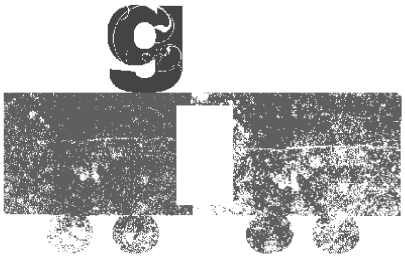
Women's eco-entrepreneurship: a possible pathway towards community resilience?



Marta Pallarès-Blanch

Consultant on local, regional and territorial development

DOI: 10.4422/ager.2015.03

ager

Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural

Journal of Depopulation and Rural Development Studies

Páginas: 65-89

Women's eco-entrepreneurship: a possible pathway towards community resilience?

Abstract: The growing emergence of new enterprises led by women in rural areas can be seen as a sign of the adaptive capacity at a personal and household level as a response to financial crisis effects. This study uses quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the elements that go along with this new entrepreneurship looking at its consistency with local rural development and gender policies in the mountainous region of the High Catalan Pyrenees (HCP) in Spain. Results indicate that women's new entrepreneurship shows several elements which can be associated with a strong social resilience in the HCP. However, there is a neglected situation regarding the specific territorial needs as a mountainous area. In addition, the lack of a top priority commitment being given to gender policies at regional level leads to a failure to eliminate gender divisions, which, in turn, results in a reduction in the transformative power of women's livelihood strategies. Conclusions highlight an existing gap between local rural development policies and gender policies in the region which demonstrates the need for a continued commitment to a practical application of a transversal approach in the local rural development projects in the region.

Keywords: women's eco-entrepreneurship, gender and social capital, territorial governance, social resilience, remote areas renewal.

Eco-emprendimiento de mujeres: ¿un posible camino en resiliencia social?

Resumen: La creciente aparición de nuevas empresas lideradas por mujeres en las zonas rurales se puede interpretar como un indicativo de la capacidad de adaptación a nivel familiar y personal en respuesta a los efectos de la crisis financiera. Este estudio utiliza métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos para explorar los elementos que acompañan a esta nueva iniciativa empresarial atendiendo su coherencia con las políticas de desarrollo local y rural, y las políticas de género en la región de montaña del Alto Pirineo Catalán (España). Los resultados indican que estas nuevas iniciativas empresariales de las mujeres muestra varios elementos que se pueden asociar con una fuerte capacidad de resiliencia social en el Alto Pirineo y Aran. Sin embargo, hay una situación de negligencia hacia las necesidades territoriales específicas como área de montaña. Además, la falta de políticas de género a nivel regional con fuerte compromiso no contribuye a eliminar las divisiones de género que disminuyen el poder de transformación de las estrategias de vida de las mujeres. Las conclusiones destacan la existencia de un vacío entre las políticas locales de desarrollo rural y local y las políticas de género en la región, demostrando la necesidad todavía pendiente de que el enfoque transversal sea asumido en la aplicación práctica de proyectos locales de desarrollo rural en la región.

Palabras clave: eco-emprendimiento de las mujeres, género y el capital social, gobernanza territorial, resiliencia social, renovación de áreas remotas.

Recibido: 21 de julio de 2014
Devuelto para revisión: 1 de diciembre de 2014
Aceptado: 3 de marzo de 2015

Marta Pallarès-Blanch. Consultant on local, regional and territorial development. Correspondence: marta.pallares@gmail.com

Introduction

Specialist literature, both academic and official reports highlights the fact that new women's entrepreneurship is primarily an adaptive capacity in response to women's lack of employment opportunities, particularly in remote areas (Bock, 2010). It can also be seen as a result of women's socio-economic empowerment and as an outcome of women's choices towards a more flexible and creative type of employment (Ahl, 2006; Gorman, 2006; Brush *et al.*, 2009; Anthopoulou, 2010; Bock, 2010). The aim of this research is to explore the key factors that are intervening in these processes and evaluate whether they can be identified as indicators of the capacity of community resilience.

The research is based on the High Catalan Pyrenees (HCP), the highland region of Catalonia (Spain). This is a peripheral area since the HCP represents 20% of the Catalonian territory but only 1% of the inhabitants with a population density of 13 inh./Km^2 (235.3 in Catalonia)[1]. In the 20th century the region has deeply modified its socio-economic structure from a subsistence economy to a services economy (Tulla, 1991; Ventura *et al.*, 2010; Pallarès-Blanch *et al.*, 2013). In 2013, 77% of workers belonged to the service sector, 58% of them were women (55% in Catalonia)[2]. The accommodation subsector represents

1• Catalan Institute of Statistics (IDESCAT), 2013.

2• IDESCAT.

19% of gross value added (8% in Catalonia)[3]. Only 7% of the affiliated belonged to the agricultural sector (15% in 1991). This deagrarianisation process has been without a complete industrialization (6% of industry jobs in 2013 versus 18% in 1991)[4]. Construction is the second largest sector creating 10% of employment opportunities in 2013 (17% in 2001). This economic structure based on construction and tourist services has provided higher household incomes per habitant than the average Catalan: €18.4k and €17.4k respectively (2010) since 2000[5]. It also reversed the negative demographic trends of the 20th century with 1989 seeing a 1% rise in population growth rate, as well as a 3% increase in the immigration growth rate. Both these indices reached a maximum level of 30% in 2008[6] before dropping off in subsequent years and becoming negative again in 2011, and 2013, the last year for which statistics are available[6].

Two key underlying factors have to be considered in the renewal of the HCP region, the ecological capital as the main pool of assets of the region and the gender roles redefinition and both are closely related to immigration (Pallarès-Blanch *et al.*, 2014b). Thus, the importance of the region's ecological capital is reflected well in the fact that nearly half (47%) of the HCP area (5775.6 hectares) is protected land[7]. Indeed, the ecological capital has been fundamental to retaining and attracting people in the region. As a result, between 1981 and 2011 the population variation rate in the municipalities included in Protected Natural Areas (PNA) was 34% whereas the variation rate of population outside the PNA is 17% (Tulla *et al.*, 2014). However, the regional demographic trend in 2009 was inverted again and by 2013 the demographic growth rate and the migration growth rate were -17% and -15% respectively[8]. These figures may indicate a new demographic recession cycle as a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis which caused the traditionally low unemployment rate to rise to 20% in the HCP (19% for women and 20% for men), although this was still lower than the figure of 26% for the whole of Catalonia (28% for women and 24% for men)[9]. Within this context, new women's entrepreneurship may indicate there is a renewal process emerging as a new stage of women's livelihood strategies in remote areas such as the HCP and that it

3• Enterprise and Employment Observatory (Catalan Government), 2012.

4• *Ibid.*

5• Gross Disposable Household Income, IDESCAT.

6• IDESCAT.

7• Catalan Law 12/1985, dated 13-06-1985, for natural areas.

8• IDESCAT.

9• Ibid.

can represent a possible pathway towards community resilience. In fact, from the local rural development studies, women's livelihood strategies often come to light behind the renewal in rural areas if gender differences are taken into account (Goverde *et al.*, 2004; Bock, 2006; Gorman, 2006; Midgley, 2006; André, 2013). Indeed, women's livelihood strategies have been key to the viability of the farm in the HCP (Tulla, 1991), in rural multifunctionality conversion generating on-farm and off-farm activities embedding food added-value products or rural tourism during the 1990s (García-Ramón *et al.*, 1995; Prados, 1999) and more recently, embedding environment and scenic values (Domínguez *et al.*, 2012).

The paper analyses women's participation in the new entrepreneurship in HCP and explores how this fits in with regional development strategies and regional governance by taking rural studies and gender conceptual backgrounds. The study is also supported by the theoretical framework of social resilience for its singular approach based on situations of change. Social resilience also has the sense to integrate the complexity of the interaction between different systems (Longstaff *et al.*, 2011; Frankenberger *et al.*, 2013) looking for the right balance between change and persistence towards possible resilience pathways (Wilson, 2012).

Community resilience, ecological capital and governance

At the turn of the 20th century, the social resilience idea emerges as the "ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change" (Adger, 2000: 347). The social resilience idea emerged from the branch of ecology devoted to ecosystems' dynamics (Folke, 2006) and focuses on two elements; the dependency of social systems on the environment itself and on resilience of institutions (Adger, 2000). More precisely, communities' social resilience underlines the role of institutions and social capital interactions, within different knowledge systems as fundamental to facilitating innovation and social learning, which are both key elements in considering equity and economic efficiency in the sustainable use of natural resources (Adger, 2000). Within this framework, communities with a highly robust pool of resources and a high degree of adaptive capacity will be the most resilient to absorb a disturbance while retaining their essential

functions (Longstaff, 2011; Frankenberger *et al.*, 2013). Consequently, analysis of the interplaying subsystems will provide a picture of the assets available and the social-economic processes developed with them by organizations and informal social groups. These processes are to be found in group actions to negotiate and coordinate, and this will depend on the presence of horizontal and vertical linkages (Frankenberger *et al.*, 2013). Thus, institutional memory (experiences embedded in the social processes), innovative learning (inclusion of cooperative management, experimental learning and leadership processes), and connectedness (loose or tight, internal and external links), all determine the adaptive capacity on a community level (Longstaff *et al.*, 2011).

In the social resilience framework, communities are seen as the totality of social system interactions, not necessarily within a defined geographical area but often sharing an affective unit of belonging and identity, and a network of relations (Norris *et al.*, 2008; Longstaff *et al.*, 2011; McManus *et al.*, 2012; Wilson, 2012; Frankenberger, 2013; Skerratt, 2013). Therefore, the notion of community associated with social resilience places greater emphasis on the quest for multiple resiliencies of highly varied stakeholder networks, some of which may be directly contradicting and undermining efforts by other groups (Wilson, 2012). Thus, community resilience can be conceptualized on the basis of how well the 'critical triangle' of economic, social and environmental capital is developed in a given community and how these capitals interact (Wilson, 2012).

Both of the theoretical frameworks – local and rural development, and social resilience in communities – embrace the idea that the desired processes should be articulated by inclusive institutions and methods (Esparcia *et al.*, 2000; Shortall, 2008; Thuesen, 2010), in order to enhance local leadership and innovative learning in rural areas (Dargan and Shucksmith, 2008; Esparcia, 2014). Thus, social capital and networks (Shucksmith 2000; Lee *et al.*, 2005; Esparcia and Escribano, 2012) and capacity building (Shortall and Shucksmith, 2001) are the pools and the ways to achieve both sustainable local rural development and social resilience. Consequently, in both frameworks governance is a major issue. In community resilience, governance is key to the evaluation of rural policies (Shouten, 2012), the performance of the formal and informal community-based decision-making (Norris *et al.*, 2008; Darnhofer, 2009; Skerratt, 2013), and the spatial planning in rural areas (Heijman *et al.*, 2007). In local and rural development studies, governance plays a central role in the need to face the challenges that the new rural paradigm (OECD, 2006) implies. Such challenges are considered to depend mostly on the institutional capacity of the agents in play, in terms of the knowledge resources, the relational resources and the capabilities of mobilisation (Dargan and Shucksmith, 2008). Nonetheless, one significant difference between the approaches is the different internalization of the gender perspective. Some studies on

community resilience integrate women as a differentiated social group when dealing with social inclusion issues (Frankenberger *et al.*, 2013) or demographical characteristics (McManus *et al.*, 2012). From the community resilience perspective, it has been asserted that, although with invisible contributions, women are crucial to maintaining social networks and supporting leadership or maintaining social cohesion especially when considering the emigration of young people, which is particularly significant among women (McIntosh *et al.*, 2008).

According to the local and rural development approach, women – considered both as individuals and as a group – represent a part of the core of understanding the rural context (Lee *et al.*, 2005; Baylinaand Salamanya, 2006; Goverde *et al.*, 2004; Baylina and Salamanya, 2006; Bock, 2006). Indeed, social-economic dimensions of rural areas cannot be understood without taking into account gender divisions and the hidden sphere of social reproduction (André, 2013), widely studied since the late eighties (Gasson, 1988; Winter and Gasson, 1992, García *et al.*, 1990; Tulla, 1991; Whatmore, 1991).

The rural restructuring process has contributed to the reshaping of gender roles in the farm household through the need to diversify production with value added goods (Stenbacka, 2008). In this arena women are identified as drivers of change showing adaptive capacity and social innovation in their livelihood strategies (Gorman, 2006) and having an active role in networks of social trust and cooperation (Stenbacka and Tillberg, 2009). Besides, the rural restructuring implications and the gender order in rural areas have led to a transferring of women's private gender roles into the public realm and in the rural labour market (Midgley, 2006). Such transference, together with gender policies, has enhanced the visibility of gender inequality (André, 2013) and at the same time that has empowered rural women (Bock, 2006, 2010). Consequently, rural women have progressively been identified in rural development research as a differentiated targeted group in social inclusion studies (Shucksmith, 2000), particularly when affecting young women (Shucksmith *et al.*, 2009). However, gender roles have been little modified from the public education perspective (Bock, 2014) whereupon stereotyped gender roles and the traditional family form are still the prevailing hegemonic image in policy making, even when EU and all member states uphold the gender mainstreaming perspective (Prügl, 2010; André, 2013; Bock, 2014). The transformation of gender norms is a decisive pillar of social innovation in gender relations (André, 2013). Moreover, social innovation arises as a path to renew not only regional economies from the supply side of market products, but also in human relations (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005; Shucksmith, 2010).

In the face of increasing globalization of markets, rural areas are confronting diverging possible pathways of development according to how they organise their territorial capital (Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005; Wilson, 2012; Horlings and Marsden,

2012). Social innovation, new eco-economic strategies and reorientation of territorial capital by embedding rural-urban interrelations are central elements within the new rural paradigm (Horlings and Marsden, 2012). Some relocalized or deagrarianized territories (Wilson, 2010) are finding possible pathways towards a productive self-sufficiency, based on strategies of local production (Wilson, 2012) associated with the eco-economy and social economy (Bristow 2010, Hudson 2010; Moulaert and Nussbaumer, 2005; Horlings and Marsden, 2012; Wilson, 2012). These communities may not have a significant accumulation of economic and business capital, according to Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2005), but do have a vast accumulation of the ecological capital which can be integrated into food hub promotion and the food mainstream (Franklin *et al.*, 2011). Return migration and urban-rural migration do play a key role in building social resilience in host regions by diversifying household livelihoods and transferring capabilities, and partly compensating initial social capital losses (Scheffran *et al.*, 2012). Indeed, immigration is considered the main factor influencing the future of rural social geography (Stockdale, 2006; Lowe and Ward, 2009; Bosworth, 2010). One of the benefits of immigration to rural areas is the increasing entrepreneurship (Baumgartner *et al.*, 2013) and the generation of socio-economic strategies as a force against the competitiveness of the global agenda (Horlings and Marsden, 2012; Wilson, 2012; Baumgartner *et al.*, 2013). Some of these benefits are linked to rural tourism (Haugen and Vik, 2008; Lordkipanidze *et al.*, 2005) or the new rural services related to nature conservation (Andersson *et al.*, 2009), defined as green enterprises (Schaper, 2005) or eco-enterprises (Volery, 2002). However, the path of relocalization is not unconstrained as it needs a constant negotiation in this fight of interests at personal and group level; in other words, in this negotiation among multiple resiliencies (Wilson, 2012), whereby, institutional innovations are needed to deal with multiple resiliencies with equity and inclusive principles. Negotiation is not only needed with respect to the sustainable use of natural resources and social, political and environmental change (Adger, 2000; Adger *et al.*, 2009; Agrawal, 2009) from a preventive and reactive point of view. The application of community-based decision-making (Skerratt, 2013), including the gender perspective, should also be embraced.

Methods and sources

Three macro analytical conceptual frameworks are adopted: social resilience, local rural development and geography and gender studies. Both quantitative and qualitative

methodological techniques are combined in the search for a more analytical density (Fielding, 2008). This approach requires the attainment of multifaceted information. Firstly, indicative statistics are needed on new women's entrepreneurship (NWE) in the HCP. The aim is to acquire knowledge about the quantitative and qualitative significance of NWE's share, its evolution and its strengths and weaknesses as a livelihood strategy (part I in Results section). The main sources for this part are three databases: a) the beneficiaries of self-employment grants[10]; b) the craftsperson index from Cadí-Moixeró Natural Park (2013), by the CEDRICAT Foundation[11] and c) the "SOM-Pirineu" entrepreneurship promotion program database held in 2013 which was facilitated by the leading institution, Institute for Promotion and Development of HCP.

Secondly, information about local development funding is gathered (part II in Results section): on the one hand, the Local Employment and Development Agents (LEDA) (including the number of people and their payroll) and on the other hand, the actions (number and cost) of Local Development Promotion projects (LDP). These data can be taken as indicative of dynamism of the territories in local development since there are no territorial criteria to redistribute the funds. The allocation of LEDA and LDP investments (here under Local Development investments, LDi is carried out by requesting applications for funding and selecting the successful bids by their fulfilment of specified eligibility criteria[12]. These values are related to the area and population variables using Lorenz curve and ratios distinguishing the eight Catalan regional planning areas. This analysis is carried out in two periods, 2002-2007 and 2008-2011, which are prior to and post the 2008 financial crisis. The basis value for the calculation of LDi per inhabitant is taken from the middle in each period, i.e. 2004 and 2009. Basis value for LDi per geographical size is the same for each period.

Thirdly, empirical data are obtained from 30 in-depth interviews conducted during 2013 with affected local development stakeholders from public sector bodies (technicians and elected representatives) and entrepreneurs (part III in Results section). The interviews are carried out with 17 women and 13 men representing a broad

10• No specific quotas are considered except for victims of sexual harassment and disabled people.

11• Until December 2014 it has offered technical assessment to promote local rural development strategies in the region and the rest of Catalonia.

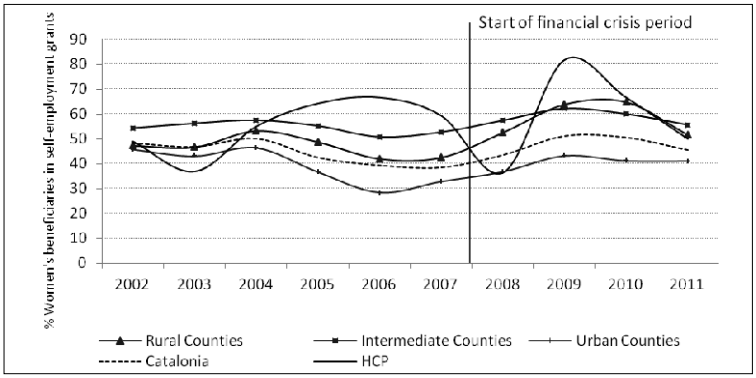
12• Criteria are: a) assess technical competence of the project in terms of innovation and consistency of actions, available resources and evaluation systems; b) impact of initiatives in target group; and c) degree of partnerships between institutions and stakeholders. Measures for women's socio-empowerment are not included, except prevention and detection of sexual harassment.

spectrum of situations, which include the following: the self-employed; new and established entrepreneurs; elected representatives from different political parties, ages and municipality sizes, holding a government position or not, involved in environmental management and heritage management and from all HCP counties. The interviews focused on evaluating social resilience in the local rural development arena through its three main components: a) the institutional memory; b) innovative learning; and c) connectedness (Longstaff *et al.*, 2011). The interviews included two main parts: Part I was addressed to new entrepreneurs looking into both how resilient they are and how this resilience fits with local rural policies. Questions in Part I included: a) motivation factors to create the enterprise; b) use of local materials, the products and modes of production and the linkages with the region's natural values; c) personal and professional background; d) institutional support; and e) enterprise's improvements in professional and personal life. Part II was aimed at identifying the inclusion and leadership processes of women entrepreneurs in HCP governance focused on local development strategies. These processes were conceived as crucial elements in the adaptive and innovative learning of the region towards a social resilience pathway. Questions in Part II fell into three categories: a) Examples of local development actions noting social innovation in the working methods and objectives; b) Degree of connectedness identifying the decision-making processes, type and forms of cooperation and collaboration between political agents and technicians, as well as, respectively, to the community including private players, other institutions and external stakeholders in the community, and c) The capacity of the institutional memory's function regarding the regional identity's role in local development strategies together with monitoring and self-evaluation actions. Results are analysed, and contrasted with the theory, in the *Discussion* section.

Results

Results are organised into three sections in relation to methods and sources used. Section I explores women's participation in the new entrepreneurship activities in the HCP. Section II considers the local development investments in the HCP region while considering its geographical characteristics. Section III shows the adaptive learning capacity regarding the main results from in-depth interviews as described in *Methods* section.

Fig. 1.
Evolution of women's share in self-employment grants 2002-2011



Source: Enterprise and Employment Observatory. Catalan Government. 2014.

I. Women's participation in new entrepreneurship activities in the HCP region

The evolution of women's share as beneficiaries of self-employment grants shows a significant increase in the HCP region and moderate in the Intermediate Counties and Rural Counties after year 2008 (figure 1)[13]. Women's share after 2008 surpasses 50% in all areas, except for the Urban Counties.

Other findings to add to this picture on women's share in the new entrepreneurship are those from two other databases from regional institutions: the craftsperson index from the Cadí-Moixeró Natural Park and the 'SOM-Pirineu' entrepreneurship promotion program focused on local products and services based on nature enjoyment. Both databases are indicative of the emergence of a new entrepreneurship related to local food and natural resources and reflecting a profile of micro-sized enterprises, which rarely employ staff other than the founder. Considering women's participation from the list of craft activities (51 establishments) within the boundaries of the Cadí-Moixeró Natural Park, women's share is 37% as compared to 63% for men. By sectors, participation of

13• Catalan Counties have been gathered in five territories according to their degree of rurality (defined by population density): Rural Counties (<100 inh./sq. km), Intermediate Counties (101 to 300 inh./sq. km), Urban Counties (> 301 inh./sq. km), the HCP region, and total Catalonia.

women in 'Arts and crafts' is 36% (64% for men) and in 'Production and elaboration of agricultural products' women account for 38% (62% for men). Women's participation in the 'SOM-Pirineu' program focused on the promotion and assessment for entrepreneurship with two different axes: 'Nature' and 'Local production'. The program had a total participation of 369 people; 38% women and 62% men. In the 'Nature' related projects, participation of women was 27% (73% for men). In the 'Nature-Ecotourism' subsector women represented 29% and in the 'Nature-Hiking' subsector women were 30%. In the 'Local products' sector, participation of women was 44% (56% for men). In detail, subsector 'Local products - arts and crafts' was 77% women (23% men). 'Local products - Agricultural production and elaboration' subsector was 31% women (69% men). Therefore, despite the fact that women's share in new entrepreneurship increases in the HCP region in general terms, when we analyse specific sectors, gender segregated situations are detected in the new entrepreneurship projects. Women are under-represented in activities related to 'Nature' (27%), whereas men are under-represented in the 'Local products -arts and crafts' (28%), according to SOM-Pirineu program participation. In addition, self-employed women were 34% compared to the 15% of self-employed men. Only 13% of women worked in companies while setting up their own enterprise in comparison with 45% of men. The unemployment rate is 10% in women and 5% in men. Finally, 9% of women and 7% of men belonged to an association.

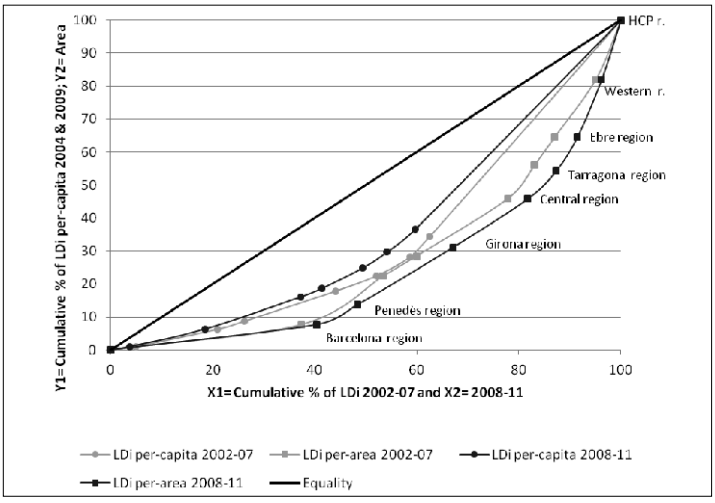
When quantitative data (Part I) is complemented with the interview responses (Part III), other factors arise which inform us about other gender differences in the new entrepreneurship projects presented in the program. The question of women's invisibility is detected when, for example, women are actively involved in the management of the enterprise but the public face of the company is often the women's male partner. This fact reduces women's visibility and, despite being involved in entrepreneurial businesses, they are not included in the entrepreneurship program. This situation is intensified in the sector 'Local product – Agricultural production and elaboration' where local enterprises often follow a family business profile. In contrast, all projects related to women in the nature-based sector are sole-trader (without associates), a fact indicating the gradual initiation of women in this sector. Likewise, most projects related to 'Local products - arts and crafts' are also sole-trader projects. Both, women and men do show that living close to nature is part of the basis for forming the enterprise as well as the chance to have a more independent lifestyle. Their production relies on the use of local natural resources, raw materials and the local environment in general, and their produce includes high-quality goods and organic foods. Most of the new entrepreneurs are newcomers or returnees who keep tight links with urban networks connected to their employment. All cases were nested in the community production networks within which

women's encouragement and involvement played a key role. It is worth mentioning that those most innovative entrepreneurship projects in terms of uniqueness and quality - international and national recognition and awards - had a greater representation of women. Moreover, these eco-entrepreneurship activities welcome women's leadership, in some cases leading on to representation in politics.

II. Investments in Local Development in the HCP region

When public investments, etc., are analysed, an unfavourable situation is identified for areas with a low population density, such as the HCP (figure 2). Distribution of Local Development investments (LDi) with respect to the geographical size of the regions has led to higher inequality (curve furthest from the diagonal). In contrast, the distribution of LDi per capita is closer to equality in the second period, 2008-2011 than in the previous period, 2002-2007, which favours the highest population density areas.

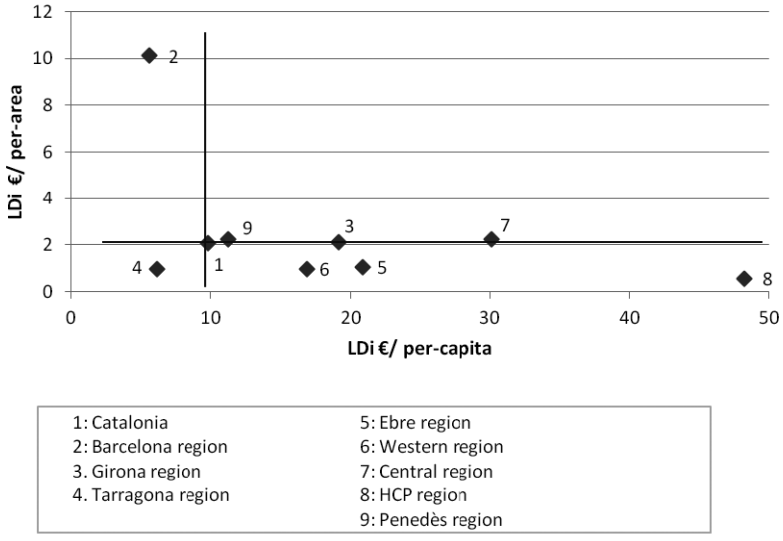
Fig. 2.
Lorenz curve. Local Development Investments per-capita and per-area, Catalonia regions, 2002-07, 2008-2012



Source: Graphics processed with data from Enterprise and Employment Observatory.

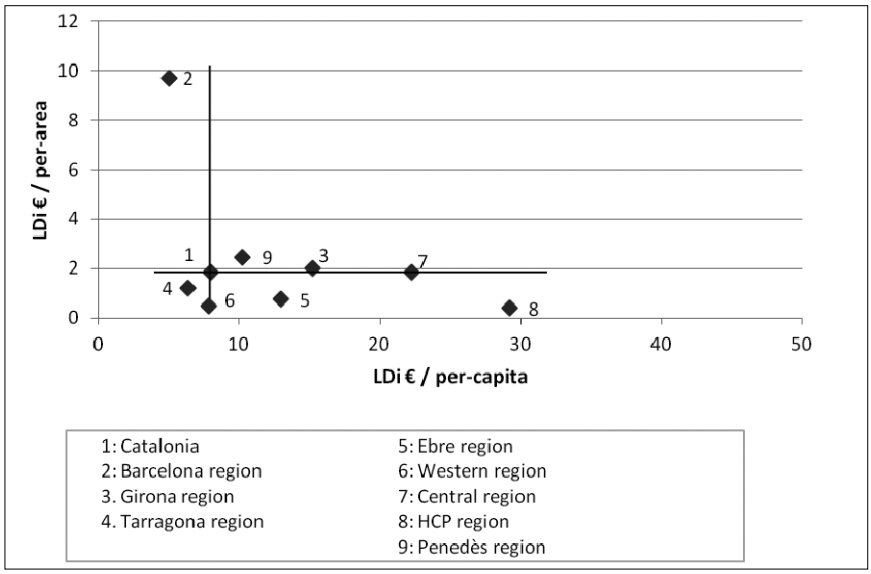
Ratios of distribution of LDi across Catalonia (figures 3 and 4) provide some unexpected information. In the first period, 2002-2007 (figure 3), the region with higher LDi by area and lower in terms of population compared to the Catalan average corresponds to the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (BMA) region (upper left quadrant), which is predictable considering the high concentration of institutions delivering employment and local development services. In contrast, the HCP, Ebre and Western regions (lower right quadrant), the most rural and less populated areas have lower LDi by area, but above average in population, which is again to be expected. What was not as predictable is that the most well placed territories are Penedès, Girona Region and Central Region with average LDi by square kilometre and above average by population, despite the fact that they do not have low population density (upper right quadrant). Conversely, those territories with most unfavourable circumstances with below-average LDi, both by surface and population, correspond to Tarragona (lower left quadrant), a populated area not too remote, but still distant, from the BMA.

Fig. 3.
Ratio Local Development investments (€) per-capita (pop. 2004) vs. per-area (2004) by Catalonia regions, 2002-2007



Source: Graphics processed with data from Enterprise and Employment Obsevatory. Catalan Government.

Fig. 4.
Ratio Local Development investments (€) per-capita (pop. 2009) vs. per-area (2009) by Catalonia regions, 2008-2011



Source: Graphics processed with data from Enterprise and Employment Obsevatory. Catalan Government.

In the following period (figure 4), the HCP and Ebre Region maintain the status of having a below average LDi by area and an above average figure by population, in contrast to the BMA which shows the reverse situation. The Western region moved to the group of regions with below average LDi in population and also per area, together with Tarragona. The Central and Girona regions and also Penedès improved LDi by area and kept the leadership by population. If these data are taken as indicative of the dynamism of the territories, because it only depends on the territorial demand, results display the most active areas around BMA; as expected. However, the most remote areas, especially the HCP, but also the Ebre, would take the LDi lead in comparison to other regions outside the influence of the BMA, but not as remote, such as the Western and Tarragona regions. The latter display important agrarian activity as well and are closer to the BMA (figures 3 and 4). This may indicate that remote regions such as the HCP and Ebre show greater dynamism in raising funds for local development programs than other rural areas which are less scenically attractive.

III. Institutional memory, Adaptive learning and Connectedness for Social Resilience in the HCP region

The results of Part II of the qualitative research analysis, as methodologically described in methods section, are encapsulated in the following five points.

Firstly, the lack of professional training of much of the technical staff in relation to working methodologies in local development and in implementation of gender mainstreaming is identified. However, the more recently recruited staff are better trained and more open to new approaches. A similar process is taking place among the political class but this evolution is progressing at a slower pace.

Secondly, the predominance of a top-down decision-making style is detected, both at intra-institutional and inter-governmental levels. The established hierarchies in local government are guiding the decision-making process prevailing over tied bonds among professionals. The existence of more plural procedures, both thematically and in terms of inclusion of actors were identified when more women occupied senior positions (such as the mayor or deputy mayor). Such actions were usually promoted by personal services departments or culture departments. Albeit, few of these actions had created the conditions for the synergies to transcend jurisdictional county boundaries and let regional scale action be accomplished. In smaller municipalities, these structures were presented in the interviews as less rigid in relation to both the top-down decision-making and the compartmental competency areas. In these cases the 'synergistic' actions have generated a deliberative process that strengthened and renewed ties between actors. Notwithstanding, this increase in the quality of social capital has not been captured to generate new projects with on-going effects.

Thirdly, allusions to the lack of an inclusive leadership as a central problem in the region were recurrent, especially from the newcomers' interviews which were very critical with regard to the dominant relational procedures in the local political arena. Conversely, interviews from the local native group identified some leaders and recognized that in many cases they were people who are part of their social network.

Women's leadership was found in the arts and crafts sector, the local food sector and nature sector; however, the highest elected positions were held by men. Likewise, women's ties with other related stakeholders seemed to be more frequent and better valued than men. In contrast, vertical ties with other sectors were less frequent and intense in women's enterprises networks than men. In this regard, women appear to obtain more mutual support from other close professionals than men but fewer benefits from networking with less close professionals than men. To a great extent, this can be

explained by the more personal constraints that women face in relation to the family responsibilities that they take on. This can impair women's room for manoeuvre as reported by the women interviewed, which has also been found in rural Sweden (Stenbacka and Tillberg, 2009). In turn, this can constrain not only women's livelihood but also the synergies that these new enterprises would represent for the local development governance.

Fourthly, knowledge of examples of local development projects that are referenced in Catalonia was little widespread. Where there was more awareness and connectedness with these projects was as a result of previous training experiences that had been located in very specific areas in the region.

Finally, an important presence of sense of belonging to the place was recognized, mostly based on the Pyrenees region which is regarded as a community. However, it consisted of an individual experience rather than being collectively shared. In this regard, the recovery of historical memory and cultural promotion initiatives, especially with an ethnological focus, showed high mobilization power according to reported actions. Nonetheless, it was difficult to find in the narratives of politicians an identification of these social capital resources as potentialities to be implemented in socio-economic advancement.

Discussion

Research findings indicate, first of all, that there is an increase in women entrepreneurs in the HCP region, which confirms what the literature review reveals: this is an increasing tendency in rural areas world-wide (Copus *et al.*, 2006; Bock, 2010). This can be interpreted as a sign of the adaptive capacity both at women's individual level and at household level in the HCP region as a response to the lack of employment caused by the financial crisis. This increase is especially relevant considering there were no reinforcement actions promoting entrepreneurship focused on women.

Secondly, gender divisions were found in terms of gender segregation as well as situations associated with women's greater job insecurity when starting a new venture. As a consequence of a precarious situation, women involved in entrepreneurial activities in the HCP reported that they often have difficulty to be valued as entrepreneurs. This finding is supported by the literature review (Verheul *et al.*, 2005; Bock, 2010; Carbó *et al.*, 2013). Indeed, the studies show that women entrepreneurs usually set up small businesses with

less income than men but with some benefits regarding work-life balance (Baines and Wheelock, 2000; Verheul *et al.*, 2005; Copus *et al.*, 2006; Bock, 2006).

Nonetheless, thirdly, there are also positive signs of more women entering into traditionally male-dominated fields, as entrepreneurship scholars have stated (Baines and Wheelock, 2000; Brush *et al.*, 2009). At the same time, as interview results and consultations with local development workers corroborated, there are significant women leadership processes at a professional level, usually associated with food production or elaboration and to a lesser degree to nature related firms. Similarly, there are also evidences of internal long-term changes in the professionalization of the business, as well as an increase in women's professional fulfilment as some studies on rural women support (Bock, 2006, 2010).

Thereby, fourthly, research findings show that new women's entrepreneurship participation in the HCP does fit in the legal range established by the parity-law in political representation (40-60%)[14]. This fact may indicate an improvement in women's socio-economic empowerment at household and community level. However, it fails to extend into a better representation of women in HCP local politics which is 22% compared to the averages for Catalonia, 34%, or Spain, 35% (Pallarès-Blanch *et al.*, 2014a). Similarly, other studies refer to the underutilized human capital in the governance of nature related production in rural Galicia (Domínguez *et al.*, 2012) where the chain of decision-making was shown to be unilteral and vertical, just as has been revealed in this case study.

Fifthly, the adaptive capacity of rural women in the HCP seems to be demonstrated according to their livelihood solutions using the resources and potential offered by their environment (Morris and Little, 2005). This fact not only shows the women's entrepreneurial skill, but also the peripheral potential areas for development, particularly where there are significant natural and scenic values, as in the HCP region. In addition, it is a sign of a growing development model more closely related to local production and with more sustainable investment and pace of development. However, the sustainability of this model requires gender equality policies to mirror women's contribution to local development. All policies should locate the productive and work arena in a decentralized manner, within a whole context of a healthy work-life balance and recognition of the personal or community needs that exist, thus including a care ethics approach (Baines and Wheelock, 2000; Tronto, 2014). Otherwise, structural inequalities are related to women's self-exploitation through long working hours, albeit with some flexibility, as is the case, for instance, in rural tourism (Cánoves and Villarino, 2000; André, 2013; Carbó *et al.*, 2013; Bock, 2014). The element driving women to

14• Spanish Equality Act 2007.

entrepreneurship is mainly the necessity to earn an income due to a lack of job opportunities as has been identified in other peripheral rural areas, such as Terra Alta in Catalonia (Carbó *et al.*, 2013), rural Andalusia (Prados, 1999) and rural Hungary (Momsen and Szorenyi, 2007). However, this does not mean that activities of the NWE do not embrace the capacity to generate economic synergies, as has been studied in rural Greece (Anthopoulou, 2010; Esparcia, 2010) and demonstrated here, where products were identified with international recognition. In this regard, some studies suggest the need to develop a specific analytical framework for women's entrepreneurship from a new approach where, in addition to the classical variables of market, money and management, we need to include the ethics of care and treatment on a macro- and meso-scale (Ahl, 2006; Brush *et al.*, 2009).

Eventually, consistent local development policies are required to enable these adaptive solutions to take root, including gender equality. Nevertheless, the analysis of the distribution of LDi shows that the HCP, as a peripheral area, receives or generates inadequate LDi in proportion to its geographical size. Then, a neglected situation is detected here regarding the lack of a specific funding policy for the region as a remote area, with the exception of very specific CAP policy grants for mountain agriculture. Notwithstanding, the HCP is in a better position in LDi distribution compared to other regions, which also being far from the BMA, are receiving or generating fewer LDi in proportion to their geographical size also to the population. This means that the capacity to generate or capture local development funding does exist in the HCP although not enough considering its territorial externalities. However, few institutional programs are connected with the new eco-entrepreneurship and no one connects this new entrepreneurship with gender equality and women's socio-economic empowerment policies, nor with migration policies or environmental policies. The lack of a transversal approach applied to this interplay results in insufficient institutional support (Franklin *et al.*, 2011; Wilson, 2012) for these new livelihood strategies, thus lessening its robustness. Consequently, the capacity for that individual and family-level resilience to build up a relocalization path is limited (Wilson, 2012), despite having a good balance between economic capital, social capital and environmental capital.

Conclusions

The increase in female eco-entrepreneurship in remote rural areas like the HCP region is a sign of new livelihood strategies of rural women. These strategies show

similarities with what were once the emergence and thereafter the development and professionalization of rural tourism (Cánoves and Villarino, 2000). Thus, structural gender inequalities are reproduced although with signs of improvement as a result of women's socio-economic empowerment at household and community level. The institutional adaptive learning capacity does not embrace these livelihood strategies since regional governance presents weaknesses in terms of insufficient social inclusion, particularly when women are being under-represented in the local governments in the region, this including women eco-entrepreneurs. Although some efforts have been made to promote the new entrepreneurship at a regional level, with regard to the SOM-Pirineu program, no connectedness was found between local development investments and women's policies at institutional level. Local Development investments in the HCP region are more favourable as compared to other regions of Catalonia, showing some regional efficiency in capturing local development funds. However, not enough local development funding is captured with regard to the specific territorial needs as a remote area. Thereby, research findings indicate the existence of issues that weaken the development of adaptive learning processes. Consequently, resiliencies found in the HCP are not included at strategic regional level, whereby the regional development path does not present enough robustness to face global processes regarding its weaknesses as a peripheral area. On the contrary, few connectedness actions are found between institutions at both internal and external level in the region. In this regard, new strategies should be developed to have a more robust corpus in terms of applied analyses and policy tools to develop an inclusive resilience. Hence, the community social resilience approach despite providing the potential to embrace the complexity of factors interplaying in changing rural societies, does not yet integrate the structural social unevenness among rural actors. Ultimately, no literature has been found from a gender perspective applying a social resilience approach and therefore this suggests that the social resilience framework is to be further developed in order to be able to be inclusive and therefore, efficient enough to surpass the local development approach.

Acknowledgments

The author gratefully acknowledges the research support provided by the doctoral program "Talent-Empresa" to CEDRICAT Foundation and the funding support by project grant CSO2012-31979 "Desarrollo rural en áreas de montaña: La segunda mayor

opción en el territorio como instrumento para la diversificación productiva" 2013-2015 (IP: Antoni F. Tulla). Her work has been done within the framework of the UAB PhD program in Geography. She also recognizes the contributions made by those who reviewed this article.

References

Adger, N. (2000): "Social and ecological resilience: are they related?", *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (3), pp. 347-364.

Agrawal, A. (2009): "Local institutions and adaptation to climate change", in R. Mearns and A. Norton (eds.), *Social dimensions of climate change*, Washington, World Bank, pp. 173-197.

Ahl, H. (2006): "Why research on women entrepreneurs needs new directions". Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice, 30(5), 595-621.

Andersson, K., Eklund, E. and Lehtola, M. (2009): "Farmers, businessmen or green entrepreneurs? Producers of new rural goods and services in rural areas under urban pressure", *Journal of Environmental Policy and Planning*, 11 (1), pp. 29-43.

André, I. (2013): "Gender and Social Innovation: The Role of EU Policies", in F. Moulaert, D. MacCallum, A. Mehmood and A. Hamdouch (eds.), *The international handbook on social innovation, collective action, social learning and transdisciplinary research,* Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, pp. 412-423.

Anthopoulou, T. (2010): "Rural women in local agrofood production: Between entrepreneurial initiatives and family strategies. A case study in Greece", *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26, pp. 394-403.

Baines, S. and Wheelock, J. (2000): "Work and employment in small businesses: perpetuating and challenging gender traditions", *Gender, Work and Organization*, 7 (1), pp. 45-56.

Baumgartner, D., Pütz, M. and Seidl, I. (2013): "What kind of entrepreneurship drives regional development in European non-core regions? a literature review on empirical entrepreneurship research", *European Planning Studies*, 21 (8), pp. 1095-1127.

Baylina, M. and Salamanya, I. (2006): "El lugar del género en la geografía rural", *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, 41, pp. 99-112.

Bock B.B. (2006): "Rurality and gender identity: an overview", in B. B. Bock and S. Shortall (eds.), *Rural gender relations: issues and case- studies*, Oxfordshire, CABI, pp. 279-287.

— (2010): "Personal and social development of women in rural areas of Europe", Directorate General for Internal Policies Policy, Department B: Structural and Cohesion Policies Agriculture and Rural Development, European Parliament.

— (2014): "Gender mainstreaming and rural development policy; the trivialisation of rural gender issues", *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.879105Bock.

Bosworth, G. (2010): "Commercial counterurbanisation: an emerging force in rural economic development", in *Environment and Planning A*, 42 (4), p. 966-981.

Brush, C., Bruin A. and Welter, F. (2009): "A gender-aware framework for women's entrepreneurship", *International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship*, 1 (1), pp. 8-24.

Bristow, G. (2010): "Resilient regions: re-placing regional competitiveness", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 3, pp. 153-167.

Cánoves, G. and Villarino, M. (2000): "Turismo en espacio rural en España: actrices e imaginario colectivo", *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 37, pp. 51-77.

Carbó, M., Baylina, M. and Garcia-Ramon, M.D. (2013): "Women's ventures in a rural context: livelihood and identity", *Hagar. Studies in Culture, Policy and Identities*, 11 (1), *pp. 100-120*.

Copus, A., Hall, C., Barnes, A., Dalton, H., Cook, P., Weingarten, P., Baum, S., Stange, H., Lindner, C., Hill, A., Eiden, G., McQaid, R., Grief, M. and Johansson, M. (2006): *Study on Employment in Rural Areas*. Brussels, DG Agriculture.

Dargan, L. and Shucksmith, M. (2008): "LEADER and Innovation", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48 (3), pp. 274-291.

Darnhofer, I. (2009): "Strategies of family farms to strengthen their resilience", presented at the 8th International Conference of the European Society for Ecological Economics (Ljubljana, Slovenia).

Domínguez, M., Swagemakers, P., Bock, B. and Simón, X. (2012): "Making a living: grassroots development initiatives, natural resource management and institutional support in Galicia, Spain" *European Countryside*, 4 (1), pp. 17-30.

Esparcia, J. (2010): "Entrepreneurship in rural areas: Experiences from rural Spain", presented at the III Anglo-Spanish Rural Geography Conference (Canterbury).

— (2014): "Innovation and networks in rural areas: an analysis from European innovative projects", *Journal of Rural Studies*, 34, pp. 1-14.

— and Escribano, J. (2012): "Capital social relacional en áreas rurales: un análisis a partir del análisis de redes sociales", presented at the XVI Coloquio de Geografía Rural (Seville).

—, Noguera, J. and Pitarch, M.D. (2000): "LEADER en España: desarrollo rural, poder, legitimación, aprendizaje y nuevas estructuras", *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 37, pp. 95-113.

Fielding, N. (2008): "Analytic density, postmodernism, and applied multiple method research", in A. M. M. Bergman (eds.), *Advances in mixed methods research*, London, Sage, pp. 37-52.

Folke, C. (2006): "Resilience: The emergence of a perspective for social–ecological systems analyses", *Global Environmental Change*, 16 (3), pp. 253-267.

Frankenberger, T., Mueller M., Spangler, T. and Alexander, S. (2013): *Community resilience: conceptual framework and measurement feed the future learning agenda*. Rockville, Westat.

Franklin, A., Newton, J. and McEntee, J.C. (2011): "Moving beyond the alternative: sustainable communities, rural resilience and the mainstreaming of local food", *Local Environment*, 16 (8), pp. 771-788.

García-Ramón, M. D., Cánoves, G. and Valdovinos, N. (1995): "Farm tourism, gender and environment in Spain", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 22 (2), pp. 267-282.

Gorman, M. (2006): "Gender Relations and Livelihood Strategies", in B.B. Bock and S. Shortall (eds.), *Rural gender relations: issues and case- studies*, Oxfordshire, CABI, pp. 155-164.

Goverde, H., de Haan, H. and Baylina, M. (eds.) (2004): *Power and gender in European rural development*. Aldershot, Ashgate.

Haugen, M.S. and Vik, J. (2008): "Farmers as entrepreneurs: the case of farm-based tourism", *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, 6 (3), pp. 321-336.

Heijman, W., Hagelaar, G. and Heide, M. (2007): "Rural resilience as a new development concept", presented at the 100th Seminar of the Serbian Association of Agricultural Economics (Novi Sad, Serbia).

Horlings, L.G. and Marsden, T.K. (2012): "Exploring the 'New Rural paradigm' in Europe: Eco-economic strategies as a counterforce to the global competitiveness agenda", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, published on-line May 30, 2012 0969776412441934, pp. 1-17.

Hudson, R. (2010): "Resilient regions in an uncertain world: wishful thinking or a practical reality?", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, 3, pp. 11-25.

Lee, J., Arnason, A., Nightingale, M. and Shucksmith, M. (2005): "Networking: social capital and identities in European rural development", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 45 (4), pp. 269-283.

Longstaff, P., Armstrong, N., Perrin, K., Parker, W., Matthew, P. and Hidek, M. (2011): "Building resilient communities: a preliminary framework for assessment", *Homeland Security Affairs*, 6 (3), pp. 1-22.

Lordkipanidze, M., Brezet, H. and Backman, M. (2005): "The entrepreneurship factor in sustainable tourism development", *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 13(8), pp. 787-798.

McManus, P., Walmsley, J., Agent, N., Baum, S., Bourke, L., Martin, J., Pritchard, B. and Sorensen, T. (2012): "Rural community and rural resilience: what is important to farmers in keeping their country towns alive?", *Journal of Rural Studies*, 28, pp. 20-29.

McIntosh, A., Stayner, R., Carrington, K., Rolley, F., Scott, J. and Sorensen, T. (2008): *Resilience in Rural Communities: Literature Review*. Armidale, University of New England.

Midgley, J. (2006): "Gendered economies: transferring private gender roles into the public realm through rural community development", *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22 (2), pp. 217-231.

Momsen, J.H. and Szorenyi, I.K. (2007): "Gender at the border: uneven development in post-socialist Hungary", *Geografia: Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, 3, pp. 35-45.

Morris, C. and Little, J. (2005): "Rural work: an overview of women's experiences", en J. Little y C. Morris (coords.), *Critical studies in rural gender issues*, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 9-26.

Moulaert, F. and Nussbaumer, J. (2005): "The social region beyond the territorial dynamics of the learning economy", *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 12 (1), pp. 45-64.

Norris, F.H., Stevens, S.P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K.F. and Pfefferbaum, R.L. (2008): "Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities and strategy for disaster readiness", *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41, pp. 127-150.

OECD (2006): *The new rural paradigm*. Paris, OECD.

Pallarès-Blanch, M., Tulla, A.F. and Vera, A. (2013): "Reintegración de un territorio entre fronteras: el Alto Segre, Pirineos", *Geographicalia*, 63-64, pp. 151-186.

—, Tulla, A.F., Casellas, A. and Vera, A. (2014a). "Entre premios y recortes. El zigzagueante proceso de empoderamiento de las mujeres rurales", *Biblio 3W. Revista bibliográfica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*, 19 (1057).

—, Prados, M.J. and Tulla, A.F. (2014b): "Naturbanization and Urban-Rural Dynamics in Spain: Case Study of New Rural Landscapes in Andalusia and Catalonia", *European Countryside*, 6(2), pp. 118-160.

Prados, M. J. (1999): "Andalusian women and their participation in rural tourist trade", *GeoJournal*, 48, pp. 253-258.

Prügl, E. (2010): "Feminism and the postmodern state: gender mainstreaming in European rural development", *Signs*, 35 (2), pp. 447-475.

Schaper, M. (2005): "Understanding the green entrepreneur", in M. Schaper (ed.), *Making ecopreneurs: developing sustainable entrepreneurship*, Aldershot, Ashgate, pp. 3-13.

Scheffran, J., Marmer, E. and Sow, P. (2012): "Migration as a contribution to resilience and innovation in climate adaptation: social networks and co-development in Northwest Africa", *Applied Geography*, 33, pp. 119-127.

Shortall, S. (2008): "Are rural development programmes socially inclusive? Social inclusion, civic engagement, participation, and social capital: Exploring the differences", *Journal of Rural Studies,* 24, pp. 450-457.

— and Shucksmith, M. (2001): "Rural development in practice: issues arising in Scotland and Northern Ireland", *Community Development Journal*, 36 (2), pp. 122-133.

Shouten, M., van der Heide, M., Heijman, J.M.W. and Opdam, P.F.M. (2012): "A resilience-based policy evaluation framework: application to European rural development policies", *Ecological Economics*, 81, pp. 165-175.

Shucksmith, M. (2000): "Endogenous development, social capital and social inclusion: perspectives from LEADER in the UK", *Sociologia Ruralis,* 40 (2), pp. 208-218.

— (2010): "Disintegrated Rural Development? Neo-endogenous Rural Development, Planning and Place-Shaping in Diffused Power Contexts", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 50, pp. 1-14.

—, Cameron, S., Merridew, T. and Pichler, F. (2009): "Urban–rural differences in quality of life across the European Union", *Regional Studies*, 43(10), pp. 1275-1289.

Skerratt, S. (2013): "Enhancing the analysis of rural community resilience: evidence from community land ownership", *Journal of Rural Studies,* 31, pp. 36-46.

Stenbacka, S. (2008): "Rural identities in transition: male unemployment and everyday practice in Northern Sweden", in B.B. Bock (eds.), *Gender regimes, citizen participation and rural restructuring*, Amsterdam, Elsevier, pp. 83-114.

— and Tillberg, K. (2009): "Gendered social capital: exploring the relations between civil society and the labour market", in A. Árnason, M. Shucksmith and J. Vergunst (eds.), C*omparing rural development: continuity and change in the countryside of Western Europe*. Surrey, Ashgate.

Thuesen, A. A. (2009): "Is LEADER elitist or inclusive? Composition of Danish LAG boards in the 2007–2013 rural development and fisheries programmes", *Sociologia Ruralis*, 50 (1), pp. 31-34.

Tronto, J.C., (2014): "Ethics of care: Present and new directions", in G. Olthuis, H. Kohlen, J. Heier (eds.), *Moral Boundaries Redrawn. The Significance of Joan Tronto's Argument for Political Theory, Professional Ethics, and Care as Practice (Ethics of Care Vol. 3)*, Leuven, Peeters, pp. 215-228.

Tulla, A.F. (1991). "Women and family farms in Catalonia", *Iberian Studies*, 20(1-2), 62-80.

—, Stoica, V., Pallarès Blanch, M. and Zamfir, D. (2014): "The urban–rural fringe of Bucharest and Barcelona metropolitan areas. Can naturbanization promote a regional economic and social development?", presented at the International Conference of Rural Geography "The Countryside: Spaces of Innovation in an Urban World" (Nantes, France).

Ventura, F., Milone, P. and van der Ploeg, J. D. (2010): "Understanding rural development dynamics", in P. Milone and F. Ventura (eds.) *Networking the rural. The Future of Green Regions in Europe*, Assen, Van Gorcum, *pp. 1-29*.

Verheul, I., Uhlaner, L. and Thurik, R. (2005): "Business accomplishments, gender and entrepreneurial self-image", *Journal of Business Venturing*, 20, pp. 483-518.

Volery, T. (2002): "Ecopreneurship: Rationale, current issues and futures challenges", in U. Fueglistaller, T. Volery and W. Weber (eds.), *Radical change in the world—will SMEs soar or crash?*, St. Gallen, KMU-HSG, pp. 541–553.

Wilson, G. (2010): "Multifunctional 'quality' and rural community resilience", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35(3), pp. 364-381.

— (2012): "Community resilience, globalisation, and transitional pathways of decision-making", *Geoforum,* 43, pp. 1218-1231.