



The Urban-Rural Divide: Myth or Reality?

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CONTENTS	section	page
	1 Overview	3
	2 What is 'Rural' and 'Urban'?	4
	3 The History of the Urban-Rural Divide	5
	4 Myth 1 – 'Counterurbanisation' means 'Rural Renaissance'	7
	5 Myth 2 – Rural People have a Different Culture and Set of Beliefs about the Countryside from Urban People	12
	6 Myth 3 – Deprivation is an Urban Phenomenon	16
	7 Myth 4 – The Countryside is the Preserve of Agriculture and Forestry	20
	8 Discussion and Key Points	24
	9 References	26

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Front cover: Boundaries between and characteristics and demands of urban and rural areas are increasingly blurred. Photo collage: Pat Carnegie and Claudia Carter. Photos: Peter Shannon

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1: Overview

This policy brief critically examines the nature and utility of the urban–rural divide concept in the UK. Using contemporary research, the evidence and presumptions for the divide are unpacked to help policy-makers better understand and address rural and urban problems and processes. Currently, we lack agreed definitions of what is ‘urban’ and what is ‘rural’. Many ad-hoc definitions are used for a variety of purposes, but these often are inconsistent, non-comparable and incompatible. We argue that many social, cultural, economic and environmental issues are inadequately addressed by current policy approaches which separate ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ agendas and priorities. Instead we need to pay more subtle attention to issues intersecting along an ‘urban-rural continuum’.

Traditionally, ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ have been seen as opposites. Both terms are also used with multiple meanings. For example, according to official figures, over 30 definitions of ‘rural’ are currently being used by different government departments in the UK. Ray Pahl in 1966 developed the concept of an ‘urban-rural continuum’ as a mechanism to better view and understand the inherent differences between the two terms. Indeed, many UK institutional structures have evolved within the context of the urban-rural divide and contemporary ideas seem to reinforce the notion of urban-rural differences. However, we question whether this conceptual approach that positions urban and rural at opposite ends of a spectrum actually hides more than it reveals about the nature and relationships between rural and urban areas and people we are trying to understand and plan for.

Our approach is to critically examine well established claims about urban-rural differences using contemporary rural research to inform our conclusions. We focus upon social, cultural and economic interpretations of ‘rural’ to address the assumptions behind four popular stereotypes. First, section 4 considers the claim often made on economic grounds that counter-urbanisation means rural renaissance. Second, section 5 explores the claim that rural residents have a different culture and set of beliefs about the countryside than urban residents. Third, in section 6 we focus on whether rural people are less deprived than urban people. And fourth, section 7 critically examines whether rural areas are the domain of forestry and agriculture. These propositions are not meant to cover all rural and urban stereotypes; rather they reflect areas where current research is well positioned to provide answers.

Section 8 summarises our key findings with regard to the limited validity and utility of the urban-rural divide for policy-making and research and offers some policy recommendations. We initially set the context by looking at typical urban and rural characteristics (section 2) and summarising the evolution of urban-rural relations considering concepts and policies over the past 65 years (section 3).

2: What is 'Rural' and 'Urban'?

Whether it is field sports, foxhunting, access to the countryside or Foot and Mouth disease, the debate is often represented as a dichotomy between urban and rural people each with differing values and perceptions. In this section we summarise some widely accepted stereotypical differences between urban and rural populations.

Table 1 provides a useful summary of the key differences between urban and rural which together contribute to the idea of an urban-rural divide which goes beyond simple conceptions of place or population density.

Table 1: Traditional Stereotypical Differences between Urban and Rural Populations

DIMENSION	URBAN	RURAL
1. Economy	Secondary and tertiary sector dominant	Primary industry sector and supporting activities dominant
2. Employment	Manufacturing, construction, administration and services	Agriculture, forestry and other primary industry occupations
3. Education	Higher than national averages	Lower than national averages
4. Services Accessibility	High	Low
5. Information Accessibility	High	Low
6. Sense of Community	Low	High
7. Demography	Low fertility and mortality	High fertility and mortality
8. Political Views	Liberal and radical elements more strongly represented	Conservative, resistance to change
9. Ethnicity	Varied	White
10. Migration	High; generally net immigration	Low; generally net out-migration

The general idea of urban areas relates to a town or city that is free-standing, densely occupied and developed with a variety of shops and services. Three approaches are commonly used in determining urban perimeters: (i) tracing the extent of the built up area; (ii) classifying levels of population density; and (iii) plotting the functional area of the town which includes not only the built up area but settlements in the countryside. Furthermore, a culture of impersonal and anonymous relationships has been used to describe urban populations.

The concept of 'rural' is more complex and multidimensional. One problem lies in capturing the

diversity of types of rural areas that exist. These can, for example, range from small settlements on the fringe of large towns and cities to remote villages and hamlets, and from 'green belt' agriculture to areas of extensive arable farming or grazing. Another complication lies in the economic and social changes that have taken place in rural areas which create interrelationships with urban areas and cultures. For example, there has been an increase in commuting, especially of the urban work force choosing to reside in rural areas. Nevertheless, rural areas are characterized by a more personal and intimate web of social relationships. From a review of definitions of 'rural' five dimensions can be identified: (i) negative, i.e. not urban; (ii) low population density; (iii) extensive land use; (iv) primary economic activity and employment; and (v) community cohesion and governance.

3: The History of the Urban-Rural Divide

The development of planning legislation and policy in the second half of the twentieth century provides a key to unlocking the changing institutional context of urban-rural relations. Here, we briefly describe the main developments, as summarised in Figure 1.

Post-war Split, 1940-1950

Our starting point is the post-war planning legislation which separated rural planning for agriculture and forestry from town and country planning (Curry 1993). The rationale for this was based on the vulnerability of the UK to food blockades during the Second World War and a reaction against the rapid suburbanisation in previous decades. In effect two planning systems were born, complete with different agencies, procedures and remits for the management of rural and urban space. Crucially, rural space was to lie outside formal planning controls with the majority of agricultural and forestry operations falling under “permitted development”.

This separation brought about increased tension between town and country dwellers, particularly with respect to growing demands for access and enjoyment of the countryside by urbanites. Increasing pressure led to legislation for the creation of national parks – the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act – and the establishment of new bodies charged with nature conservation and recreation.

Intensification and Rising Environmental Pressure, 1950-1985

New technology and improved techniques of agricultural intensification, together with large UK and European subsidies for agriculture were to have a profound impact on the countryside as agriculture became industrialized. Although, the Countryside Act of 1968 for the first time encouraged all agencies to have due regard for the countryside when carrying out their activities, this was seen to have little check on the rapid transformation of the countryside into intensive agriculture.

However, these changes to the countryside were not supported by all and pressures for reform and rural restructuring for farming and forestry started to build up (Shoard 1982). The 1980's were a decade of increased conflict between conservation agencies (Countryside Commission; Nature Conservancy Council and National Park Authorities) and those charged with supporting agriculture and forestry (MAFF and Forestry Commission). Food stockpiles in Europe and increased influence of the conservation lobby progressively alienated the farming community from the public who financially supported them. This led towards a marked policy shift away from food production towards environmental policies with increased provisions for urban people to enjoy the countryside.

... two planning systems were born, complete with different agencies, procedures and remits for the management of rural and urban space.

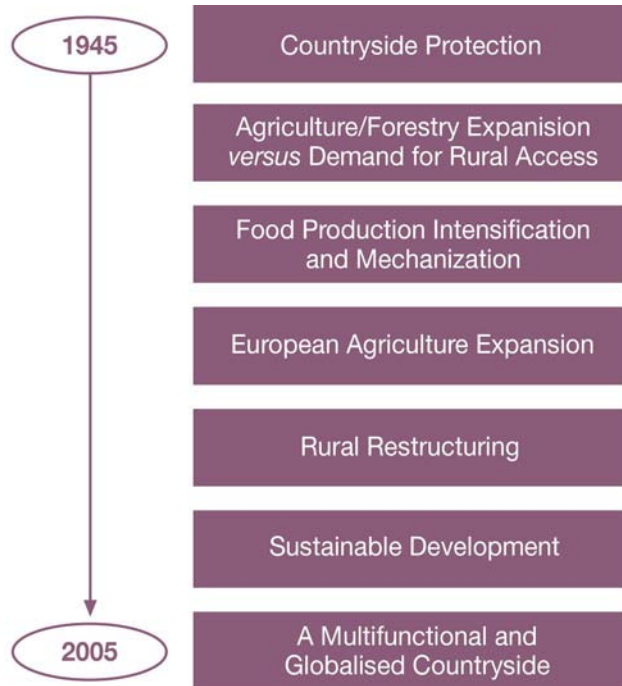
Agricultural production itself started to decline through new policy instruments such as quotas. Rural diversification policies and the emergence of ‘green tourism’ actively encouraged the countryside to change from its traditional roots, thereby creating new tensions.

From Sustainability to Multi-functionality and Globalisation, 1985-present

In the late 80’s, sustainability emerged as a new buzzword. The relationships between urban and rural rose in importance as issues such as commuting, transport and environmental management attracted both public and policy concern.

Today the countryside is characterized by diverse uses and this continues to give rise to tensions. Globalization has opened up the countryside to new opportunities and threats while issues of subsidiarity promote local distinctiveness and ownership. Trying to square these circles provides challenges for policy-makers and in this policy brief we question whether these tensions are best explained by the economic, social and cultural differences between urban and rural people and places.

Figure 1: Key Themes Contributing to Urban-Rural Relations, 1945-2005



4: Myth 1 – ‘Counterurbanisation’ means ‘Rural Renaissance’

Patterns and Processes

Counterurbanisation is a relatively new phenomenon related to population movement from urban regions into non-urban areas (Berry 1976). According to Champion (1998, p. 26) counterurbanisation occurs when the proportion of the population in urban places is falling and/or when the proportion living in larger urban places is declining, because of the faster growth of medium-sized and small urban places.

In the literature, this is alternatively termed the “rural-urban population turnaround” or the “rural renaissance”. Hall (2000) claims that population dispersion has become a universal phenomenon, not only in Europe but also in most major cities of the world.

The counterurbanisation literature suggested a reversal in the historical trend of migration from (remote) rural into (highly) urban areas, and hence it has attracted the attention of researchers and policy-makers alike. This view has become so influential that talking about ‘persistent rural depopulation’ has been asserted to be no longer relevant (Hodge and Monk 2004).

Re-examining the complex demographic and economic relationships of migration patterns, however, does not readily support this new phenomenon. The stylized view in the counterurbanisation literature (illustrated in Box 1) seems to have relied primarily on aggregate census data for large areas or the whole country. Demographic changes at different geographical scales are considerably more complicated than suggested by large-scale studies of aggregate statistical changes (Cloeke 1985; Wilson 1995). Thus, repeating the analysis of migration data at the regional level, carefully classifying settlements along the urban-rural continuum, uncovers a more complex picture. Dahms and McComb (1999), for example, recognise that counterurbanisation includes the redistribution of population from urban to rural and population movement from larger cities to smaller towns,

Box 1: Counterurbanisation – A ‘classic pyramid’ pattern

Champion provides the conceptual basis and empirical evidence for the counter-urbanisation concept in the UK-based literature. The concept asserted that the process of counter-urbanisation portrays a cascading pattern, a progressive shift of population down the settlement hierarchy. A classic pyramid like diagram is utilised to describe this diffuse pattern of population movements: at the top end big cities experience the largest net population losses and at the base remote rural areas experience the largest population gains.

The inverse relationship between population density and net migration was empirically described using the 1991 census data for Great Britain and a longitudinal study, comprising roughly a one per cent sample of residents in England and Wales (Champion 2000). As can be seen from the table below, the census data fitted well into the hypothesized pattern of migration along the settlement hierarchy.

Population Changes due to Internal Migration in Britain

District type	1990-91 (in thousands)
London	-52
Metropolitan cities	-33
Non-metropolitan cities	-22
Industrial districts and new towns	10
Urban/rural mixed	34
Remote rural districts	46

whereas rural-urban turnaround is a subset of counterurbanisation signifying population growth in rural areas. This distinction is crucial to understand the extent to which the new demographic phenomenon leads to rural population growth. Furthermore, even when rural-urban turnaround has occurred in some rural areas, other rural areas may not have the necessary conditions to attract migrants from cities and hence depopulation may continue to happen though larger scale statistics tend to mask this (Stockdale et al. 2000).

In this respect, it is useful to classify rural areas into three broad categories:

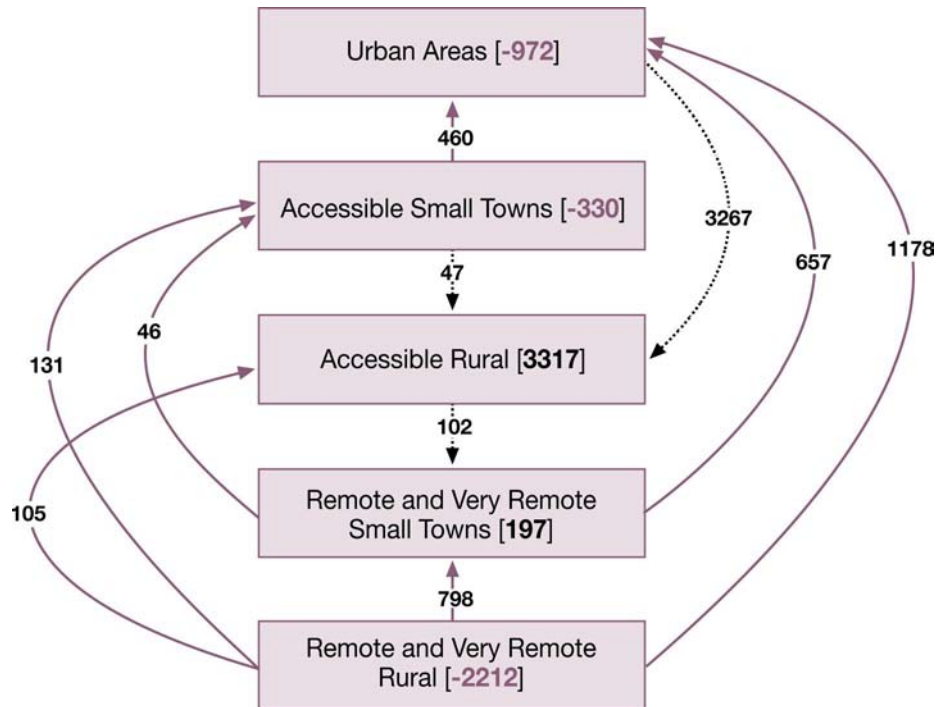
1. Areas possessing “amenity” qualities; attracting particularly retiree migrants.
2. Accessible rural areas that lie within commuting distance of metropolitan areas.
3. Remote rural areas outside the commuting distance of metropolitan or urban centres.

Patterns of Internal Migration in Scotland

The importance of geographical scale in analyzing the process of counterurbanisation can be illustrated by using Scottish data from the 2001 population census Special Migration Statistics (SMS) Origin Destination (OD) table providing counts of flows between output areas (OAs). The OAs were classified using the 2003-2004 Scottish Executive Urban Rural Classification based on

Figure 2: Net Migration Flows between Urban-Rural Settlement Categories

The arrows indicate magnitudes of net migration flows from a settlement where the arrow begins to that where the arrow ends; the solid lines stand for net migration upwards while broken lines denote net migration down the settlement hierarchy. A large proportion of rural out-migration occurs directly to large urban areas, bypassing nearby settlements. For instance, the largest number of out-migrants from remote rural areas moved directly to large cities. On the other hand, almost all population movements from large urban areas are accounted for by short-distance movements to nearby accessible rural areas or accessible small towns.



settlement size and accessibility, providing a definition of rurality that can be used to develop our understanding of the different issues faced by urban, rural and remote Scotland. The new urban-rural classification enabled us to isolate settlement hierarchies according to their urban status and providing a realistic picture of population movements between urban and rural areas.

Net Migration Flows

Figure 2 displays net migration flows between different hierarchies of urban and rural categories. In order to avoid cluttering the diagram, the usual eight-fold urban-rural classification was regrouped into five categories. The positive or negative number in brackets against each settlement category represents net in-migration or net out-migration respectively. At a broader geographical scale, this data confirms the claims in the counterurbanisation literature: net in-migration to rural areas would be 1,105 people on average; that is, if we ignore the distinction between accessible rural and remote rural areas. However, it would be misleading to end the analysis at this stage. Whilst net population loss at the upper level of the settlement hierarchy (large urban areas, other urban areas and accessible small towns) amounted to 1,302, the magnitude of population loss at the opposite end of the settlement hierarchy (remote rural and very remote rural areas) was 2,212, a considerably larger figure. Thus, the only settlement category that experienced substantial population gain was the accessible rural areas whereas upper and lower settlements experienced population losses. Thus the analysis of Scottish census data does not confirm a cascading pattern of migration. The notion of cascading population movement also implies short distance movements down the settlement hierarchies. Figure 2 shows that this is not the case.

Net Migration by Age Groups

In order to explain economic or employment gains associated with migration, we disaggregated the net migration figures given in brackets against each settlement category in Table 2 using three age groupings: <16, 16-60, and >60. This is intended to separate working age group and dependent age groups so that mobility of the labour force would be clearly identified. The net migration data for these age groups is plotted in Figure 3 (part of Box 2).

Table 2 reveals an interesting pattern of population redistribution for Scotland.

Focusing on net migration flows of the labour force (age group 16-60), only large urban areas and accessible rural areas experienced net inflows. This indicates that the aggregate net out-migration data, 335, reported against large urban areas (part of ‘urban areas’) in Figure 2 hides a crucial fact: that large cities have actually attracted a substantial net inflow of the labour force (3,731) from the

Table 2: Net Migration Flows between Urban-Rural Settlement Categories by Age Group, Scotland 2001

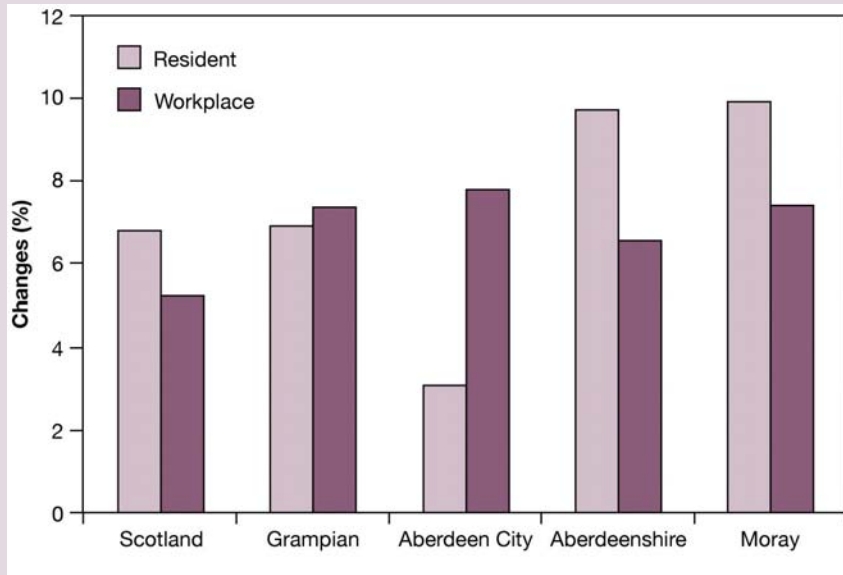
	AGE GROUPS		
	<16	16-60	60 +
Large Urban Areas	-2779	3731	-1287
Other Urban Areas	405	-1529	487
Accessible Small Towns	545	-1327	452
Remote Small Towns	204	-82	172
Very Remote Small Towns	48	-275	130
Accessible Rural	1581	1439	297
Remote Rural	204	-647	-111
Very Remote Rural	-208	-1310	-140

Box 2: Migration and Commuting – The pyramid upside down?

It is interesting to examine the extent to which population dispersion away from cities to non-metropolitan areas is translated into rural job creation. An econometric study by Renkow and Hoover (2000), for example, using data from counties in North Carolina clearly shows that net in-migration and net out-commuting are positively related. This suggests that counterurbanisation does not necessarily lead to economic renaissance in rural areas.

Similarly, Figure 3 below shows the importance of distinguishing between resident and workplace population to examine economic implications of rural demographic changes. There is little difference between resident and workplace population change at the regional level (Grampian, NE Scotland). However, there are notable differences in terms of absolute sizes and patterns of employment changes in the three districts in the Grampian region (Aberdeen City, Aberdeenshire and Moray). Whilst resident employment in Aberdeen City rose by 3.1 percent, the number of jobs in the city actually increased by 7.8 percent. The difference between these two growth rates gives the percentage change in the number of persons commuting to the City from the surrounding rural areas. The rural districts of Aberdeenshire and Moray have experienced substantial gains both in terms of resident and workplace employment, but resident employment (residents with jobs but their workplace could be elsewhere) growth significantly exceeds workplace employment (work in the area but their residence could be elsewhere) growth in both localities. Consequently, the levels of net out-commuting from Aberdeenshire and Moray have increased by 3.2 percent and 2.5 percent respectively.

Figure 3: Resident and Workplace Population Changes in the Grampian Region (1991-2001)



Source: Gelan A and Shannon P (2003) 'Changes in spatial distribution of population and employment in the Grampian region of Scotland: a GIS-based shift-share analysis', *Unpublished memo*.

rest of the settlements with a larger net outflow of dependent age population, under 16 (-2,779) and over 60 (-1,287). This contrasts with the fortune of the remote and very rural areas at the other end of the settlement hierarchy, where a substantial proportion (88 percent) of the net outflow was active working-age population. In fact, the very remote rural areas encountered net out-migration in all age groups while the remote rural category experienced a marginal net gain only in the under 16 age group. Except for large cities, all other urban categories including small towns in accessible and remote rural areas have encountered net outflow of working age population. This has implications for rural job creation and income generation because the decline of small towns means unfavourable off-farm employment opportunities for rural communities (see Box 2).

As commonly argued in the counterurbanisation literature, one might get the impression that the migration data presented in Figures 2 and 3 indicate generally a bright prospect for accessible rural areas. Whether the potential economic gains from migration into accessible rural areas would outweigh potential losses in remote rural areas critically depends on one factor: the extent to which net migration in accessible rural areas is accompanied by job creation in these locations. For this one needs to go beyond migration data and examine patterns of commuting between accessible rural areas and other settlements. It has to be noted that nearly 50 percent of migrants to accessible rural areas have moved from large urban areas. A large proportion of these households (with children) may have relocated their residence but retained their jobs in large cities. Such complementary relationships between migration and commuting are commonly reported in the counterurbanisation literature (Renkov and Hoover 2000). Moreover, the Scottish Executive (2005a, p. 32) reports that 54 percent of the working age population resident in accessible rural areas are commuting to work to large cities or other urban areas. These figures shed some doubt on the prospect of benefits accruing from in-migration to accessible rural areas outweighing disadvantages associated with net out-migration from remote rural areas.

SUMMARY: Counterurbanisation is a demographic phenomenon related to population dispersion from metropolitan to non-metropolitan areas which has influenced rural development policy and research directions in rural development. It is understood as rural renaissance on the ground that rural re-population would mean a reversal of an historical rural-urban migration process and job creation in rural areas. In practice, however, net in-migration into accessible rural areas is often accompanied by net out-commuting into metropolitan areas for work. Although additional employment gains might have been occurring in some accessible rural areas, this is not at the rate implied by the net inflow of migrants. Also, remote rural areas are still experiencing relatively large net out-migration.

5: Myth 2 – Rural People have a Different Culture and Set of Beliefs about the Countryside from Urban People

A key concept that historically has shaped much policy and public response to changes has been the rural idyll. This construction has been applied by individuals and organisations with passion and commitment to protect both individual and societal aspects of countryside traditions and practices – arguably to the detriment of rural areas, as we will elaborate here.

The Place of the Countryside

Rural space in the UK is scarce and highly contested reflecting different notions of the role and place of ‘countryside’. As a multi-purpose place countryside is there, for example, to produce food, to build on and develop, for recreation, to preserve as is or recreate old landscapes, or to find solitude and peace. Such different requirements and expectations can lead to conflict. This is mediated and accounted for primarily within the town and country planning system which, as reported in section 7, has its own particular view of the countryside rooted in preservation and food production considerations.

... the unpacking of views of countryside and its management has to be sensitive to multiple identities, values and perceptions.

In the UK the countryside is strongly associated with a beautiful landscape and a specific country life (Boyle and Halfacre 1998). Representations of the countryside are through positive images surrounding many aspects of rural lifestyle, community and landscape. The rural idyll “presents happy, healthy and problem-free images of rural life safely nestling with both a close social community and a contiguous natural environment” (Cloke and Milbourne 1992, p. 359). This romanticised construct is based on a pure and plain style of living close to natural amenities.

Furthermore, this idyll has different urban and rural manifestations. The traditional and pastoral countryside image evolved from the rural-led idyll of the late 18th century that drove much of the key post-war legislation for the countryside described in section 3. Here, concerns with preventing urban sprawl and influence left the countryside under the jurisdiction of agriculture and forestry interests. The urban-led rural idyll emerged from the idea of the countryside as a place to escape from the realities of urban life and has been most evident in the desire for public access. This has latterly developed to encompass residential choice, employment and quality of life issues. Here, too, the idea of a landscape untouched by urbanism has strong resonance (Moore-Colyer and Scott 2005).

Both manifestations of this rural idyll are, however, stereotypical viewpoints and whether such mental constructs are actually helpful in rural policy-making is debatable. Particularly, such differences in view demand closer scrutiny of what perceptions are, their stability and resilience, what influences them and how the changing nature of urban and rural society impacts upon them. Gold (1980: 20) defines perceptions as “... the psychological function that enables the individual to convert sensory stimulation into organised and coherent experience. Perception itself is a cognitive process”. Empirical research has shown that perceptions are influenced by a range of human, cultural and environmental factors. Principal drivers of public perceptions towards the countryside include sense of place, cultural associations, ‘naturalness’, familiarity, perceived value, feelings evoked, sound and smell, a person’s socio-economic background and what is portrayed in the media. This diversity of factors suggests that any single explanation is over-simplistic. Moreover, the interplay of these factors – in particular places, at particular times – is crucial rather than the operation and consideration of any one factor in isolation.

Consequently, the unpacking of views of countryside and its management has to be sensitive to multiple identities, values and perceptions. Policy-makers recognize that citizens have legitimate rights and responsibilities to contribute to decision-making processes but they are often extremely cautious about using public perceptions to inform policy. This is due to a presumed lack of public knowledge and expertise in rural matters particularly from an urban context (Scott 2002); and the notion that experts are best suited to interpret complex issues in a consistent way. This ‘public deficit’ view is, however, heavily contested and evidence provided to the contrary (e.g. Wynne 1996). We emphasise here that public perception research needs to use robust methods where evidence is collected via a range of qualitative and/or quantitative techniques. Case studies should be confined as illustrative and indicative of patterns and trends and not be applied as general findings (see Box 3).

Challenging Rural Stereotypes

Findings from the research listed in Box 3 challenge any simple urban-rural differences in attitudes to countryside. For example, different perceptions of biodiversity were related more to peoples’ views on the role of humans in nature and people’s professional backgrounds or leisure interests (Fischer and Young 2007). These findings were reinforced in experiential respondent-led research on landscape perceptions which found that perceptions were a function of synergies relating to time, place, emotion, social interaction and action. Interestingly, respondents’ multiple identities revolving around work, leisure and relationships can obfuscate particular responses (Scott et al., forthcoming).

Box 3: Approaches Used at the Macaulay Institute to Research Public Perception across the Urban-Rural Divide

- Focus groups to understand how different groups perceive biodiversity (students, RSPB members, land managers, rural residents, recreationalists, tourists)
- Experiential analysis (one-to-one) of stakeholders’ experiences and perceptions of landscape (councillors, planners, mountain bikers, land managers, walkers and visitors) (Scott et al., forthcoming)
- Stakeholder analysis of public attitudes towards multi-purpose forestry using Q methodology (Nijnik 2006)
- Delphi technique on eliciting farmers’ and other stakeholders’ attitudes to sustainable flood management options
- Landscape visualization theatre: public attitudes to forestry and wind farms in Aberdeenshire

Research into public attitudes towards the future of Scottish forestry used Q analysis to identify different groups: Pragmatists, Idealistic Visualists; Radical Environmentalists; Progressives; Udalitarian Visualists and Realists (Nijnik 2004). All of them strongly support the expansion of woodlands for multiple purposes, one important reason being that people recognize the necessity of improving rural landscapes through multi-functional forestry. Here consensus as opposed to conflict exists, without any evidence of urban-rural differences in the attitudes of these groups.

The findings of this case study are supported by larger scale studies across the UK and Europe (see Box 4). While some urban rural differences exist, there is also a strong element of consensus over the future direction of countryside policy. Such a consensus is now apparent across most stakeholder groups when discussing rural policy more generally (Wakeford 2003). However, the devil is in the detail. When specific land use decisions are being made in particular places, key differences occur and specific groups sharing common identities or values form and try to influence the outcome. Here issues of power, representation equity and scale are crucial to unravel the socio-economic and spatial dynamic. This can only be done on an individual case-by-case basis and the danger of the exceptional being used as the norm has characterized much stereotyping over NIMBY (not in my backyard), BANANA (build absolutely nothing anywhere near anywhere), incomers and rural residents.

Box 4: Emerging Themes from Recent Studies into Public Perceptions and Attitudes towards the Countryside

- Country Landowners Association
1001 respondents through telephone survey
November 2002
- Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
997 respondents through face-to-face interviews
January 2002
- Moran, McVittie, Allcroft, Elston:
Report to Scottish Executive Environment and
Rural Affairs Department, 2004
673 respondents through face-to-face questionnaire
- Welsh Assembly Government
750 respondents through face-to-face interviews
July-December 2003
- Special Eurobarometre 221 "Europeans and the
Common Agricultural Policy" carried out for the
Directorate General Agriculture of the EC
25,000 respondents in 25 member states
through face-to-face interviews
November-December 2004

- the need for a productive and environmentally sensitive farming sector
- the need for more joined-up countryside planning and management
- the need for a diverse rural economy
- the need for quality and high standards in animal welfare, landscape and social welfare

We conclude that simple analyses or generalisations based on urban-rural differences are highly problematic considering the structure and complexity of twenty-first-century societies and the way people live their lives. The media and information technologies have altered social networks so that peoples' perceptions are no longer shaped only by face-to-face experiences. Equally, increased mobility and transport has meant that rural space is being increasingly penetrated by urban influences and interests and a simple urban-rural differentiation in anything other than land use becomes problematic. Consequently, whilst an area might appear rural in terms of land use and population density (traditional definitions used worldwide), the people living there have different attachments, perceptions and values to rural depending on a range of social and economic circumstances. The case of foxhunting captures these dynamics perfectly (see Box 5).

Fox-hunting, like many other activities, is a socially embedded practice, and the 'rural' that the hunting lobby presented consisted of complex amalgams of natural, socio-cultural, political and economic components. Local issues and specificities were important alongside fundamental ones including the political course of representation, personal freedom and ethics. Pro-hunters themselves now recognise the fallacy that urban people do not represent one view of the countryside.

Box 5: Foxhunting – Switching tactics

Throughout much of the 1990s, the debate surrounding hunting with dogs was focused mainly on animal welfare and pest control. Hunting was defended as both a natural and an efficient means of controlling foxes in the countryside. By the late 1990s, the pro-hunting tactics had changed towards linking hunting to the wider rural fabric (Beckett 1998). Now the threat to hunting was constructed as part of a broader neglect of rural issues by the urban majority. The pro-hunting lobby stressed the benefits of hunting to the rural economy and its importance in binding rural communities together. Opponents of hunting were seen as ill-informed urban dwellers who were imposing their alien beliefs on a unified rural voice and agenda. This expanded rural agenda formed the focus of the much discussed Countryside March and Rally in London in 1997 and 1998 (see Woods 1997).

The hunting issue thus became transformed into a socio-cultural issue in which both sides have utilised images of the countryside. Since then, however, the pro-hunting tactics have changed again in a series of adverts using survey evidence to show how the majority of urban people were against a ban on hunting and/or even supported it. This broadened out the issue to one of personal freedom and human rights and reduced the perceived negative impact of portraying urban people as ignorant of the countryside.

Source: Beckett A (1998) 'Inside story: blood on the saddle', *The Guardian* (13 August), p. 4. Woods M (1997) 'The people of England speak? Rurality, nationalism and countryside protest. Paper presented to the annual conference of the Rural Economy and Society Study Group, Aberystwyth.

SUMMARY: Rural policy-making can draw upon a consensual construction of the countryside at a macro scale which challenges the notion of an urban-rural divide. At the micro level conflict is more likely to emerge as policies are operationalised. Trying to understand local scale conflict using simple and stereotyped urban/rural differences is fraught with problems because:

- perceptions are inherently more complex and multidimensional;
- perceptions are formed in response to localized issues associated with place and space;
- rigorous methodologies to accurately capture and assess perceptions are rarely used by policy-makers;
- **society has changed so that urban and rural areas are no longer distinct entities;**• micro conflict over the countryside reveals different groups and identities with their own agenda and aspirations;
- differences between policy and practice offer a more valuable focus to aid rural policy.

6: Myth 3 – Deprivation is an Urban Phenomenon

When asked to picture deprivation, the images brought to mind are more likely to be urban. Certainly, deprivation is likely to be more obvious in densely populated urban areas than in rural areas where the population is more dispersed. This section defines and explores different forms of deprivation, how we can measure them, and where these are located.

Defining Deprivation

There is no universally accepted definition of deprivation. People tend to use the term deprivation in different ways and its meaning will depend on the nature, contextual setting and political aims of the study. Definitions of deprivation are often very general. For example, Townsend (1987) defines deprivation as a state of “observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belong.”

In the past, ‘deprivation’ and ‘poverty’ have been used interchangeably, but there are several reasons why a distinction should be drawn between the two. Poverty tends to refer to a lack of financial resources while deprivation is caused by lacking various kinds of resources (Noble et al. 2003). Thus, deprivation is a multi-dimensional concept that includes consideration of financial resources, material commodities and the ability to participate in social life (Townsend 1993). The concept is a relative one and deprivation is generally defined in relation to social norms or expectations.

Different Types of Deprivation

Shaw (1979), examining rural areas, identified three types of deprivation: household, opportunity and mobility deprivations. Household deprivation may be observed through low income or lack of suitable accommodation (see Box 6). Opportunity deprivation refers to, for example, lack of employment and accessibility to services and facilities (see Box 7); and mobility deprivation concerns accessibility of employment, services and facilities, as well as transport costs. Resource deprivation is likely to be present in both rural and urban areas, while opportunity and mobility deprivation are likely to be more prominent in rural areas.

Deprivation can cover both material and social aspects. Material deprivation relates to diet, health, clothing, housing, household facilities, environment and work and can be measured based on financial income and outgoings. Social deprivation relates to those who do not or cannot enter into ordinary forms of relationships and is more difficult to measure (Townsend 1987).

Examples of different forms of deprivation are reflected in the domains of the recent Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation: Income; Employment; Health and Disability; Education, Skills and Training; and Geographical Access to Services (Noble et al. 2003). Income deprivation seeks to measure the poverty aspect of deprivation. Employment deprivation refers to the situation where people want to work but cannot through lack of jobs, sickness or disability. Health deprivation and disability relates to incidence of premature death or where quality of life is affected by poor health. Education, skills and training deprivation is where the educational characteristics of an area contribute to disadvantage and deprivation. The geographical access to services domain seeks to measure access to key services relating to health, food, finance, fuel, and communication.

Measuring Deprivation

There are a variety of measures of deprivation depending on the chosen focus and context. In general, these indicators measure the proportion of households in a given geographical area which meet certain criteria. Examples include the Townsend Material Deprivation Score, the Carstairs and Morris Scottish Deprivation Score, the Jarman Underprivileged Area Score and the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2003 (SIMD). Each of these indices measure more than one aspect of deprivation, with the score for each generally being standardized, and the results combined to give an overall score. Taking account of more than one aspect of deprivation is useful since areas deprived in one way are not necessarily deprived in another. For example, Bailey et al. (2004), looking at deprivation in Argyll and Bute using the SIMD, found the area had a high level of accessibility deprivation, but low levels of education deprivation.

Though not a comprehensive list of measures of deprivation, these give some indication of the types available. Further information on the calculation of the Townsend Material Deprivation Score, the Carstairs and Morris Scottish Deprivation Score and the Jarman Underprivileged Area Score can be found in the Cabinet Office Policy Action Team (2000) report, and further information on calculation of the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2003 can be found in Noble et al. (2003).

Box 6: Income and Earnings

Household deprivation may be observed through low income. Non-rural areas tend to have a higher average household income and higher average hourly earnings than remote rural areas, while the highest average household income and earnings are found in accessible rural areas. This would imply that remote rural areas are more deprived than either non-rural areas or accessible rural areas.

	Remote rural	Accessible rural	Non-rural
Average household income ¹	£8,224	£10,228	£9,024
Average hourly wage ²	£5.16	£6.68	£6.19

¹Gross household income, deflated to 1991 values, is attributed to the individual by adjusting using the McClements equivalence scale.

²Deflated to 1991 values.

Source: Gilbert A, Phimister E and Theodossiou I (2003) 'Low pay and income in urban and rural areas - evidence from the British Household Panel Survey', *Urban Studies* 40(7): 1207-1222. Data calculated from the British Household Panel Survey 1991-1998.

Box 7: Rurality and Access – Dementia case study

Care provision for remote areas is often based on urban perspectives, but research suggests that service providers must reflect the values of rural communities. With specific regard to accessing services for people with dementia and their carers, a recent study found that 78% of participants identified gaps in their service provision. Despite these findings, the majority of participants (87%; N = 39), felt they were better off living in a rural area. This was mainly due to the perception that living in a rural community provides a source of support – reinforcing the irony that in rural areas, people are often physically distant but socially interdependent.

The links between services and place are complex and multi-factorial, requiring an awareness and sensitivity to local situations and individual needs. Thus, policies and services need to be person-centred, but also considered within the individual's spatial and social context. Finally, the idea of a rural idyll must not mask the real deprivations faced by many seeking care and support in rural Scotland.

Source: Blackstock K L, Innes A, Cox S, Smith A and Mason A (2006) 'Living with dementia in rural and remote Scotland: Diverse experiences of people with dementia and their carers', *Journal of Rural Studies* 22(2): 161-176. Philo C, Parr H, Burns N (2003) 'Rural madness: a geographical reading and critique of the rural mental health literature', *Journal of Rural Studies* 19(3): 259-281.

Are these Measures Meaningful?

There are several issues with regard to the meaningfulness of deprivation measurement. First, measurement of deprivation may be sensitive to the choice of unit size. For example, when examining large areas small pockets of relative deprivation may go undetected (Pacione 2004). Not all households within a deprived area are necessarily deprived, and there may be deprived households within areas which are not held to be deprived.

A second consideration is the choice of indicator. The definition of deprivation is contextually dependent and the nature of deprivation is likely to vary depending on the context within which it is examined. Indicators chosen to measure deprivation in one country or area may not be appropriate for use in another. The indicators themselves may have a different significance in different areas. Take for example car ownership which has been used as a proxy for income. In rural areas car ownership may be a necessity due to poor provision of public transport, with households choosing to make financial sacrifices in order to purchase a car, while in relatively affluent metropolitan areas individuals may choose not to own a car. Further, the 'objective' indicators of deprivation chosen by researchers and policy-makers are likely to reflect a certain set of beliefs and values which may or may not be shared by those subsequently identified (or not) as being deprived. Deprivation is a subjective experience and is likely to be experienced by different people in different ways.

Third, measures of deprivation give an indication of deprivation at a given point in time. In very deprived areas, individuals may migrate to other areas in search of employment, higher income or a better standard of living. While the problem is likely to be small, and it is not clear how it could be addressed, the implication is that in such areas deprivation is likely to be underestimated.

Last, for developing a multiple deprivation index judgements have to be made regarding which indicators are selected as appropriate and how they are quantified and combined into a meaningful overall measure. For example, one could simply add components or weight those regarded to be more significant (but by how much?) before being combined into a multiple deprivation index. A further issue would be to check whether some components interact to have a greater impact on deprivation. All these issues require the researcher or policy-maker to make value judgements which will affect the outcome.

Are Urban People more Deprived than Rural People?

Deprivation is popularly presented as an urban phenomenon; in contrast, ‘rural’ is associated with good quality of life (McLaughlin 1986). Recent studies show that, using a broad range of indicators, urban areas indeed tend to have higher levels of deprivation than rural areas and, geographically, most of the disadvantaged live in towns and cities (Pacione 2004). Similarly, a recent report published by the Scottish Executive (2005b) on deprivation divides Scotland up into 6505 areas, or data zones, containing an average of 750 people, and uses the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation. Bearing in mind that the SIMD was designed not to have an urban or rural bias, it finds that almost 70 percent of the 5 percent most deprived areas in Scotland are in Glasgow. Using the Scottish Executive’s Urban Rural definition, it reports that 18.5 percent of individuals in large urban areas are income deprived, while the corresponding figure for rural areas is just under 10 percent.

While these studies show that urban areas are the more deprived, there is also evidence of variation and that deprivation is not confined to urban areas (Scottish Centre for Research on Social Justice 2003). Bailey et al. (2004), in mapping the spatial extent of deprivation and social exclusion in Argyll and Bute, found that deprived areas were located in larger urban areas while deprived individuals were found in urban and rural areas across the authority.

SUMMARY: Measurement of rural or urban deprivation is strongly influenced by how we define these terms and will vary depending upon the context within which deprivation is examined. Many indicators of deprivation were developed to examine urban deprivation which means that – while not necessarily inappropriate – they may not be ideal for examining rural deprivation. The choice of indicator invariably requires researchers and policy-makers to make value judgements.

Recent research shows that deprivation is experienced in both urban and rural areas but tends to be greater in urban areas. Studies that take a larger-scale approach may miss small pockets of deprivation in relatively affluent areas, or pockets of relative affluence in deprived areas. As it is not places that suffer deprivation but people, in seeking to measure deprivation, the unit of analysis should perhaps be the individual rather than areas.

7: Myth 4 – The Countryside is the Preserve of Agriculture and Forestry

The term 'countryside' is deeply embedded in our culture. Resilient images portray a rural idyll with attractive farmed and wooded landscapes. Such images are powerfully represented and reinforced in the media, and within the various institutional structures that manage rural areas. However, whilst there is clear historical evidence of a countryside built upon agriculture and forestry, we will show how this foundation has been eroded by demands for multi-functional land use.

The Occupational Community: Countryside as the preserve of agricultural interests

In Newby's (1985) occupational community, the social ties of work, leisure, neighbourhood and friendship overlapped to form close-knit and interlocking locally based community structures. The solidarity of the community was strengthened by a shared history of living and working in one place over a long period of time. Such social and ecological patterns of village life were consolidated and ordered through agricultural customs and identities, and were most evident in the period 1846-1873. Urban industrial developments had effectively ruralised the countryside, where the primary industries of farming, forestry, fishing and mining were the mainstay of the rural economy.

... Contrary to popular belief, the rural economy in the UK is diverse and increasingly converging with the profile for urban areas.

In the twentieth century this sense of order and stability was threatened and gradually eroded through trade unionism, technological innovations, electrification, improved transport and roads. Flows of people in and out of the countryside gradually disconnected the ties and community structures associated with agriculture. The influx of urbanites – and their particular perceptions of the countryside – was seen by some as threatening the values and order of the countryside (Moore-Colyer and Scott 2005). The policy response, principally through planning legislation, was to protect the countryside from further urban expansion and influence.

The Institutional Divide

A series of key reports during the Second World War (Barlow Committee Report, Scott Committee Report and Uthwatt Report) set the foundation for an institutional divide between rural and urban interests that was most notably manifest in the Town and Country Planning Act 1947. The underlying

ethos of separation has permeated subsequent legislation and policy and has shaped the very fabric of our countryside and built environments. The key elements were that:

- urban expansion was seen as an evil that needed strict control to prevent further encroachment;
- agriculture and forestry were viewed as the principal land uses within the countryside and policies should seek to protect and foster their growth;
- efficient agriculture and forestry was seen as synonymous with good stewardship of the countryside;
- development rights of land were nationalized but agriculture and forestry were exempt from planning restrictions.

Immediately after World War 2 the vulnerability of the agricultural sector became obvious and policy-makers were keen to strengthen the expansion and growth of the agricultural and forestry sectors. In contrast, the planning system brought significant control on urban and built development whilst assuming that the “countryside should be protected for its own sake” (Welsh Assembly Government 2004: 17).

The legacy is that settlement planning has been governed by the town and country planning system, whilst the productive industries of agriculture and forestry have become separated from it and instead fall largely under specific sectoral responsibilities.

A Multifunctional Countryside

There is widespread recognition that the role and use of the countryside has changed; ‘reconstructed’, ‘post productivist’, ‘multifunctional’, ‘new rural economy’ are all terms used to describe this phenomenon. Contrary to popular belief, the rural economy in the UK is diverse and increasingly converging with the profile for urban areas (Table 3). New and changing technologies, ways of working, forms of leisure, and increased affluence and mobility, as well as widening social networks, have transformed our work and leisure patterns. The growing interest in visiting and living in the countryside, with particular expectations and demands in terms of landscape, conservation, animal welfare, heritage, leisure and recreation have fundamentally affected how we use and view the countryside as a resource.

These pressures relating to housing, rural services, transport, amenity and conservation bring new and competing tensions and conflicts over the use of rural space. Expectations and rural policy imperatives are now informed by demands regarding CAP reform, centralization of public services, social inclusion, variation in local housing markets and recreation – challenging any one-dimensional countryside. Contested notions of rurality also pose problems for a rural policy infrastructure founded on supporting agriculture and forestry interests. For example, the interdependence of agricultural and non-agricultural businesses was illustrated starkly by the 2001 Foot and Mouth Crisis (see Box 8).

Table 3: Converging Profiles: Comparing the labour market for rural and non-rural areas in Scotland

Industry	Scotland			Rural			Non-rural	
	No.	% Including agriculture & fishing	% Excluding agriculture & fishing	No.	% Including agriculture & fishing	% Excluding agriculture & fishing	No.	% Excluding agriculture & fishing
Agriculture & fishing	38,000	1.7	–	29,000	5.1	–	–	0
Energy & water	36,000	1.6	1.7	6,000	1.1	1.2	30,000	1.8
Manufacturing	302,000	13.6	13.8	76,000	13.3	14.0	226,000	13.7
Construction	132,000	5.9	6.0	38,000	6.6	6.9	95,000	5.7
Distribution, hotels & restaurants	506,000	22.7	23.1	151,000	26.3	27.8	356,000	21.6
Transport & communications	118,000	5.3	5.4	25,000	4.4	4.7	92,000	5.6
Banking, finance & insurance, etc	375,000	16.8	17.1	62,000	10.8	11.4	313,000	19.0
Public admin, education & health	600,000	26.9	27.4	156,000	27.4	28.8	443,000	26.9
Other Services	121,000	5.4	5.5	28,000	4.9	5.2	93,000	5.7
Total employment	2,229,000	100	–	571,000	100	–	1,649,000	100

Source: The Scottish Labour Market (2002) Highlands and Islands Enterprise/Scottish Enterprise

Box 8: Foot and Mouth Disease

The 2001 outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease (FMD) resulted in 2030 identified cases throughout the UK, and the slaughter of 735,517 animals on 187 premises in Scotland, resulting in compensation worth £154 million. The strategies adopted to prevent the spread of the disease, such as closing public footpaths, created an impression that the countryside was 'closed' and led to losses in business earnings outside the agriculture sector. This clearly demonstrated the interdependence between agriculture and other rural industries. For example, initial estimates of gross loss to tourism were in the region of £200-250 million in Scotland, although subsequent research suggests that some household consumption and tourism expenditure was displaced rather than cancelled. Likewise, farm tourism contributes £10 million to the Welsh economy and provides up to 60% of farm incomes (WTB 2001). Overall, the costs to the public and private sectors in the UK have been estimated at £3 billion and £5 billion respectively. Thus agriculture has become intimately entwined with many other aspects of the rural economy, and its integration and interdependency has subsequently been acknowledged in the Scottish Contingency Plan (SEERAD 2003: 4) which "recognises the serious effects that animal diseases such as FMD can have on ... the viability of many farms and businesses in the rural economy, and the impact a disease outbreak can have on other sections of the economy".

Source: Kenyon W and Gilbert A (2005) 'Business reactions to the 2001 Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in Scotland, Local Economy 20(4): 372-388; DEFRA/DCMS (2002) Economic Cost of the Foot and Mouth Disease in the UK: A Joint Working Paper by DEFRA and DCMS, March 2002, London: Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs and Department of Culture, Media and Sport. SEERAD (2003) Scotland's Foot and Mouth Contingency Plan, <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/agri/documents/cp26Feb.pdf>. Wales Tourist Board (WTB) (2001) *Annual Report 1999–2000*, Cardiff: WTB.

Box 9: Role of Farming Networks in the Provision of Public Goods

The linkages between public goods and the agricultural practices and social networks necessary for their provision is neither sufficiently understood nor appreciated in policy. These linkages are investigated in the study 'Social Capital in Hill Farming' with a focus on Cumbria. Here public goods produced through upland agriculture are vital to the regional economy – particularly in the Lake District – as tourists value the scenery, plants and wildlife, the built cultural heritage of stone walls, houses and barns, as well as seeing and interacting with traditional 'dog and stick' farming and associated practices such as sheep gathering. However, the ability to provide these goods depends on the health of the social and cultural fabric of the farming community, for which the following are key issues:

- Transfer of traditional knowledge and skills;
- The will and ability to work together;
- A supply of successors.

Source: Burton R, Mansfield L, Schwarz G, Brown K M and Convery I (2005) *Social Capital in Hill Farming: Report for the International Centre for the Uplands*. Macaulay Institute, Scottish Agricultural College & University of Central Lancashire.

A key feature of multi-functionality is that besides producing food and fibre, agricultural enterprises play a central role in the provision of public goods such as scenery, biodiversity, cultural heritage, and recreational and educational opportunities. Recent shifts in agricultural and rural development policies (see sections 3 and 5) have sought to encourage agricultural businesses to adapt through diversification, in order to capture some of the value of public goods provision. Grants and incentives can be powerful drivers of change.

Nevertheless, policy can limit its effectiveness in the provision of public goods if it becomes too preoccupied with the environmental outputs. Many public goods sought by visitors and residents can only be produced if the social fabric of farming is intact (see Box 9).

SUMMARY: The dominance of agriculture and forestry in the countryside is being challenged, visible in the multiple uses and economic sectors existing in rural space. Today, the rural experience is extremely diverse and consequently there is a need to consider the interactions and relationships between different uses. The focus on distinct sectors is outdated and the emergence of more joined-up planning is a pre-requisite to capture the complexity of rural area policy. Furthermore, recognising the interrelationships between rural and urban areas involves a temporal and spatial perspective to policy-making which has not always been explicit.

8: Discussion and Key Points

Changing the Culture of the Urban-Rural Divide

In this policy brief we challenge a simple divide between urban and rural for rural policy formation. Our selected examples have each shown that we need to go beyond simple stereotypes that characterize much rural debate. In our examination of key propositions about urban-rural differences we find that such generalisations hide more than they reveal and that the boundary between rural and urban has become blurred and fuzzy. Crucially, the range of needs of urban and rural stakeholders have to be identified, managed and mediated in a fair and equitable manner to address future rural policy. This requires a change in institutional culture to address current challenges and priorities for rural areas. The idea of a culture change is not novel; indeed the Scottish Executive publication of 2005 “Modernising the Planning System” calls for such a shift in planners’ culture as they embrace a more joined-up spatial planning agenda. It is logical therefore to extend this to the arena of rural policy at national, regional and local levels where **integration**, **diversity** and **consistency** are key concepts. A genuine culture change will require investment in human and institutional infrastructure to find suitable ways of effectively applying these rich and challenging concepts.

Issues of scale are crucial. There is a localisation effect where simple reductionism or assumptions fail to appreciate the inherent complexity of a particular rural area. There is also a globalization effect where we as society now interact with rural and urban space in different ways – blurring traditional boundaries and transgressing different levels of scale.

Lessons from the Urban-Rural Divide

The key lessons from our analysis of the urban-rural divide stem from a systematic analysis of our four fallacies or myths which reveal that:

- stereotypes rarely illuminate but obfuscate issues;
- the countryside is not a single homogenous entity, it is multifunctional and diverse;
- the institutional response needs to shift from its sectoral past to embrace a more integrated approach that recognises urban-rural interrelationships;
- the lack of strategic policies across agencies and different governance levels for biodiversity, transport, energy, housing and services means that there is no comprehensive vision for the countryside that all bodies can sign up to. The current Rural Development Plan represents a key opportunity to address this;
- the identification and diagnosis of socio-economic problems as well as policy prescriptions require the use of different tools at different spatial scales – transgressing traditional urban-rural boundaries;

- urban and rural categorisations are largely becoming irrelevant as people live their lives in different ways rendering conventional definitions obsolete.

Historically, rural matters have been fragmented and subservient to first urban policy imperatives and then agricultural policy imperatives which continue to the present day. The EU budget confirms the huge discrepancy between Pillar 1 and Pillar 2 support. The institutional response is still largely sectoral with an important historical divide between resource planning and town and country planning. Such affairs separate countryside from much built-up and developed land where most people live and work, reinforcing a cultural divide. The development of a national planning framework for Scotland is welcome and acknowledges the contribution that a spatial planning approach might have for improved joined-up working between planning and other rural issues set within the context of urban-rural interrelationships. However, it is clear from our work that highly aggregated data and lack of data can both hinder our understanding of patterns and trends at a local scale. The idea of a **rural observatory** to capture and share all rural data is an obvious tool to improve policy, basing it on empiricism rather than presumption.

We wish to support a new way of thinking that stresses the interdependencies in a system where we all have a potential stake and interest. This system refutes simple notions of idyll, identity and stereotype but rather identifies and explains what the drivers, trends, impacts and responses are in particular places at particular scales at particular times.

Policy action is needed which:

- Changes the culture and modus operandi of agencies to pursue a joined-up vision for rural areas that all departments in government nationally and locally can sign up to.
- Generates improved data about dynamics of changes in rural areas. The idea of a rural observatory is a key to improving rural intelligence to shape a more unified set of policy responses.
- Recognizes the importance of understanding particular places and their interrelationships locally, regionally, nationally and internationally;
- Reconfigures institutional responses reflecting:
 - different scales of influence;
 - people's needs rather than pre-designed and outdated top-down structures that characterize particular sectoral interests.

Emerging policy approaches are starting to recognize these interdependencies and linkages but still seem sectoral in approach and delivery. There is a need for policy approaches to move towards sustainable development encompassing a more holistic approach. This is nothing new in terms of theoretical considerations. The challenge is to implement this in practice.

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