraged and built upon to upgrade the existing industrial path toward niche development for unique product offerings and related variety diversification which repurposes competencies for different applications related to agri-tourism (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1641). However, like most things uncovered throughout this study, predominant institutional arrangements (via ALC regulations) appear fixated on preventing such actions from being scaled up for implementation among a broad range of local actors, favouring instead to champion the activities of large holdings and corporate based agricultural property owners at the expense of 'mom and pop' operations. Challenging such forces may be necessary to truly forge this development path.

Legacies of Extra-Local Institutional Oppression

In answering the question 'how do the policies or programs of senior governments hinder endogenous development?', it is noted that senior governments tend to impose externalities for rural communities to contend with while providing minimal financial support to mitigate their impact. Accordingly, such conditions should precipitate extra-local entities to imbibe rural communities with the necessary capacity to ensure their economic viability within the parameters which these predominant institutional arrangements have conceived for rural communities to persist within.

The Mascot Mine divestment being executed without a concerted senior government strategy to ensure its economic viability as a heritage site demonstrates such externality, as it highlights how senior government priorities for rural areas are conceived in ways which don't take into account how they will be operationalized in alignment with local capacity or interests (Diochon, 2003, p. 6). This runs counter to place-based development by failing to take into account a fulsome understanding of the local development landscape, precipitating institutional inflexibilities which result in suboptimal development trajectories (Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, p. 1141). In light of such circumstances, it's easy to see how a lack of community power over process and links to extra-local supports via predominant institutional arrangements work to eventuate rural inferiority and decline (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 271; Markey et al., 2008, p. 419).

Externalities are further expressed through how prevailing ALC regulations serve to uphold historical inequities by working to prevent small holdings farms from maximizing the economic potential of their property through prohibitions on non-farm uses which complement farm practices (such as agritourism and farm retail); a burden which is unequally placed on small holdings farms over those held by corporate interests (i.e., large scale wineries which are permitted to implement non-farm use amenities with greater ease). This explicates the oppressive nature of urban/rural dynamics by demonstrating how extra-local policy decisions – typically made in large urban centres in absence of sufficient local context or knowledge – work to shape and constrain the extent of new development path trajectories in rural communities, eventuating rural decline as a result (Markey et al., 2012a, p. 104; Thelen, 1999, pp. 392–393; Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, pp. 1147–1148). While it is observed that the Keremeos area contains a strong resource base and potential for additional place-based development, the constraints imposed by ALC regulations inhibit the extent to which locally held resources may be effectively mobilized in pursuit of endogenous development (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 144).

Senior government arrangements also inhibit the viability of endogenous development through grant funding bodies that only seem to support local initiatives which align with senior government priorities and interests (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 6). This is explicated by how senior government grants received by VoK are primarily limited to infrastructure projects – as opposed to developing concerted public capacity for advancing CED – as well as how SimCo funding contributions are limited to their tourist information centre operations and preclude allocation to chamber development for building local agency capacity. Such funding contingencies can be seen

as steering local initiatives and interests toward specific directions which may not align with circumstances experienced at the community level (Markey et al., 2012b, pp. 139–140), thus undermining their ability to forge a truly endogenous approach to development as a consequence (Krawchenko, 2016, p. 15). In this respect, senior government grant funding policies contribute to the eventuation of rural inferiority and decline by limiting the extent of non-contingent extra-local resource investment necessary to precipitate a place-based approach to development (Aref et al., 2010, p. 175; Markey et al., 2012b, p. 161, 2019, pp. 118–119).

Senior government arrangements also impose externalities onto rural communities through red tape and development parameters confined within narrow election cycles (Markey et al., 2012b, p. 142). This is evidenced through the process of upgrading the VoK sewage treatment plant, USIB attempts to navigate reserve land approvals processes to realize profit from their natural resources and their decisions to abandon certain development trajectories based on temporal misalignment with senior government interests. This may be seen as stifling the institutional evolution necessary to advance endogenous development by inhibiting long term community learning processes that build capacity for problem assessment and resolution and critical awareness for change which make the combination of vertical, horizontal and bottom-up policies more viable to flourish (Goodman et al., 1998, p. 266; Vázquez-Barquero & Rodríguez-Cohard, 2016, p. 1138). This is further compounded by the sheer lack of expertise support via the absence of the Keremeos area's provincial economic development lead, signifying how senior governments fail to mitigate their adverse impact on rural communities through in-kind support.

Endogenous development is also hindered by regional governance arrangements at the RDOS board. As highlighted in the qualitative interviews and community profile, inequitable regional relations at the RDOS board presuppose the primacy of the Okanagan component, thus upholding the self-interest of Okanagan residents at the expense of Similkameen local autonomy over development matters. Such regional governance arrangements undermine the cultivation of resilient development trajectories by limiting access to extra-local resources and knowledge from a broader sphere necessary to advance endogenous development (Chaskin, 2001, p. 298; Vasstrøm & Normann, 2019, p. 864). Conversely, such arrangements also work to downplay local knowledge by working to confine development matters within a framework that favours a uniform perspective which undermines local contextual factors (Thelen, 1999, p. 394). This is evidenced in how RDOS staff tend towards a 'one size fits all' approach which values a primarily cosmopolitan perspective that fails to acknowledge the nuanced experiences rural areas persist within (Markey et al., 2019, pp. 113, 119). My own observations working with RDOS on development matters for VoK also confirms this, as staff have tended to exert expertise control over Similkameen development decisions while also being inattentive to local needs due to their inaccessibility precipitated by extensive development files in the Okanagan component of the region. Such uniform and inattentive approaches to regional governance undermine the capacity to devise a place-based development agenda which truly reflects the existing strengths and capabilities of the Keremeos area (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1639). As such, this precludes the presence of effective partnerships between top-down state actors and bottom-up community interests necessary to precipitate viable rural development (Markey et al., 2008, p. 419).

A Framework for Indigenous Community Economic Resilience

In answering the question 'how do the policies or programs of senior governments support endogenous development?', it is noted that Indigenous guardianship programs and industry partnerships may provide a viable means for Indigenous communities to realize their potential for endogenous development. This is demonstrated within USIB and LSIB's natural resource endeavours, which are helping to acquire the individual capabilities and expertise necessary to scale up their capacity building efforts while providing a means to integrate their traditional Indigenous knowledge into local industrial practices (Chaskin, 2001, p. 308; Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1648). As industry is increasingly striving to legitimate their operations in traditional territories through Indigenous partnerships, strong Indigenous capacity to undertake natural resource activities which reflect their community interests can help forge mutually beneficial arrangements which strike a balance for both parties, while ensuring local control and oversight are maintained (Breen et al., 2019, p. 25). Amicable industry partnerships can thus help to increase Indigenous community capacity by ensuring equitable partnerships are set in place which help to bring in financial resources that can be mobilized to build further capacity for both Indigenous led natural resource-based activities as well as their own community development (Gibbon et al., 2002, pp. 486–487). This can be seen as working to challenge predominant institutional arrangements by forging a new development path which undermines the continued domination over Indigenous communities and resources while realigning interests of both industry and senior government toward the local level (Streeck & Thelen, 2005, p. 7).

By providing Indigenous communities with greater opportunities to exercise responsibility over stewardship of their traditional lands and resources, guardianship programs can help to advance local autonomy over resource-based decision making through increased application of traditional Indigenous knowledge within industrial and regulatory processes, thus enabling bottom-up policy capacity to proliferate and inform senior government action (Grillitsch & Asheim, 2018, p. 1644). This can be seen as increasing community power over process by ensuring that such matters align with prevailing local interests (Goodman et al., 1998, pp. 270–271). Once sufficient capacity is developed, this framework can further enable Indigenous communities to utilize their expertise and traditional Indigenous knowledge to manage land-based activities on behalf of senior government, as demonstrated through how USIB is leveraging their expertise for flooding and wildfire mitigation efforts. This can help precipitate mutually beneficial arrangements by reducing senior government expenditures and advancing Indigenous community capacity and local cultural interests in land and natural resource management by enabling them to be the 'eyes and ears' of senior government at the ground level, providing further opportunities for bottom-up policy development (Krawchenko & Cassin, 2013, p. 81; Markey, 2010, p. 4). This will allow senior government to realize synergies which enable them to better devise policy strategies which resonate with local interests, outsource operations in ways which enable more efficient use of scarce financial resources, provide Indigenous communities with capacity building opportunity which genuinely enables their equal partnership through utilization of traditional Indigenous knowledge and local resource autonomy, and allow senior government to better meet their UNDRIP obligations.

Unexpected Findings

The USIB's efforts to enhance community capacity through natural resource endeavours was an unexpected finding which emerged through this study and speaks to how well the community have been able to adapt a critical awareness for change which has enabled them to collectively organize and mobilize their resources in a concerted fashion. The significance of this finding has to do with how it demonstrates a rejection of the inherent rural inferiority which has been presupposed and projected onto rural communities by working to integrate their local values, interests and knowledge within the broader industrial framework championed and upheld by predominant institutional arrangements, challenging and rearticulating these arrangements to the advantage of their community as a result. By striving to take on functions typically held within the purview of senior government, their efforts have capacity to transform Crown-Indigenous relations in ways which may enable a framework for Indigenous communities to become major employers in rural communities throughout Canada, helping to forge a new pathway for truly endogenous development.

Policy Recommendations for Enhancing Prospects for Endogenous Development

In light of this study's findings, the following recommendations have been identified as having potential to help enhance prospects for endogenous development in the Keremeos area.

Senior Government Recommendations

The status quo of current urban/rural relations indicates that senior government is too cosmopolitan in both its outlook and location of prevailing operations, thus diminishing their ability to effectively liaise with rural communities to tailor policy solutions which align with rural priorities and interests. Senior government needs to establish greater presence in rural communities by embedding staff via remote work arrangements, ideally through hiring and supporting locals to serve as ground level partners for rural communities to leverage extra-local expertise and resources. Although roughly twenty staff members are currently embedded across all regions of the province to serve such functions (Province of British Columbia, n.d.), this is a large area to cover and they may be under-resourced. The qualitative interviews indicate that there are capacity challenges with these positions. This signifies the necessity for rural community members to be hired into senior government remote work arrangements and supported to serve such functions – even if such matters only comprise a segment of their work responsibilities – as doing so may help to confront urban-rural power asymmetries through diminished cosmopolitan monopoly over senior government policy management. Such practice could help facilitate top-down and bottom-up policy alignment necessary to advance endogenous development, foster conditions of stronger

collaborative governance and bring extra-local resources into the community through staff wages which help to ensure the economic viability of rural communities as a result.

ALC should consider implementing a 'small holdings exemption' policy which enables small farms to undertake non-farm business activities which comply with the form and character of agricultural community standards (i.e., not for industrial uses, but rather for added value production and services such as farm retail and restaurants featuring locally produced agricultural products). This may help struggling small farmers to realize increased income potential of agricultural property while safeguarding its productive capacity and output. This could be supplemented by policies which enable rooftop farming as a trade-off for productive land which may be impacted from non-farm business activities under this proposed policy.

As highlighted within the qualitative interviews, ALC should also consider placing a cap on the amount of agricultural land which can be used for wineries to prevent corporate entities from buying up all the producible lands and thus driving up land values to such levels that small holdings farms are no longer economically viable. Although wineries in the Keremeos area play a vital role in a place-based development strategy, concern for sprawl in winery related activities may also serve to diminish the overall quality of products produced locally, and given the potential to adversely impact the diversity of other agricultural activities undertaken in rural areas, such restrictions may be prudent to ensure small holdings farms can continue to persist within the transition to value added agricultural production comprising the current trajectory of place-based development. Any cap on winery activities should also be implemented equitably within the province to prevent concentration within particularly advantageous regions.

ALC should also consider a policy which only permits future ALC land exclusions for social or affordable housing and not just for expensive subdivisions catering to wealthy aging in-migrants. As ALC land exclusions are typically undertaken in rural areas, such policy may help rural communities to attract younger families and strengthen local labour capacity while enhancing community belonging and commitment necessary to advance endogenous development. Given the Keremeos area's demographic profile, this may help to ensure availability of working age residents to service the needs of the large aging population while ensuring the area's continued economic viability as a result.

To further enhance rural area housing viability, senior government needs to consider implementing policies which amend eligibility criteria for government run social housing to consider overall wealth and not just income. Aging residents in the Keremeos area have intimated plans to sell their property at the highest amounts possible, only to then move into social housing as it is currently run on an income basis and does not account for their accumulated wealth. Given the current housing crisis, such actions should disqualify them from social housing as it runs counter to the intent of these programs. Accordingly, qualification should be contingent upon selling any held property to younger families at an affordable price. This can also help to ensure in-migration of younger families to ensure availability of working age residents while safeguarding scarce social housing units for those who warrant the intent of such programs.

Senior government should also consider amending the community futures development corporation model to include consultancy services for rural areas to provide extra-local expertise and resources necessary to realize their place-based development potential. This may help diminish rural communities' aversion to risk through increased links to extra-local supports, thus facilitating locally produced innovation necessary for rural communities to begin overcoming reluctance to development through realization of community power. This may help to shift perceptions away from presupposing rural inferiority through the alignment of senior government interests with that of the rural communities they purport to serve. The community futures development corporation model is renowned for its successes throughout Canada, making it an optimal organization to both implement and scale up such activities.

Lastly, senior government should consider either training local residents to operate the provincial youth drug rehabilitation centre located in the Keremeos area which it persists on opening and closing periodically over the years or divest the facility to the local First Nations – with ongoing funding support – to operate as their own culturally appropriate venue. The former option would provide viability for the facility to recommence operations as a youth drug rehabilitation centre, a service which continues to be desperately needed in the province, as previous operator issues seemed to persist due to the inability to attract the necessary qualified staff to live in the Keremeos area. The latter option would see that the facility would be used in a way which suits the interests of the local First Nations, perhaps providing an additional stream of revenue for advancing Indigenous led CED.

Community Level Recommendations

It is evident through the qualitative interviews that local actors need to address the perception of rural inferiority within the business community to bring public sentiment to a place of readiness for endogenous development. This can be advanced through supporting efforts to strengthen local actor networks via SimCo restructuring and increased collaboration with SIW. Positive messaging which reinforces the potential for place-based development through concerted action should be consistently disseminated to increase buy-in for collective action as a means to surmount perceived inferiority, reinforced by leadership premised upon dialogue and inclusivity.

Local actors should also work to implement a pluralistic leadership mentality at the network level to cultivate a range of leadership capabilities distributed within the community. This may help to ensure a plurality of leaders which may counter leadership dependence and build a more collaborative local framework for collectivist pursuits. By continuously seeking out and nurturing leadership capabilities, local actors can help build a local actor network with sufficient critical awareness for change and problem assessment and resolution necessary to mobilize local resources toward greater prospects for endogenous development.

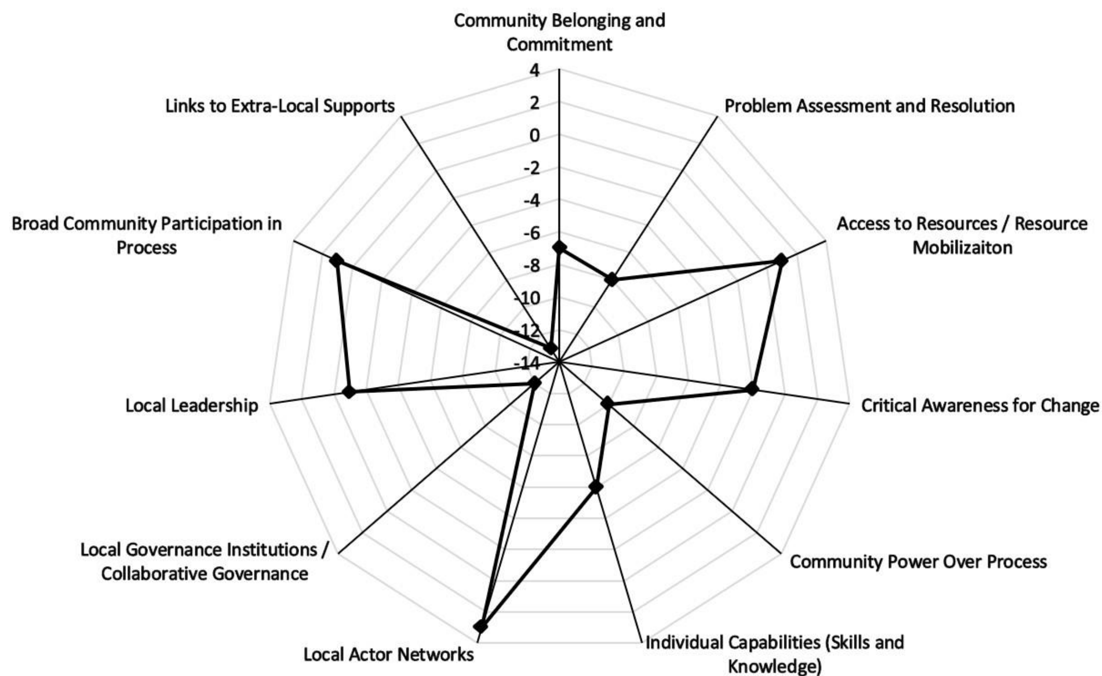
Once local actor networks are strengthened, efforts should be made to enhance broad participation in a process of planning how to endogenously develop unique offerings and local products which feature the local assets, knowledge and creativity of the area – with strong

emphasis on those aspects which reflect the historical and cultural context of 'placeness' that align with prevailing community values. Collective strategies should then be locally developed to leverage the breadth of local assets, capitalize on Highway 3 traffic, attract younger families and incentivize business community participation within a broader place-based development framework. SVPS may serve as the optimal venue for such planning processes and could enable greater collaborative governance among the core local governance parties in the Keremeos area.

Once Keremeos area local actors are at a state of readiness for place-based development, efforts should be made to mobilize local capacity to engage senior government within more equitable collaborative relations for advancing endogenous development. This should include building inroads with the local Indigenous communities to genuinely involve all parties within collective efforts and a collaborative governance framework premised upon collective community benefit must be established to demonstrate the extent of community power necessary for senior government to recognize the community's prospects for endogenous development.

Summary and Revisiting the Conceptual/Theoretical Framework

Figure 10: Keremeos Area Community Capacity Spider Web Configuration



Source: Gibbon et al. (2002), Laverack (2006) and Own Elaboration (2022)

A community capacity spider web configuration for the Keremeos area has been compiled as per Gibbon et al. (2002) and Laverack (2006) as shown in the figure above. The configuration has been calculated by reviewing all the qualitative interview transcripts for thematic areas and

highlighting every positive and negative reference to each domain of community capacity contained within, then adding the sum of all positive and negative references for each domain to arrive at the figures. Only unique references to each domain within each interview transcript were considered to mitigate duplication within the data. For example, community belonging and commitment was calculated by adding all 9 unique positive references and all 16 unique negative references within all the qualitative interview transcripts to arrive at negative 7 as the figure for this domain. When considering the figures against the sample of qualitative interviews, it is noted that while the participants largely tended toward net negative references/comments, there still appeared to be a measure of balance within the distribution such that no participants demonstrated an overwhelmingly positive or negative perspective in relation to the others (reducing the skewedness of the data). This methodology forms one way to analyse the qualitative data and summarize the main themes. Though imperfect (as bias can enter the assessment), it provides an overview.

The domains with positive figures include broad participation in process, local actor networks and access to resources/resource mobilization and speak to the efforts currently underway to realize synergies for advancing endogenous development and the prevalence of place-based assets and opportunities to leverage for such purposes as demonstrated within the qualitative interviews and the analysis above. All other domains contain negative figures – the most notable being links to extra-local supports – signifying how predominant institutional arrangements fail to provide optimal conditions for the Keremeos area (and rural communities at large) to realize place-based development potential via local autonomy over their own development path trajectories. In light of these figures and the overall research findings, the conceptual and theoretical frameworks employed throughout this study have proven useful in exploring and understanding community capacity in the Keremeos area by demonstrating how extra-local institutional forces constrain development potential in rural areas by conditioning capacities in ways which recreate prevailing urban/rural dynamics and power asymmetries.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

The findings gleaned through the qualitative interviews in this study clearly demonstrate how urban/rural power asymmetries work to adversely shape and constrain rural communities' capacity to address socio-economic challenges. The findings also confirm the literature on rural development by demonstrating how the above sentiment appears to occur primarily through deference to antiquated development policy regimes which presuppose rural inferiority and the primacy of prevailing market forces, inequitable relations with extra-local actors which favour short-term election cycles over long-term community learning processes and indentured institutional arrangements which undermine the autonomy of place. The following chapter briefly highlights some of the strategic and research implications arising from this study, notes limitations of the analysis provided, proposes areas for potential further research and provides final reflections about the Keremeos area's and other rural communities' prospects for endogenous development.

Strategic and Research Implications

In terms of strategic implications, this study has strived to describe the conditions which shape and constrain development potential in the Keremeos area and can be used as a basis for beginning to formulate strategies for leveraging the area's place-based assets and opportunities to advance endogenous development. By highlighting how public sentiment has informed current development trajectories and ambitions, this study has provided insight into how local agency has been conditioned toward a deference to authority which has limited concerted actions to precipitate endogenous development through ground level action. Accordingly, by acknowledging this situation the community can be better equipped to surmount this status quo in a more proactive way to realize their potential for endogenous development through collective actions helping to overcome the prevailing sentiment of rural inferiority and decline which currently inhibits such efforts.

By identifying deficiencies within various domains of community capacity in the Keremeos area, local actors may be better equipped to address how they may strategically organize to more efficiently mitigate such deficiencies. This can help advance a community capacity building agenda that considers the full breadth of natural and societal resources which may be leveraged to make prospects for endogenous development more viable. Further, by highlighting the limited extent of collaboration over shared development matters, local actors can become more cognizant of the imperative to work toward more fulsome collaborative governance as a means to build the capacity necessary to engage senior government in more fruitful discussions about enhancing local prospects for endogenous development through extra-local support.

In terms of research implications, this study has contributed to the body of literature on rural development by highlighting how predominant institutional arrangements intimately shape rural communities' prospects for endogenous development. This has been shown to occur through imposition of top-down policies, regulations and externalities which constrain potential for ground level action within rural communities while offering limited support for mitigating the adverse impacts precipitated by conditions which predominant institutional arrangements have conceived for rural communities to persist within. The implications of such findings indicate that senior government needs to do more to bridge the gap between top-down and bottom-up policy priorities by providing a framework for rural community capacity building which allows them to leverage their local values and knowledge to devise place-based development strategies which enable them to exercise greater autonomy over natural resource decision making and the trajectories of their own preferred development paths.

This study also helps to add context to previous research in the field of rural development which have demonstrated how senior government funding bodies tend to only provide grants for local development initiatives which align with the prevailing priorities of current senior government configurations by showing how senior government is simply out of touch with the realities faced by rural communities and how top-down decision making works to thus shape and constrain rural communities' prospects for endogenous development. Accordingly, the implications of these findings further indicate that senior government needs to make efforts to further embed themselves within the purview of rural communities by fostering locals to serve as ground level agents for senior government through increased telework arrangements and Indigenous guardianship programs in order to achieve the local context necessary to effectively aid rural communities in realizing their potential for endogenous development.

Limitations of Analysis

This study has not attempted to operationalize the community capacity building process but has instead strived to unpack the domains of community capacity as highlighted in the literature and demonstrated within the research findings in order to better understand the prospects for endogenous development in the Keremeos area. Accordingly, this study also has not attempted to determine causality among the different domains of community capacity and has instead strived to conjecture their relationships within the purview of the case study community through a cursory exploration contextualized through the auspices of the prevailing literature. Lastly, this study has not attempted to unpack in great detail the nuances of how predominant institutional arrangements condition rural community development potential but has instead provided a broad overview of extra-local impacts precipitated through the research findings and as such, the policy recommendations generated reflect the same broad nature through their lack of specificity and relation to the prevailing literature on rural development.

Areas for Further Research

As per the strategic implications listed above, further research could be conducted into how prevailing public sentiment works to reconstruct perceptions of rural inferiority and how such conditions could be surmounted through strategies to enhance local agency within rural communities. Inquiry of this nature may help provide insight into the mechanics of operationalizing a community capacity building agenda and provide a greater understanding of contextual factors which shape such efforts at the ground level (both local and extra-local). Further research could also be conducted to parse out the nuances which lead public sentiment toward a deference to authority in actioning endogenous development efforts and why particular rural communities are more inclined to undertake efforts toward collective action than others given the tendency toward such deference.

Additionally, further research could also be conducted to explore the factors which precipitate internal and geospatial divisions to shape and constrain rural community potential and what actions can be taken to realize the collective sense of belonging necessary to surmount such divisions in advancing endogenous development. Such inquiry could also shed insight into how Indigenous and non-Indigenous segments of rural communities may realize workable synergies which may help to strengthen their collective potential. Lastly, this study could help inform further research into how senior government actions and policy repertoires can be better utilized to help rural communities realize a capacity building agenda necessary to advance endogenous development. All these avenues of further research have potential to provide invaluable insight that may assist rural communities in challenging the predominant institutional arrangements which continue to condition the breadth and extent of their current and future development trajectories.

Final Reflections

Local CED outcomes are directly related to inequitable institutional arrangements upheld through prevailing policies and regulations which exert too much external control over the destiny of rural communities without similar measures of in-kind external support for their long-term community capacity building. This has led to conditions where rural communities have learned to accept the presupposition of rural inferiority and decline as a 'common sense' attribute of community life, limiting prospects for endogenous development as a result. Accordingly, in order to ensure rural resiliency, senior government must work to provide rural communities with capacity to facilitate their own economic viability – which reflects local values, knowledge, identity and autonomy – thus working to counter the externalities and parameters which they and prevailing market forces have conceived for rural communities to persist within.

Authority to govern at the senior level can be severely undermined at the local level if the balance of external control and support does not enable endogenous development and local autonomy over resource-based decision making, precipitating conditions in which rural communities will have no choice but to challenge predominant institutional arrangements in order

to forge their own paths for realizing new development trajectories. Indigenous communities offer hope for rural areas to begin challenging such arrangements through guardianship programs and industry partnerships which help operationalize community capacity building agendas by rearticulating these arrangements to the advantage of their communities and interests. Accordingly, rural communities should seek out opportunities to join-up efforts with their local Indigenous communities to realize synergies which may help to leverage collective resources and shared community values in order to advance their prospects for endogenous development. Such a framework has potential to help bridge the remaining divides within rural communities, and enable them to collectively realize their true potential through a renewed sense of community power; one premised upon reverence for collective ideals and ambitions rather than mere neoliberal individualist pursuit.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

**** TURN ON THE <u>TRANSCRIPT FUNCTION</u> AND <u>VIDEO RECORDER</u> PRIOR TO STARTING!!!!!!!!***

Pre-Interview Notes

- As noted in the materials, my research is focusing on community economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley and the purpose of this interview is to understand how local community leaders view the assets, challenges and development opportunities in their communities and how they work together to achieve their collective goals.

  - This project is designed as an exploratory study meant to 'kick the tires' with respect to the Lower Similkameen Valley's potential for endogenous (i.e., bottom-up) development by investigating the experiences of those who've been actively working to advance community economic development in the area.

- The questions will examine how local actors' perceptions of development and their agency and capacity to drive bottom-up development processes impact prospects for local development in a rural context.

- The interview will be semi-structured – meaning you are free to take the interview in whatever direction you wish – and the process should take between 45 minutes to 1 hour depending on your preferences, but no minimum time threshold has been set and time commitment will remain solely at your discretion.

- The interview will also be audio and video recorded to capture your responses, but please note that no one will have access to your interview materials aside from myself and the materials will be destroyed upon completion of this project.

- Also, just a note that some of the questions may seem a bit rigid as they needed to be designed to apply to a range of participants. That being said, please take these questions with a grain of salt.

<u>Do you have any questions before we begin?</u>

… and with that let's start off with a few pre-interview items for additional context

Pre-Interview Questions

** Show copy of the 'Local Development Actor Landscape' graphic*

I compiled this graphic to highlight the local actors involved in community and economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley. Based on your experiences, can you confirm if this graphic provides a sufficient description or do you feel there are other organizations which should be included?

** Show copy of the 'Domains/Dimensions of Community Capacity Building' graphic*

I compiled this graphic to highlight the various aspects involved within the community capacity building process as specified in the literature and plan to use this as a framework to help inform our discussions as each of the domains can be considered an asset, challenge or opportunity depending on the circumstances

> I'd like to know if you wish to discuss any particular aspect of these domains or this graphic in general before we dive into our discussions?

** Show copy of the 'Note on the Term 'Development'' graphic and read out the text*

I wanted to share this to provide context because a number of the following questions refer to the term 'community economic development'

> I'd like to know if you wish to discuss this definition before we dive into our discussion?

… and with that let's move onto the interview questions

Interview Questions

1) ***General/Organizational***

Could you please tell me about yourself and your personal or professional involvement with community economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley? How have aspects of this role changed over time and how would you characterize the main direction of community economic development in the area as a whole?

Could you please provide me with a brief overview of your organization's involvement working toward community economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley? (perhaps within the past decade or so). What is your organization's main priorities in this respect?

> Are there any initiatives which you felt were particularly noteworthy for their success or continued impact in the community? What factors do you feel may account for this?

> Are there any initiatives which you felt were particularly noteworthy for their potential but which weren't as successful as intended once put into practice? What factors do you feel may account for this?

2) Barriers and Challenges

What kind of barriers or challenges have your organization encountered when advancing community economic development initiatives? (such as funding constraints, issues with outside consultants, support from senior government, etc.), what actions did your organization take to surmount these obstacles and what lessons – if any – were learned as a result of those actions?

3) Strengths and Assets

What do you and your organization feel are some of the major community strengths and assets which could be drawn upon to help advance local community economic development initiatives in the Lower Similkameen Valley? (i.e., access to resources and expertise, strong community participation, etc.)

Do you and your organization feel these assets are being sufficiently developed to enhance their capacity to advance such initiatives? (i.e., being fostered by the community and recognized for their potential)

4) Opportunities

What do you and your organization feel are some of the major opportunities which our community will face when advancing community economic development initiatives into the future?

Do you and your organization feel these opportunities are being sufficiently ceased to enhance their capacity to advance local community economic development? (i.e., being championed within the community and embraced for their potential)

5) Engagement and Collaboration

What level of engagement or collaboration does your organization participate in to advance community economic development initiatives among other groups or interests in the Lower Similkameen Valley? Do you feel that such collaboration has been beneficial in advancing shared goals?

Are there any collaborative efforts which you felt were particularly noteworthy for their successful benefit toward your specific interests? What factors do you feel may account for this?

Are there any collaborative efforts which you felt were particularly noteworthy for their potential to advance your specific interests but which weren't able to come to fruition? What factors do you feel may account for this?

6) Prospects Going Forward

Given everything discussed so far, what factors have shaped or influenced your perceptions about the current state of community economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley?

How does this shape or influence your perceptions about the prospects for endogenous development potential in the Lower Similkameen Valley?

What is your organization's ideas and ideal vision for community economic development in the Lower Similkameen Valley?

Interview Wrap-up Notes

- This concludes all the questions I have for you and I'd like to thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview.

- I still have a number of components to complete before I finalize this project, so I may be in contact to seek additional follow-up if necessary. I strive to complete this project in early 2022 however, so I likely won't require any follow-up if you don't hear back from me after that time.

- Once this project is completed, I anticipate it will be shared with others via publication, presentation and the internet. You are certainly welcome to contact me in early 2022 if you would like me to provide you with a copy once completed.

- I just wanted to invite you to offer any questions or comments if you have any at this time.

SO WITH THAT…

…THANKS AGAIN FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS INTERVIEW AND I HOPE YOU ENJOY THE REST OF YOUR DAY