

New Relationships between Rural and Urban Areas in EU Countries

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What sort of relationships?

TABLE 2. Types of urban – rural relationships as identified in the Study Programme on European Spatial Planning (SPESP)

Type	Keywords/key issues
Home-work relationships	Employment, accessibility, housing, commuting, labour markets
Central place relationships	Local amenities, education, training, commerce, health, cultural facilities
Network relationships	Connections between cities through development corridors, conurbations, polycentricity
Consumption relationships	Recreation, leisure, food production, waste disposal
Amenity relationships	Landscape/cultural heritage, open space
Infrastructure relationships	Roads, railways, telecommunication, pipeline
Resource relationships	Natural heritage, energy, water, aggregates

Source: compiled by the authors and based on material from Nordregio (2000).

Also transaction flows between businesses? Direct, indirect and induced economic effects? “Spillovers”?



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Two Broad Phases in the Evolution of Patterns of Interaction, Ideas, and Policy:

- Mid 1950s- ? Growth pole theory
 - “Fordist” settlement pattern and patterns of interaction in Euclidean space.
 - Regional (economic) Policy based on manipulating a process of economic geography (spread and spillovers).
- Late 1990’s – present: Polycentricity and rural-urban cooperation
 - Post Fordist settlement patterns and interaction in “relational space”.
 - Spatial Planning - Broader approach – rooted in governance.



Phase 1: Growth Poles

- F. Perroux 1955 “Pôles de Croissance”.
- J. Boudeville 1966
(geographic rather than “economic” space).



“In the light of subsequent experience, however, the strategy can only be judged to have been unsuccessful, at least in the sense that it failed to achieve the primary objectives of policy within the time-interval envisaged...the recent history of regional economic planning in many parts of the world is littered with examples of growthpole strategies having failed or having been prematurely abandoned.”

Parr 1999a p1196



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Why did Growth Pole Policy Fail?

- Became focused upon “mechanical” economic spillover effects
Original Perroux concept broader – Schumpeterian diffusion of innovation in “economic space” etc.
- Changing transport, mobility and communications.
(Euclidean → Relational space)
- Changing nature of economic activity.
(Resource based/manufacturing → Services)
- Changing settlement geography, changing functions of cities and towns.
(Central places → Specialised/niche)



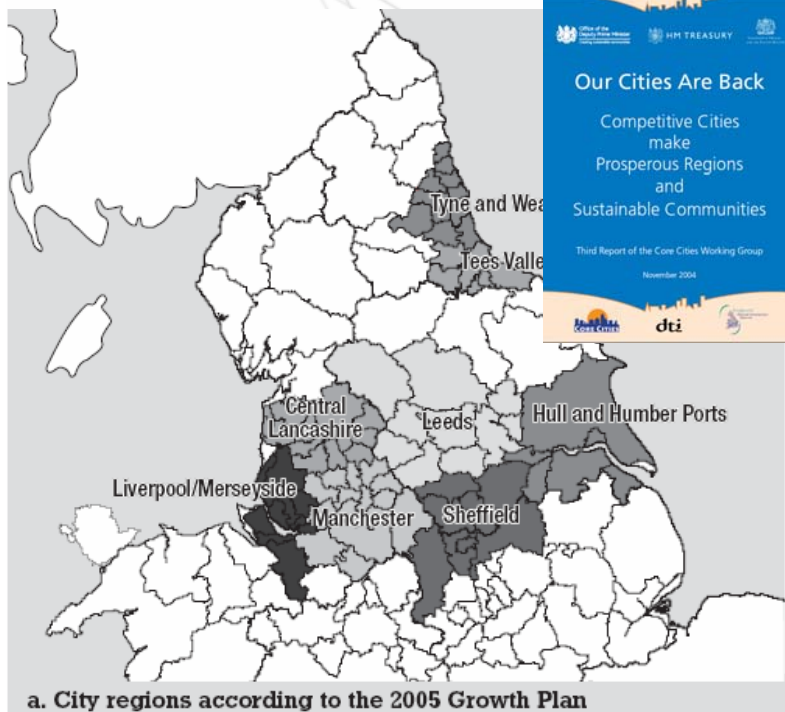
Phase 2: Polycentricity and Urban-Rural Cooperation

- [ESDP 1999](#) – Section 3.2 “Polycentric Spatial Development and a New Urban-Rural Relationship”.
- [Polycentricity](#) originally a “top-down” concept to reduce the dominance of the European core area – spread benefits to “secondary poles”...
- [Cooperation](#) the keyword (mainly of local government and public institutions?), but definition elusive.
- [SPESP and ESPON](#) intended to provide evidence base for practical implementation of ESDP.
 - 1.1.2 Urban-Rural Relations in Europe
 - 1.4.1 SMESTOsBoth highlighted the fact that the rural areas and SMESTOs have changed – Post-Fordist landscape.
- [INTERREG III](#) – U-R cooperation “remains rather implicit”.
- [Territorial Agenda](#) (2007) – reiterated call for U-R cooperation, but no clearer on theoretical basis.
- [DG Agriculture Seminar Series](#) 2008-09 – recognised complexity and importance of Non-Euclidean space...but still theoretical vacuum.
- [Updated Territorial Agenda](#) 2011.



City Regions

- Popular in MS policy context.
- Primarily a governance structure (for regional development) in response to changing patterns of economic activity.
- A means to ameliorate negative impacts of agglomeration?
- Need to take account of multi-layered patterns of interaction.
- Risk that they serve urban rather than rural interests...



"The economic influence of larger cities extends much wider into the regions around them. The exact range of this influence differs in terms of travel to work patterns, housing markets, retail catchments etc. But economists increasingly now define 'city regions' as the main drivers of growth."

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) *Our Cities are Back: Competitive Cities Make Prosperous Regions and Sustainable Communities*, London.



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Modelling R-U Relationships (a)

- Roberts 2000 (SAM) NE Scotland

“In the case of Grampian, the absolute magnitude of urban to rural spill-overs is limited, with large portions of benefits from increased urban activity leaking beyond the region's boundaries. In this case, if the aim is to increase rural production, a regional development strategy may be less appropriate than a more closely targeted rural development strategy”

(Roberts 2000 p408).



Modelling R-U Relationships (b)

- Courtney et al (2007) SAM, I-O, "Economic Footprint", 4 English towns.

"...the relatively small local multipliers, and in particular the relatively small magnitude of town–hinterland spill-overs indicate that, in general, these small and medium-sized towns are not currently acting as strong 'sub-poles' in their rural economies. It should, therefore, not be assumed that small market towns are the 'hub' of contemporary rural economies in England."

(Courtney et al 2007 p1229-30)



Modelling R-U Relationships (c)

- Psaltopoulos et al (2006) 3 region SAM Crete.
Most of the “spillover” from CAP payments to (rural) Archanes region went to (urban) Heraklion, rather than (marginal rural) N. Kazantzakis.

NB: these models cannot pick up the Schumpeterian spillovers of information and innovation assumed by Perroux. There are also likely to be a range of “softer” non-market relationships between urban and rural regions which are not picked up by SAM/I-O modelling.



Rural-Rural and Rural-Global Relationships as alternative drivers of growth?

Two research areas which suggest alternatives to Rural-Urban Relationships as basis for rural development...

- (a) "Sustainable Rural Development" – (relocalisation).
- (b) Business networks – (rural-rural and rural-global).

These are complementary;

- (a) relates mainly to "rural" (land-based) activities, and seeks to "sidestep" globalisation.
- (b) Relates to SMEs in general (territorial) and embraces globalisation, relational space etc.



Relocalisation and Sustainable Rural Development (a)

- Key elements: multifunctionality, short supply chains, quality products, new (place based) marketing arrangements...
 - “Relocalisation” brings environmental and resource conservation benefits, (re)builds local human and social capital.
 - Taken off more successfully in some (peri-productivist) parts of Europe than others (para-productivist).
- “the rural development model suggests a recreated potential for symbiotic interconnectedness between networks of farms and farmers in the same locale and regions... it is possible to rebuild differentiated rural development in ways that increase interactions with the external economy at the same time as maximising the ways in which more economic and social value can be fixed in rural spaces....” (Marsden 2009 p121).
- Can relocalisation be extended to work (generally), energy production, use of leisure time...? (Slee 2008)



Relocalisation and Sustainable Rural Development (b)

■ **Table 1: Rural space as competitive space and the 'battleground' between the conventional and alternative agri-food sectors.**

Type of spatial relationships	DE-LOCALIZATION Conventional agri-food		RE-LOCALIZATION Alternative agri-food
Producer relations	Intensive production 'lock-in'; declining farm prices and bulk input suppliers to corporate processors/retailers	CHANGING COMPETITIVE SPATIAL BOUNDARIES	Emphasis on 'quality'; producers finding strategies to capture value-added; new producer associations; new socio-technical spatial niches developing
Consumer relations	Absence of spatial reference of product; no encouragement to understand food origin; space-less products		Variable consumer knowledge of place, production, product, and the spatial conditions of production; from face-to-face to at-a-distance purchasing
Processing and retailing	Traceable but privately regulated systems of processing and retailing; not transparent; standardized vs. other than spatialized products		Local/regional processing and retailing outlets; highly variable, traceable, and transparent; spatially referenced and designed qualities
Institutional frameworks	Highly bureaucratized public and private regulation; hygienic model reinforcing standardization; national CAP support (Pillar I)		Regional development and local authority facilitation in new network and infrastructure building; local and regional CAP support (Pillar II)
Associational frameworks	Highly technocratic—at-a-distance—relationships; commercial/aspatial relationships; lack of trust or local knowledge		Relational, trust-based, local, and regionally-grounded network rather than linear-based; competitive but sometimes collaborative

Source: Sonnino and Marsden (2006)



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Rural-Rural Business Networks (a)

- Here we are viewing business networks as comprised of both transaction linkages and “non-market” linkages (social contacts, information etc).
- In at least some rural areas of Europe the two dominant kinds of business linkages are (i) with other local rural firms, and (ii) with firms in other regions, countries or even continents - i.e. not with local towns. (Relational Space).
- Business networks act as a surrogate for “co-location” and agglomeration.

“When co-location is infeasible, networks may substitute for agglomeration. This possibility of substitution means that small regions may survive and prosper – to the extent that networks can substitute for geographically proximate linkages, for local diversity in production and consumption, and for spillouts of knowledge in dense regions.”

(Johansson and Quigly 2004 p175)

- Local linkages for “bonding” and longer distance linkages for “bridging” - bringing in information and then disseminating it.



Rural-Rural Business Networks (b)

- Murdoch (2000) argues that areas with strong (farm-based) traditions of cooperation, trust and reciprocity can carry that over into “post-Fordist” economic development based upon strongly embedded SMEs (industrial districts).
“...those rural areas that hold a reservoir of traditional farm-based economic forms, which are integrated with kinship and other close connections, may be best placed to grasp the new economic opportunities.”
(Murdoch 2000 p414)
- By contrast, regions which are fully participating in the “para-productivist” style of development may have suffered collateral damage to their social structures and traditions...
“... areas that have advanced furthest under the previous round of industrialisation – which was based on strong rural specialisation and pronounced forms of standardisation, leading to large, stand-alone enterprises – may not benefit from the new economic conditions...”
(Ibid p414)



Conclusions

- Growth pole theories are no longer appropriate in 21st century rural Europe (if they ever were) – but they are still often implicit in City Region and Polycentricity strategies.
- Settlement patterns are often a relict of past economic realities, we need to be very careful how we incorporate them into rural policy – functional relationships are multi-layered and constantly changing.
- Rural-urban cooperation has a role to play, but it may be that a focus upon Rural-Rural and Rural-Global relationships will, in the long term, prove more effective in territorial rural development policy.

Thank you for your attention



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