



NORDREGIO
Nordic Centre for Spatial Development

Structures, Processes, Policies

Spatial Development in Sparsely Populated Areas

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Nordic Council of Ministers

Established in 1997 by the Nordic Council of Ministers

- Providing knowledge that enhances **Nordic** cooperation and strengthens the Nordic countries while acting in a global context
- Development of policy-relevant and evidence-based **knowledge** concerning territorial development



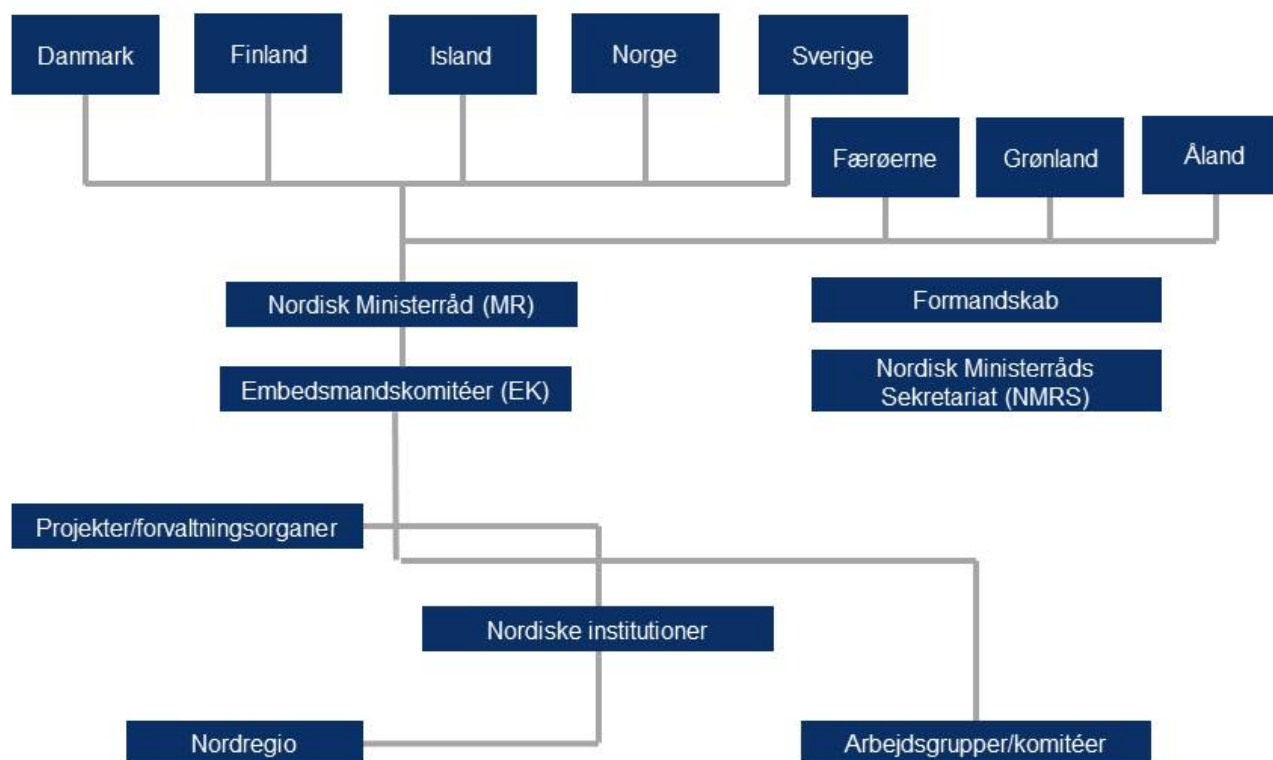
Photos: Karin Beate Nøsterud/horden.org, VisitDenmark, Nicolai Perjesi

Nordiska Ministerrådet

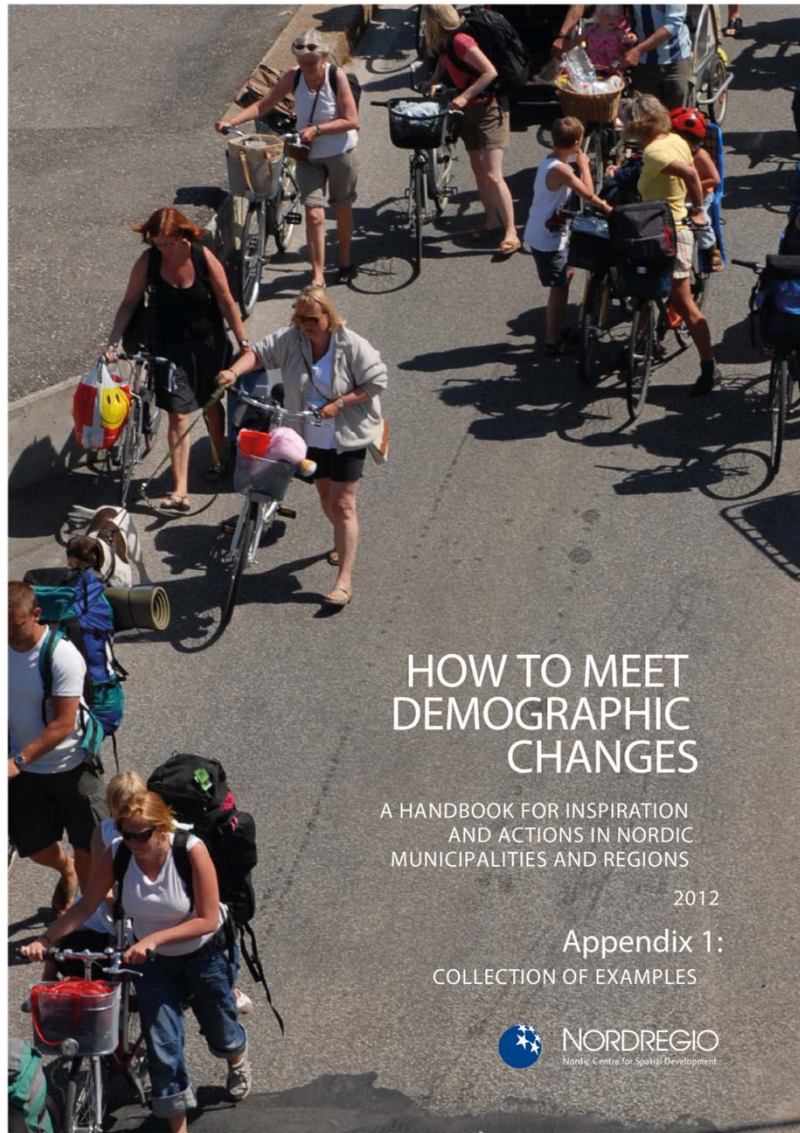


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Nordic Working Group on Demography and Welfare

- Mapping demographic challenges
 - Creating shared, pan-Nordic knowledge

- Mix of sectoral policies at national level
 - But difficult for the national level to develop territorially differentiated initiatives

- Best practices of local initiatives
 - Importance of Nordic municipalities in delivering welfare (e.g. provision of services of general interest)

- Nordic Demographic Programme

Common to both is the ideological mantra that intentional action should be doubly anchored; one fluke in the facts of scientific knowledge, the other in the norms of utilitarian ethics – in essence, a social democratic reformulation of the Marxian maxim that while the philosophers are trying to understand the world, the real point is to change it.

Gunnar Olsson, *Nordplan and Nordregio*, in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, pp. 469-472

Outline

Demography in context

Spatial Structures &
Dynamics

Rural economies in
transition

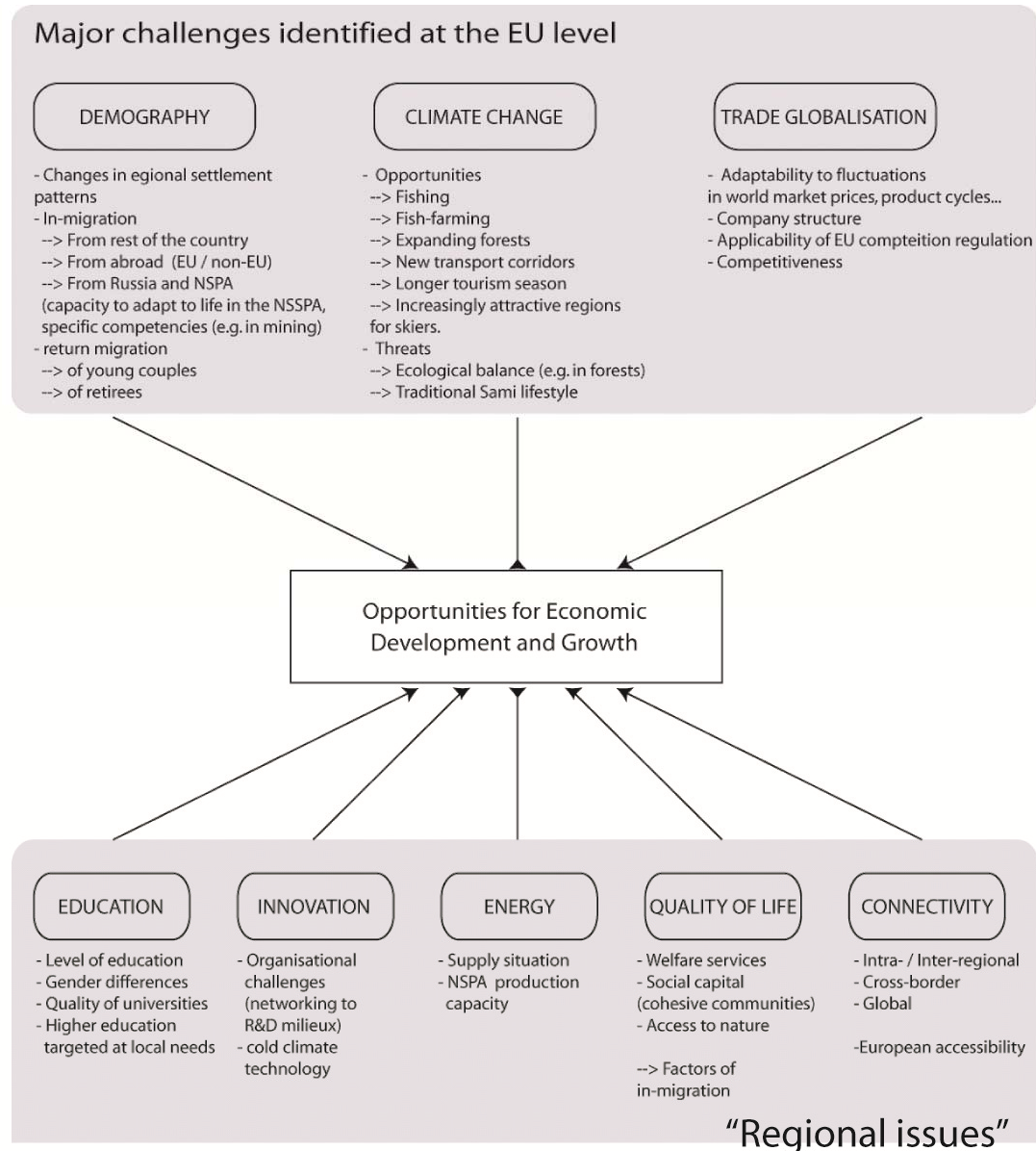
Development policies –
Policy developments

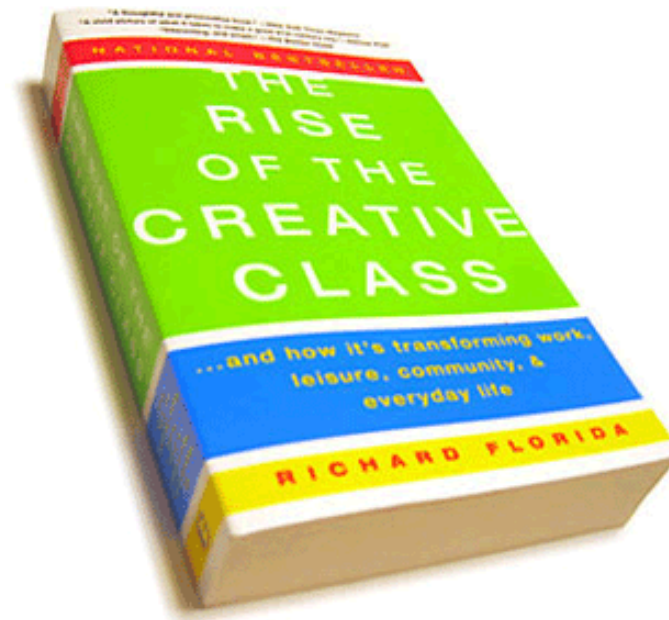
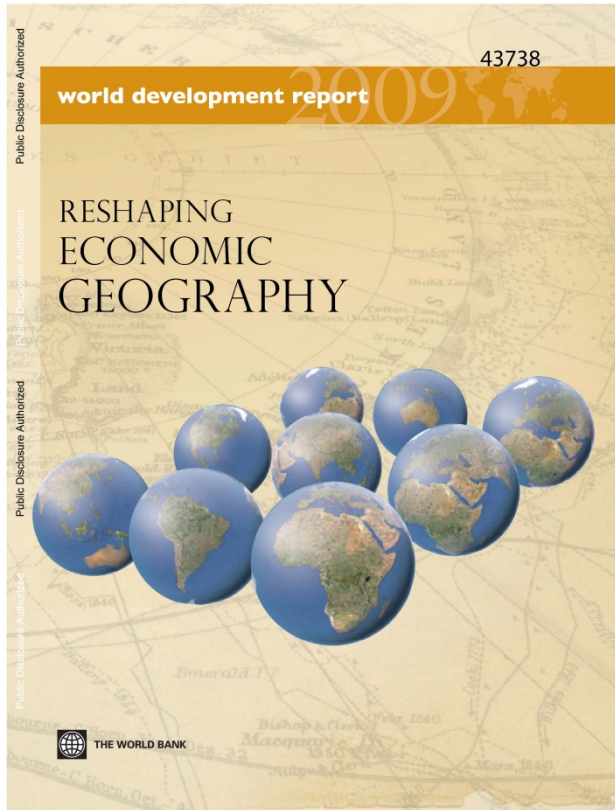
Demography in context

Global issue,

National concern,

Local implications.





Demographic change

Figure 2.1: Total population change in the Nordic Countries in relation to the Nordic and EU28 averages.

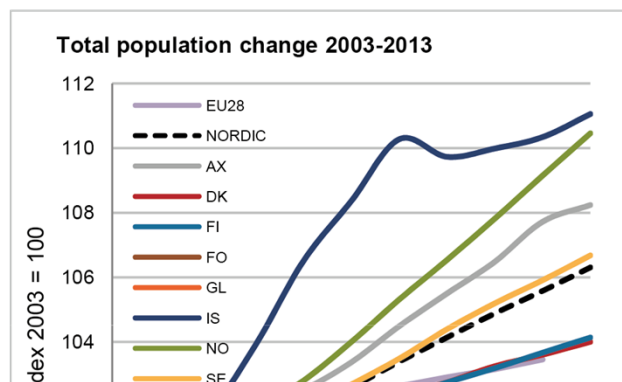
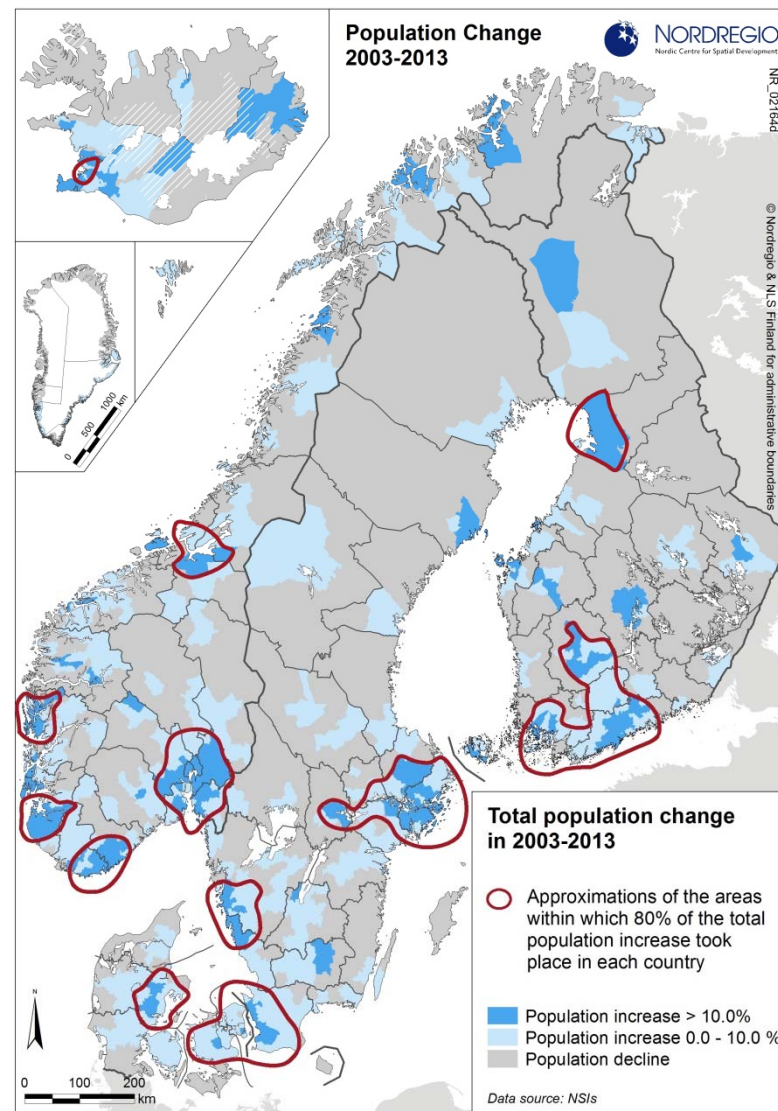
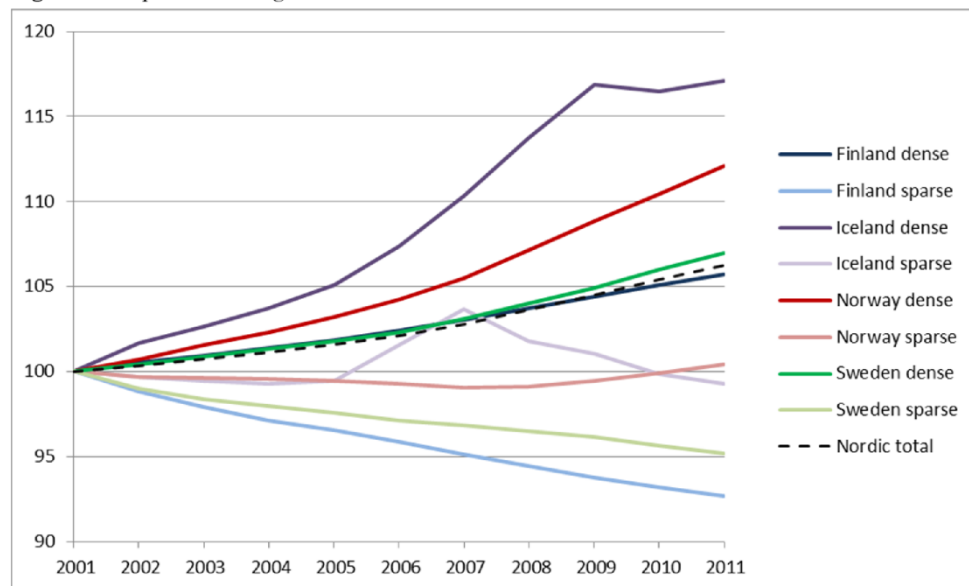


Figure 11: Population change in the Nordic countries 2001-2011



Rural decline: the dark side of urbanization

- Affects essentially remote rural areas -> thinning out
- Imbalances in the population and employment structure within remote rural regions (ex: Västerbotten/Umeå case)
- Does not affect all demographic categories equally
- Generates imbalances in the labour-market in addition to overall shrinking
- Lack of critical mass for delivering efficiently basic services, both in terms of quality and cost

Spatial Structures and Dynamics

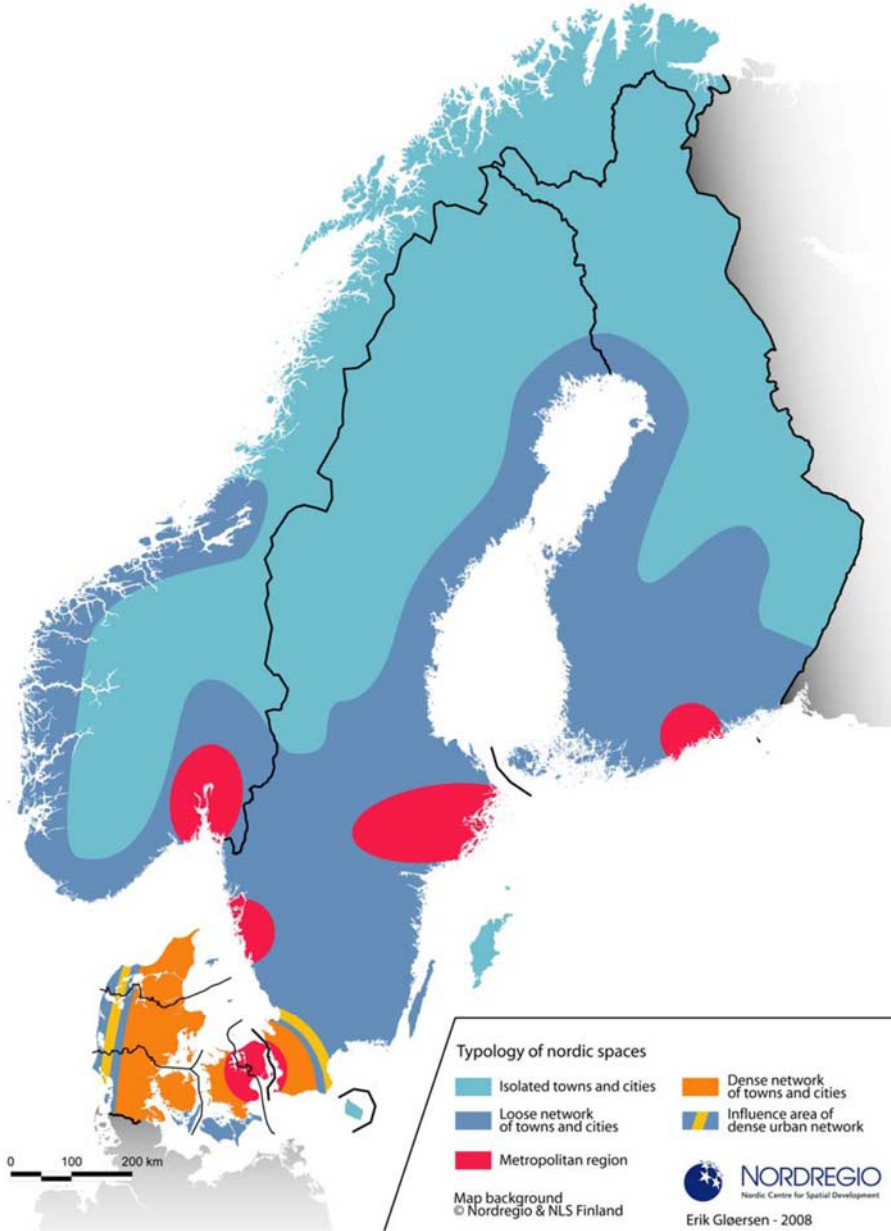
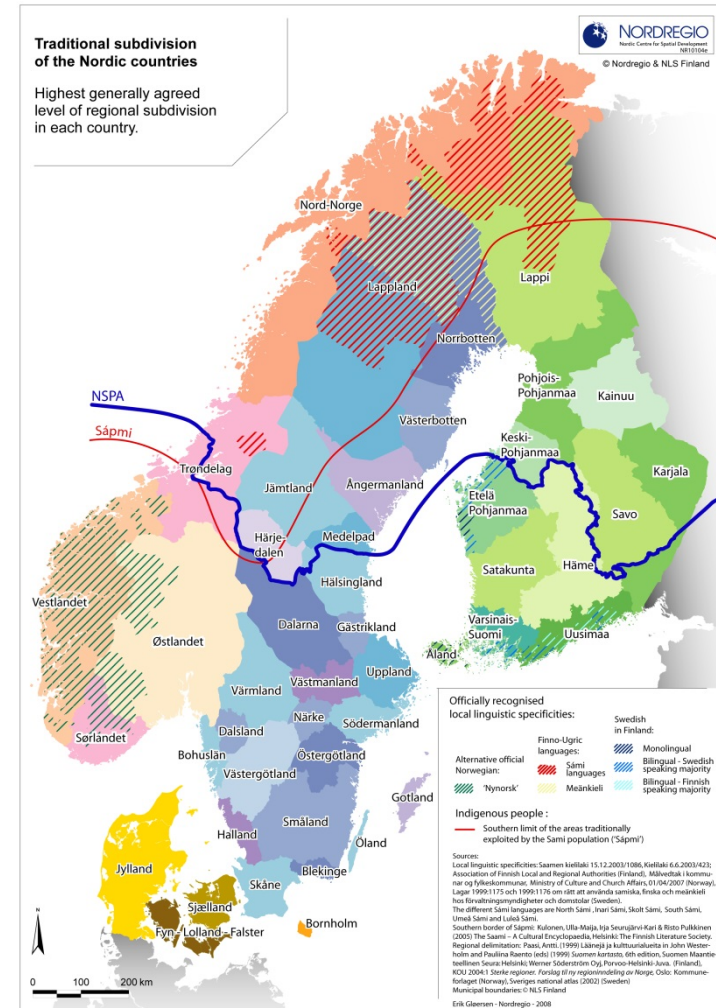


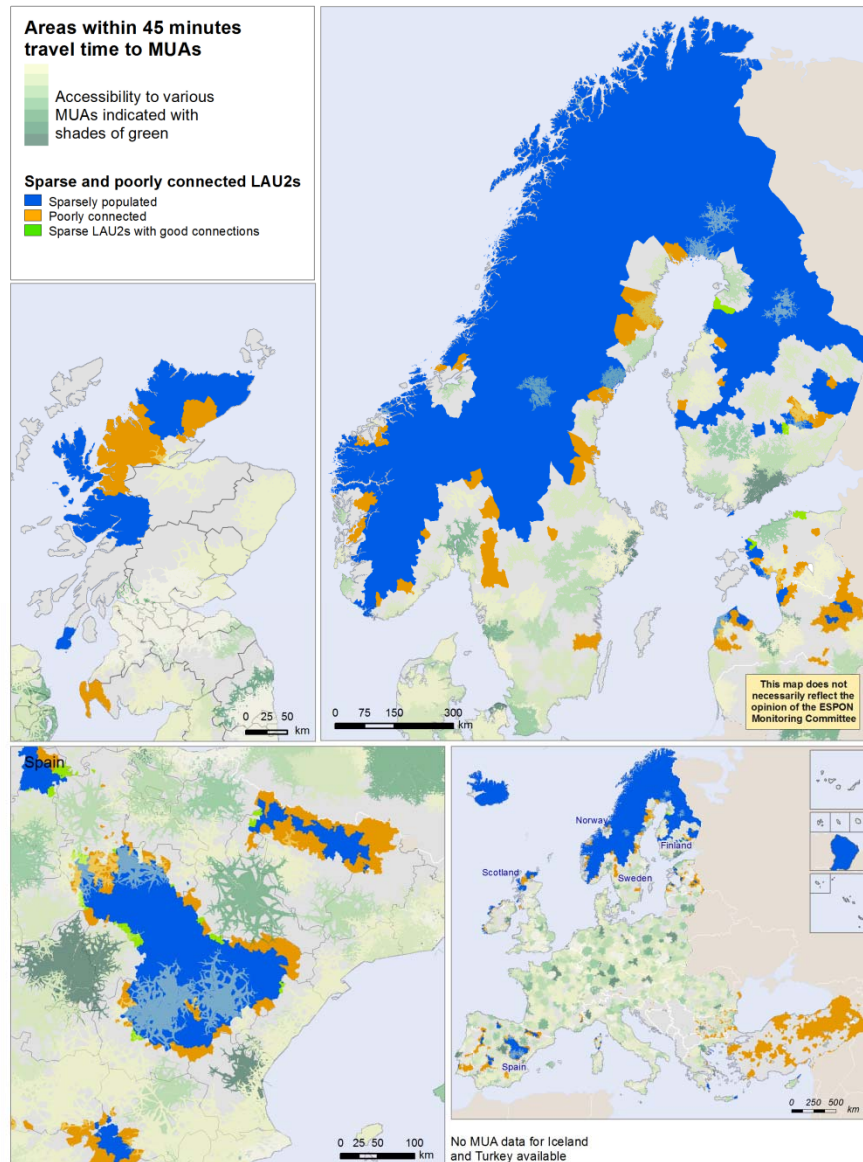
Figure 1.1 Schematic typology of Nordic spaces (Erik Gloersen)

The Nordic Space

- Sparsely Populated Areas are a defining characteristic of the Nordic space



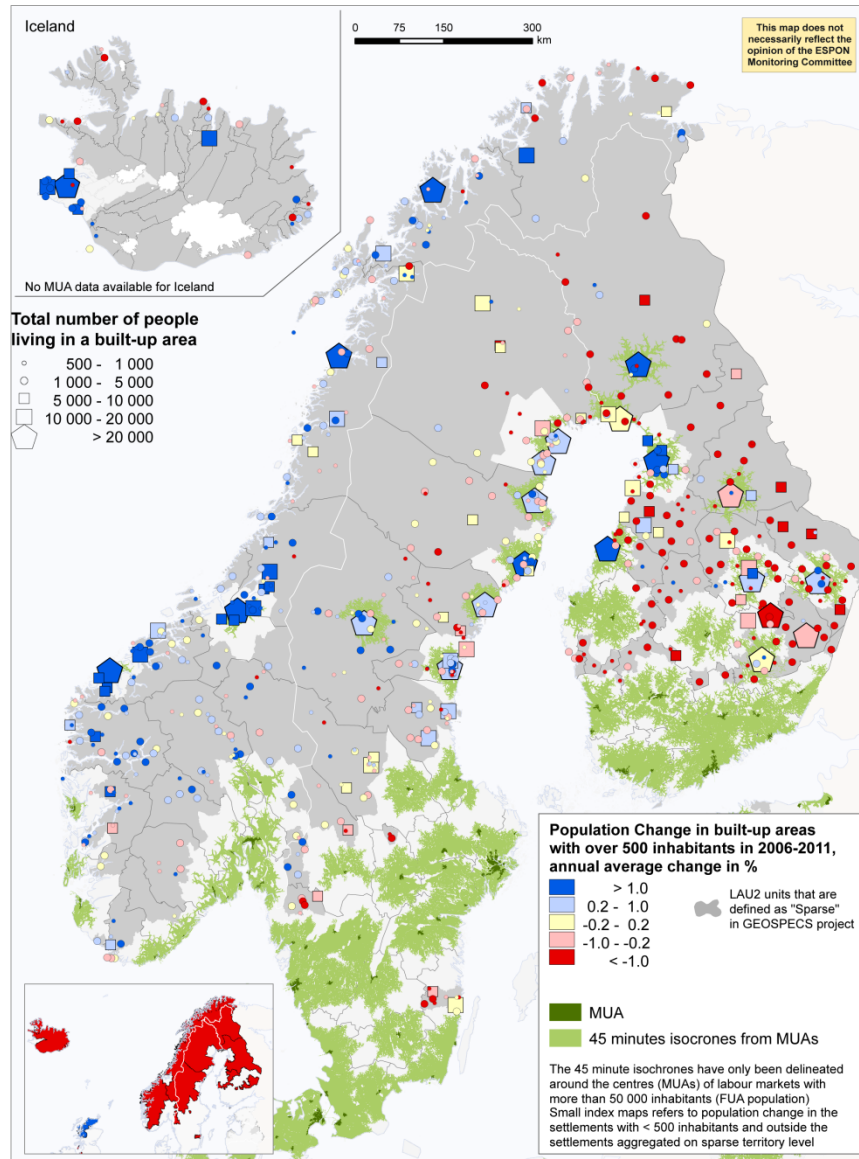
Sparsely Populated Areas - Access to MUAs



Delimitating SPA

- Not a question of *average* population density of regions (NUTS3)
- Perception of relative isolation of individual communities
- Getting a more accurate picture or territorial dynamics
- Basis for informed spatial development policies
- A (measurable) definition: places for which the population reachable within 45 min is below 100.000 inh.

Population Change in Settlements in Northern SPAs



Demographic change =
policy shift?

Growing regional centres on the
coast

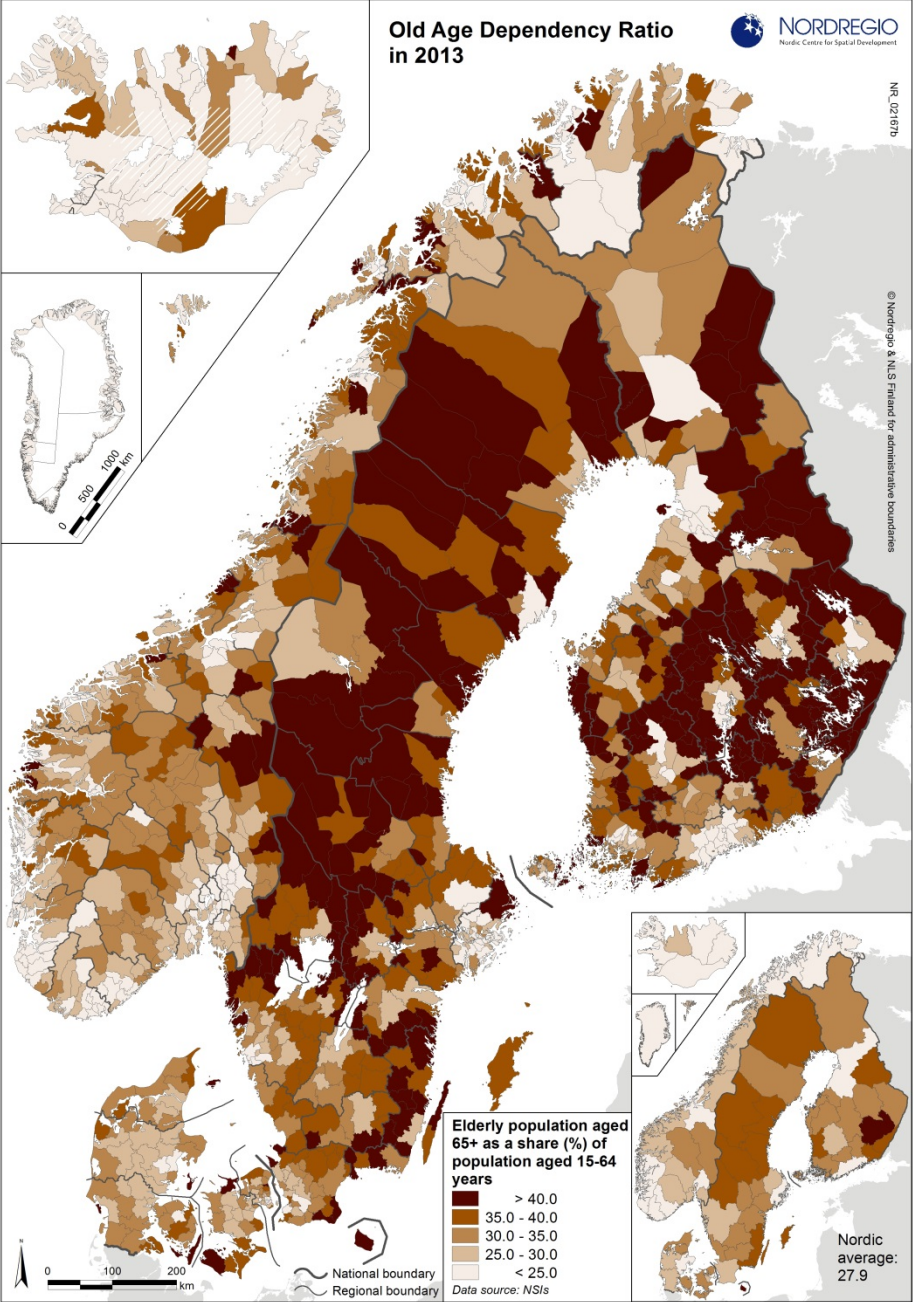
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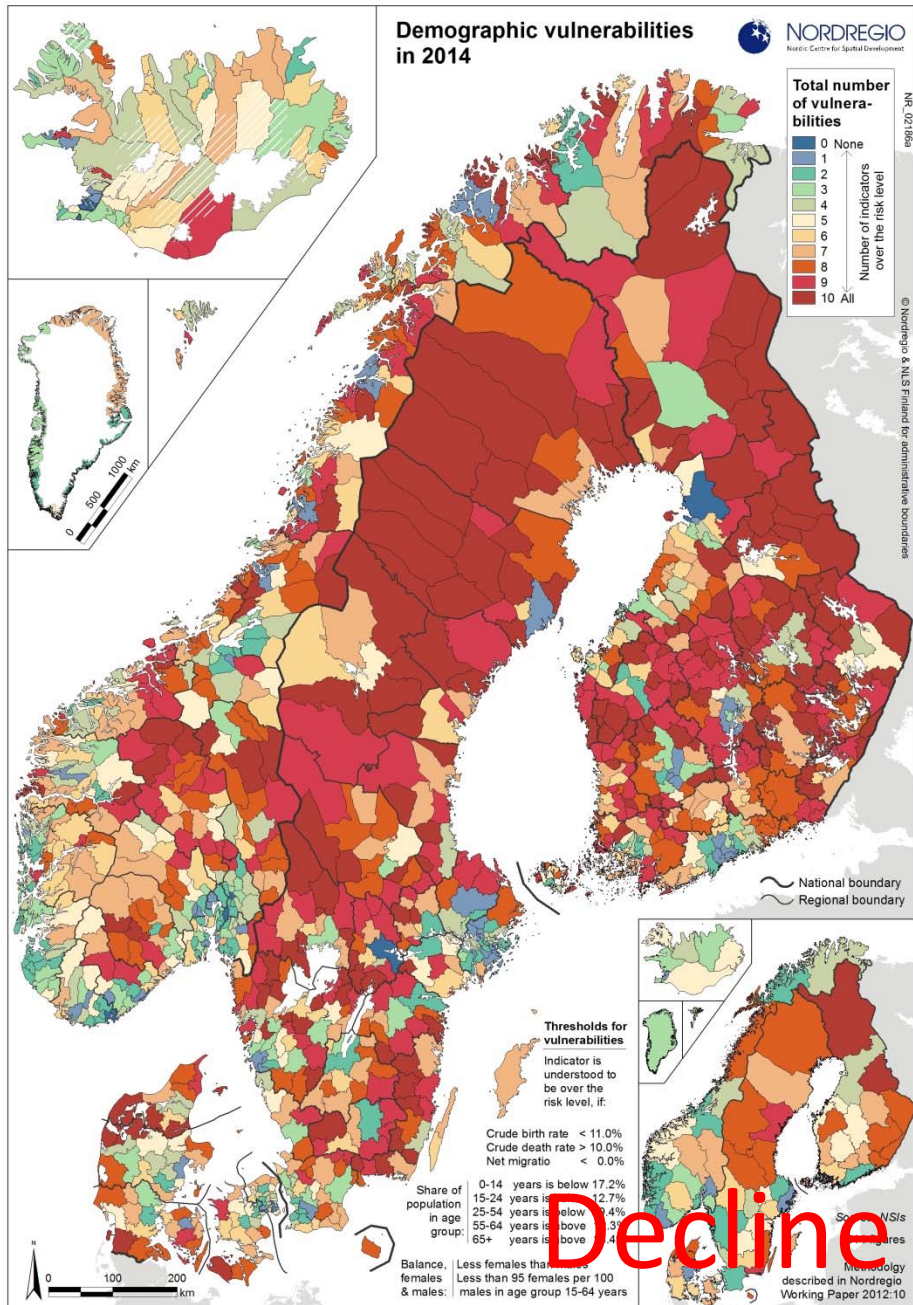
Declining settlements in the
hinterland

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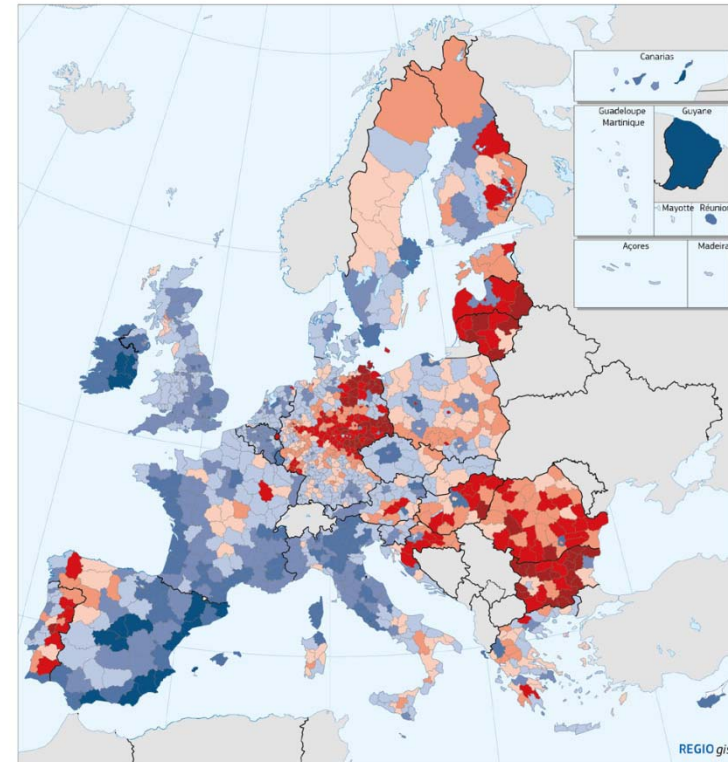
NSPA are becoming simultaneously
more urbanized and more sparse

Ageing





Demographic vulnerabilities



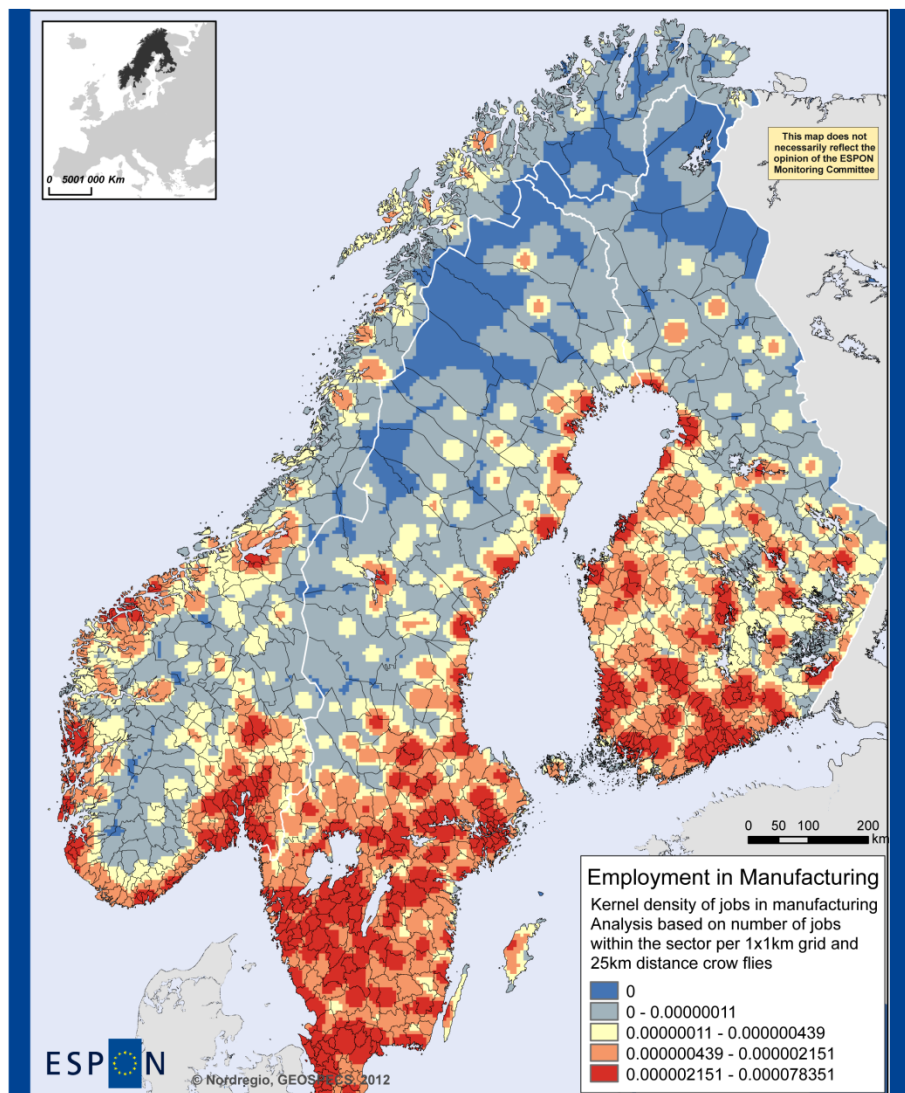
Decline or Transition?



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Rural economies in transition

Employment in Manufacturing



Spatial shift of industrial activities

- Demographic shift is also a spatial shift in the geographical distribution of jobs

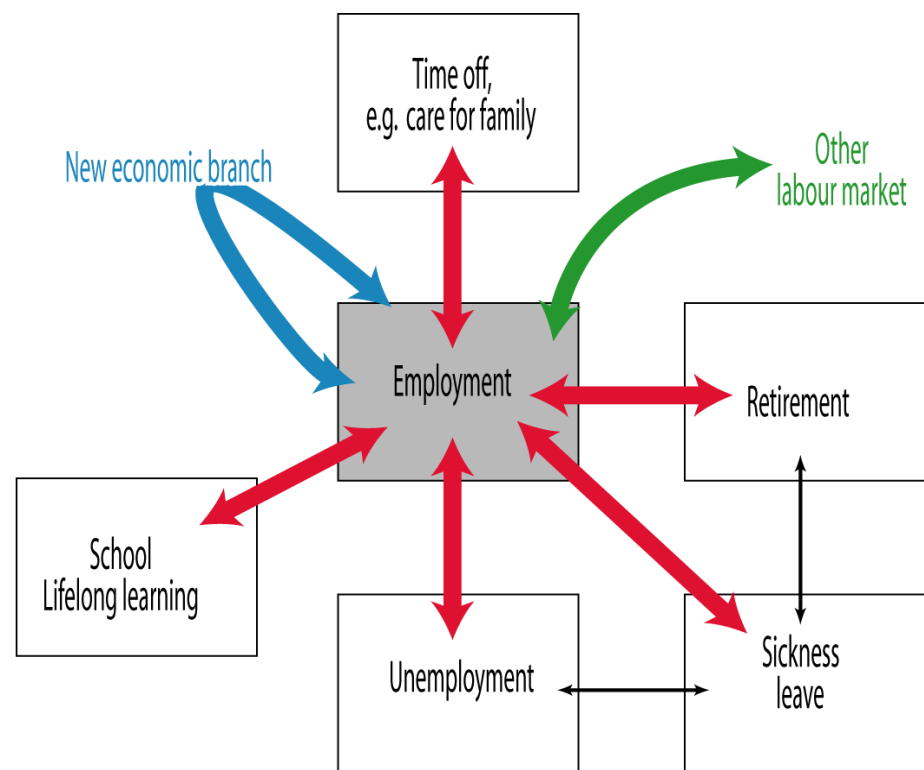
Table 3: Produced added-value by small firms (5-49 employees) in the manufacturing sector (SNI 2007 10-45) between 2004 and 2008

	Produced added-value (in millions of SEK)		
	2004	2008	Annual average growth 2004-08
Sweden	466 145	653 370	9,8%
Norrland*	25 225	44 583	15,3%
<i>urban municipalities</i>	10 204	22 482	21,8%
<i>non-urban municipalities</i>	15 021	22 101	10,1%

* combined Västerbotten and Norrbotten counties

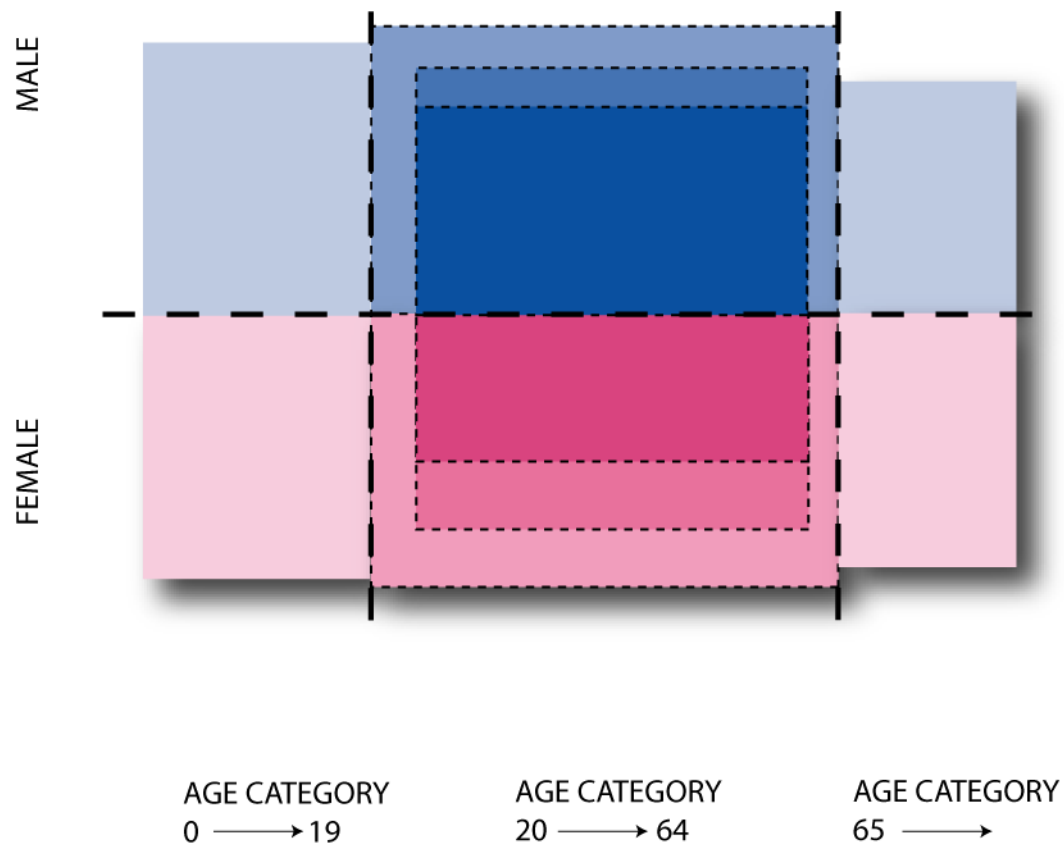
Source: National Statistical Office Sweden (SCB)

Transitional Labour Market



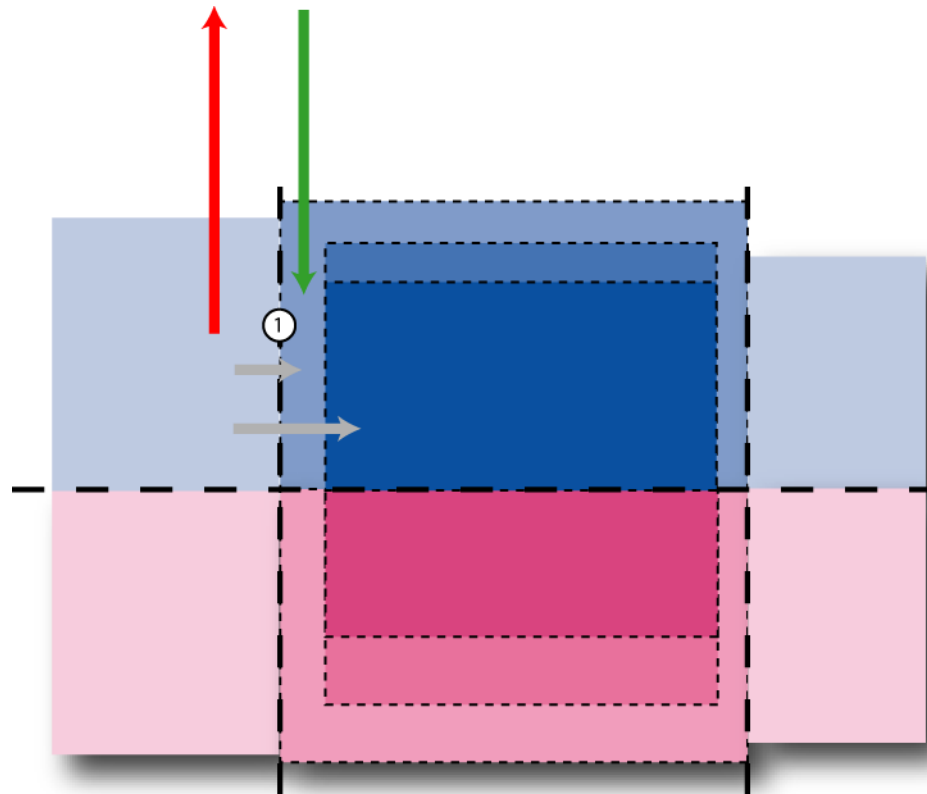
After Günther Schmid (1999) and Lars-Olof Persson (2005)

Flows in/out of LLM



- TOTAL POPULATION: Population residing in the region, all age categories
- WORKING AGE POPULATION: Population in age of working (19-64)
- LABOUR FORCE: Population in age of working (19-64), and participating to the labour market (employed + unemployed, excl. students and retired)
- EMPLOYED POPULATION: Population in employment

Flows in/out of LLM



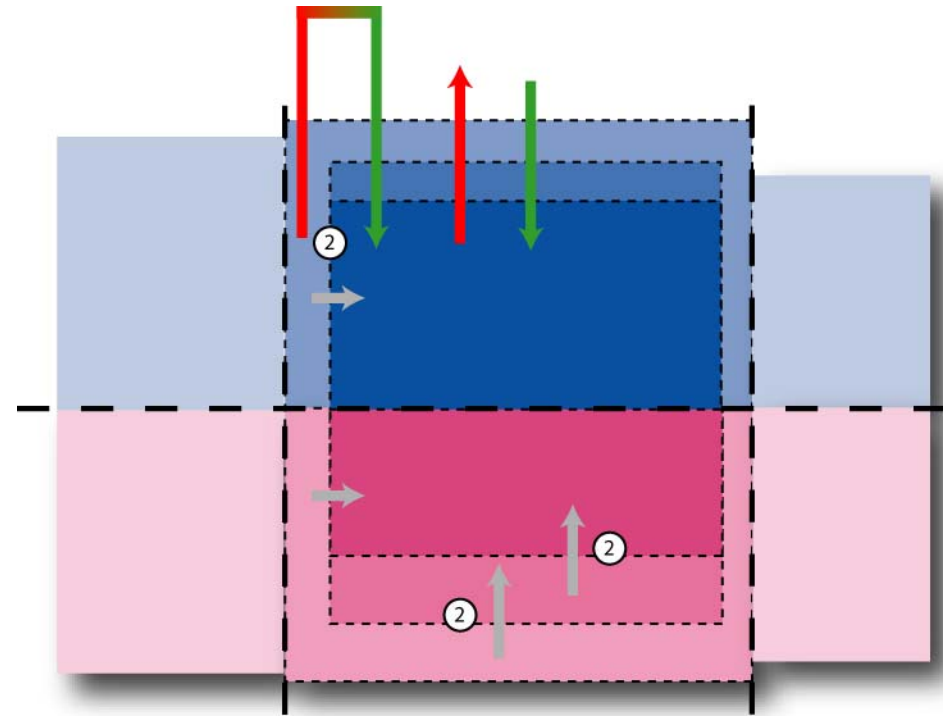
HUMAN RESOURCES INTERFACE

①

Entering the active population

- ➔ Some of the youngsters brought up in the region will stay in the region for studies
- ➔ Others will go directly into the working population
- ➔ Others will leave to another region or country to study
- ➔ Some other persons will enter the region to study

Flows in/out of LLM



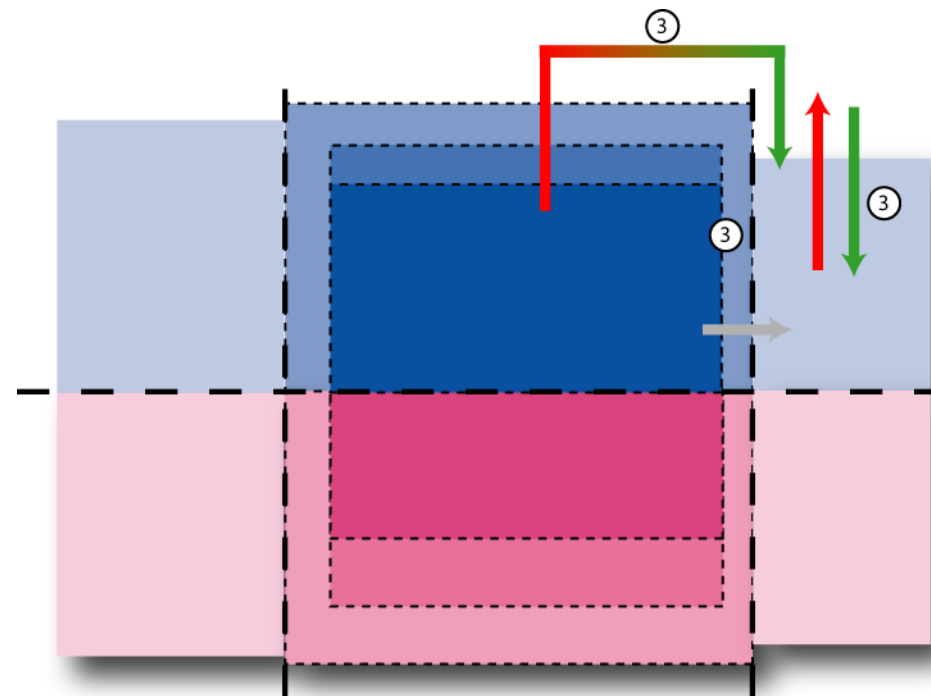
HUMAN RESOURCES INTERFACE

②

Entering the labour-market

- ➔ Young adults that have studied in the region will start a professional activity in the region
- ➔ Persons previously outside the labour force (either employed or unemployed) will enter the labour-market. Typically, it could be women that are starting a professional activity after years being a housewife
- ➔ Other persons previously unemployed will find a job
- ⬇️ Some other persons will enter the region, from another domestic region or abroad, to work
- ⬆️ Some persons employed in the region will change jobs to a better job in another region
- ⬇️ A certain number of young adults that left the region for studying in another region/country will come back to the region for strating their professional activity

Flows in/out of LLM



HUMAN RESOURCES INTERFACE

③

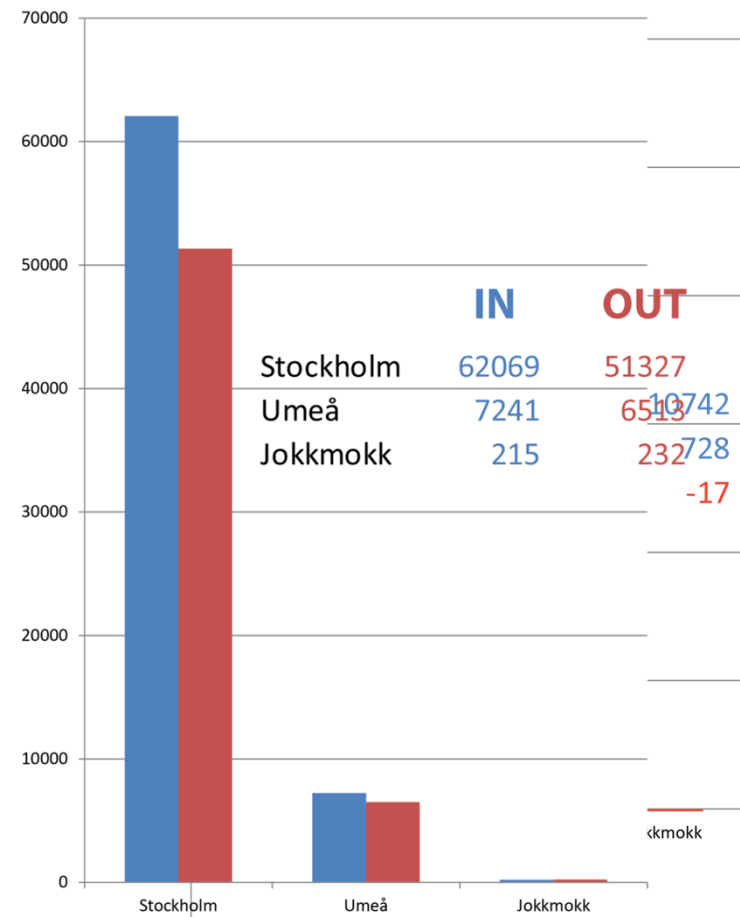
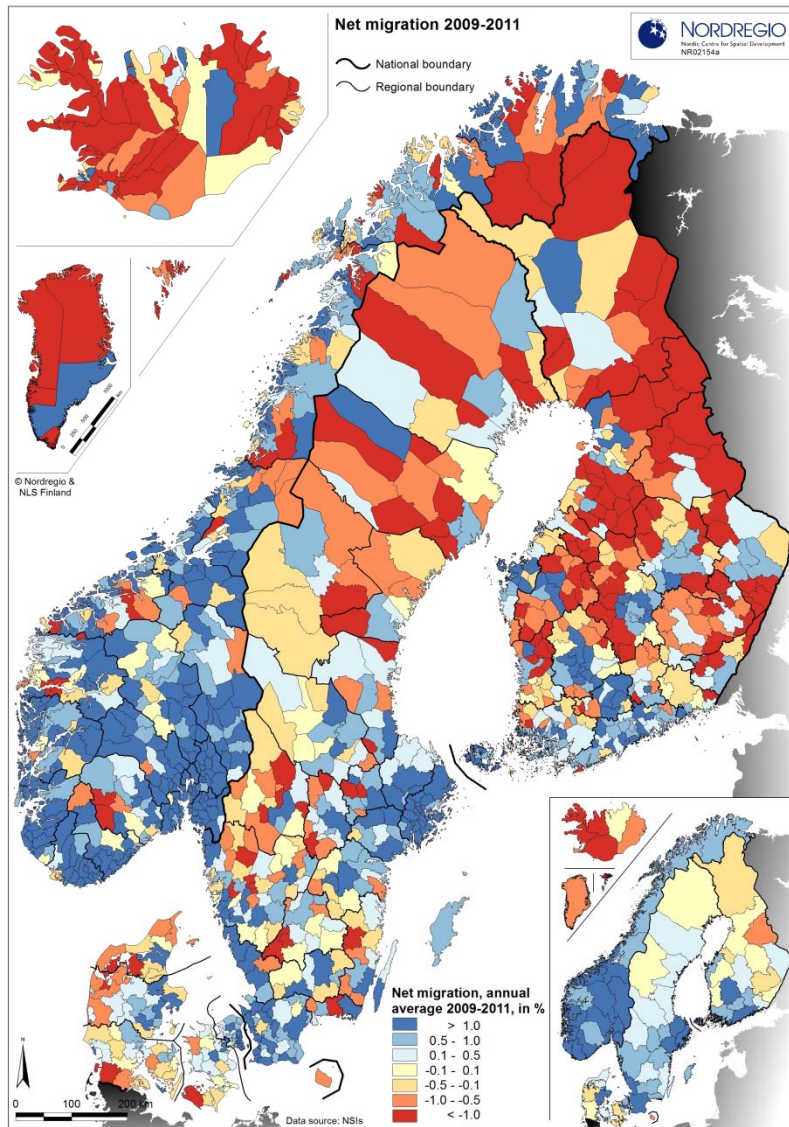
Leaving the labour-market

- ➔ Adults in age of retiring (between 60 and 65 depending on the country) will retire and stay in the region
- ↻ Adults that were brought up in the region but left to another region/country for their professional activity will come back for spending their retirement (return migration)
- ↑ Elderly people will leave the region during their retirement to another region/country with more adapted quality of life (e.g. old Swedes settling in southern Spain)
- ↓ Elderly people previously settled in another region/country will come to the region to spend their last years of their life

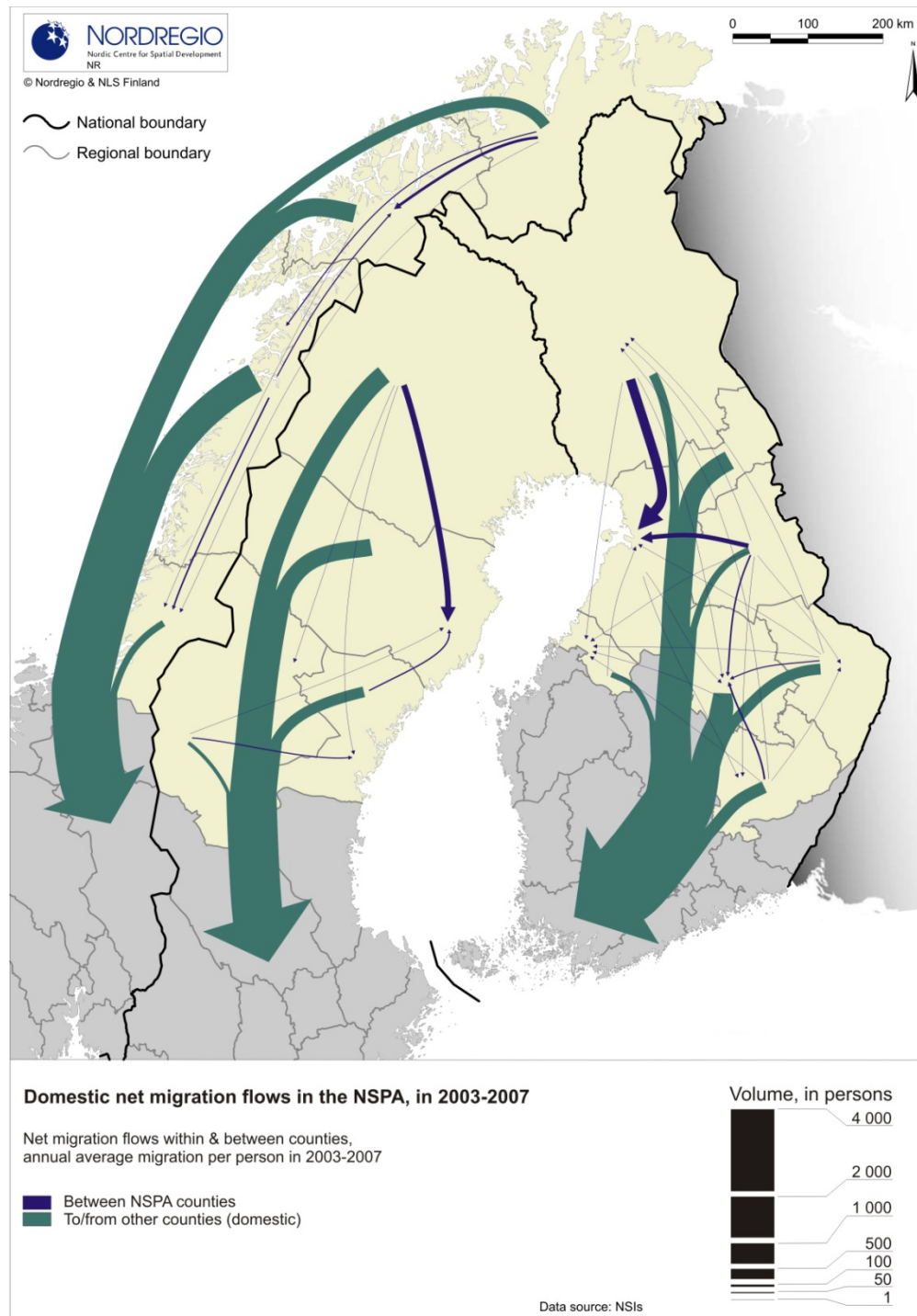
Measuring mobilities

- Increased mobility across countries, regions and localities makes it difficult to develop coherent long-term strategies at the *local level*
 - How to influence the sum of individual choices that create societal challenges
 - Varying spatial and temporal aspects of mobilities impact the need for accessibility: commuting, migration, vacation, business trips.

Mobility flow imbalances

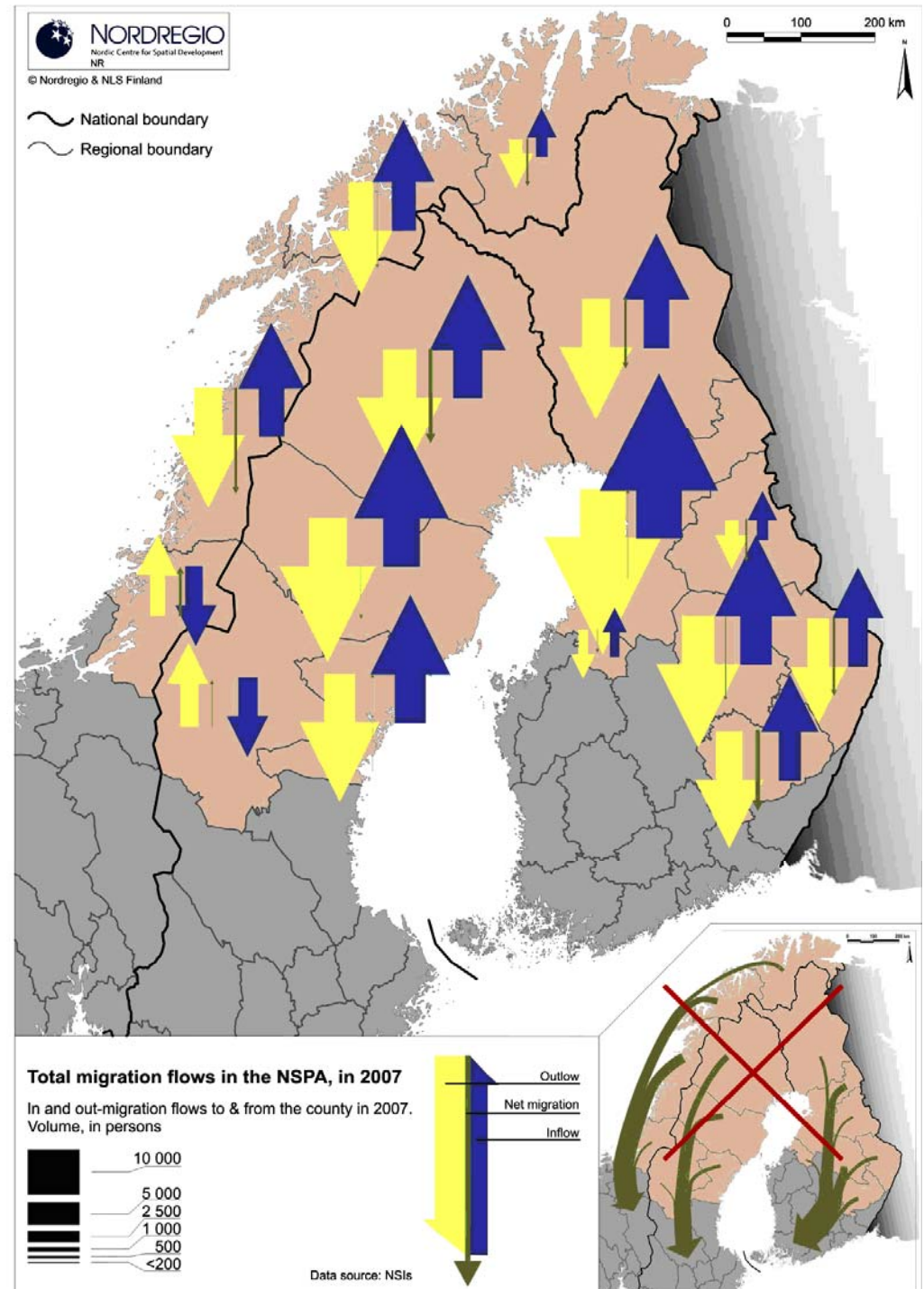


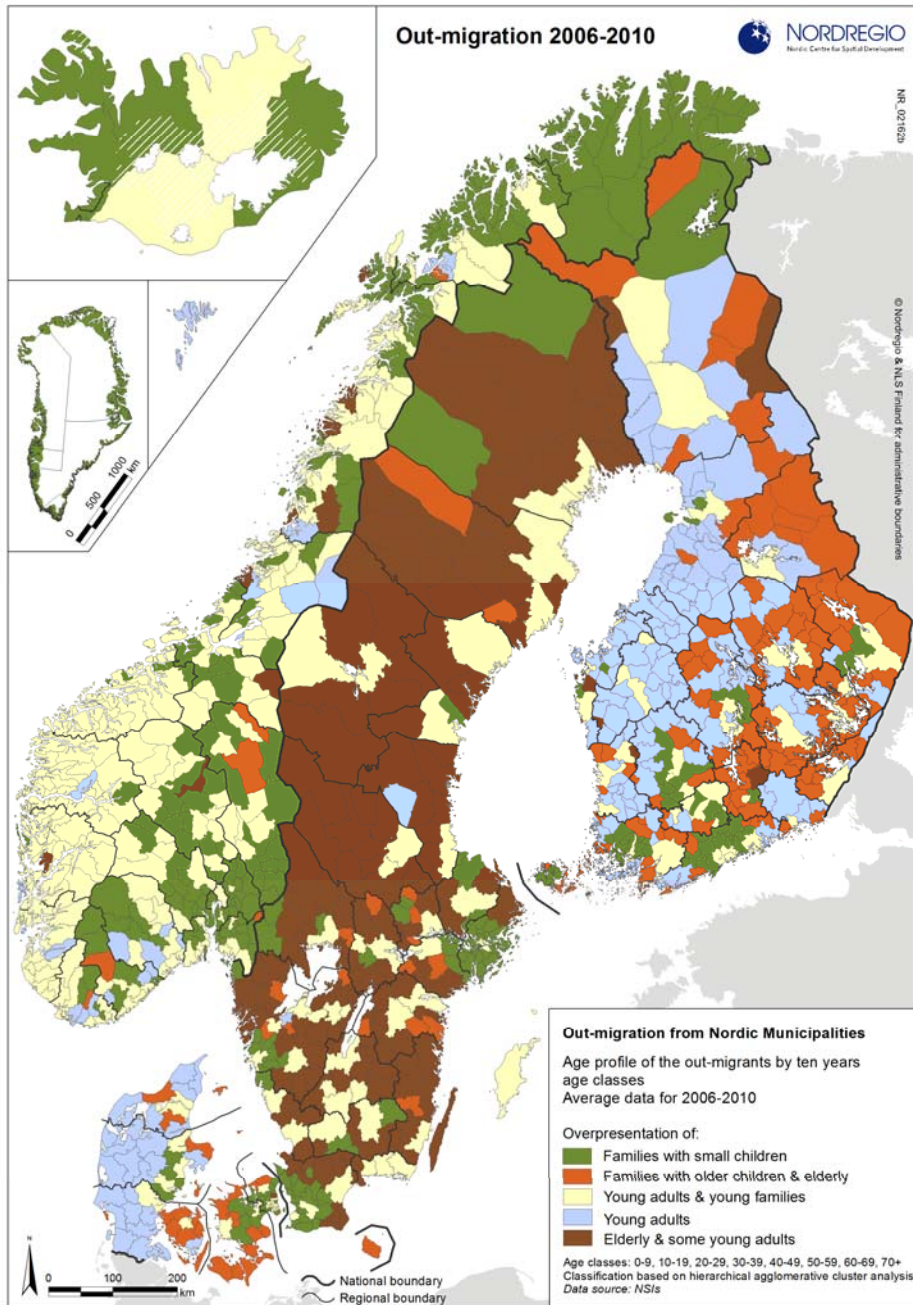
A new exodus?



Negative net migration in NSPA is the result of relatively small imbalances in considerably larger in and out flows.

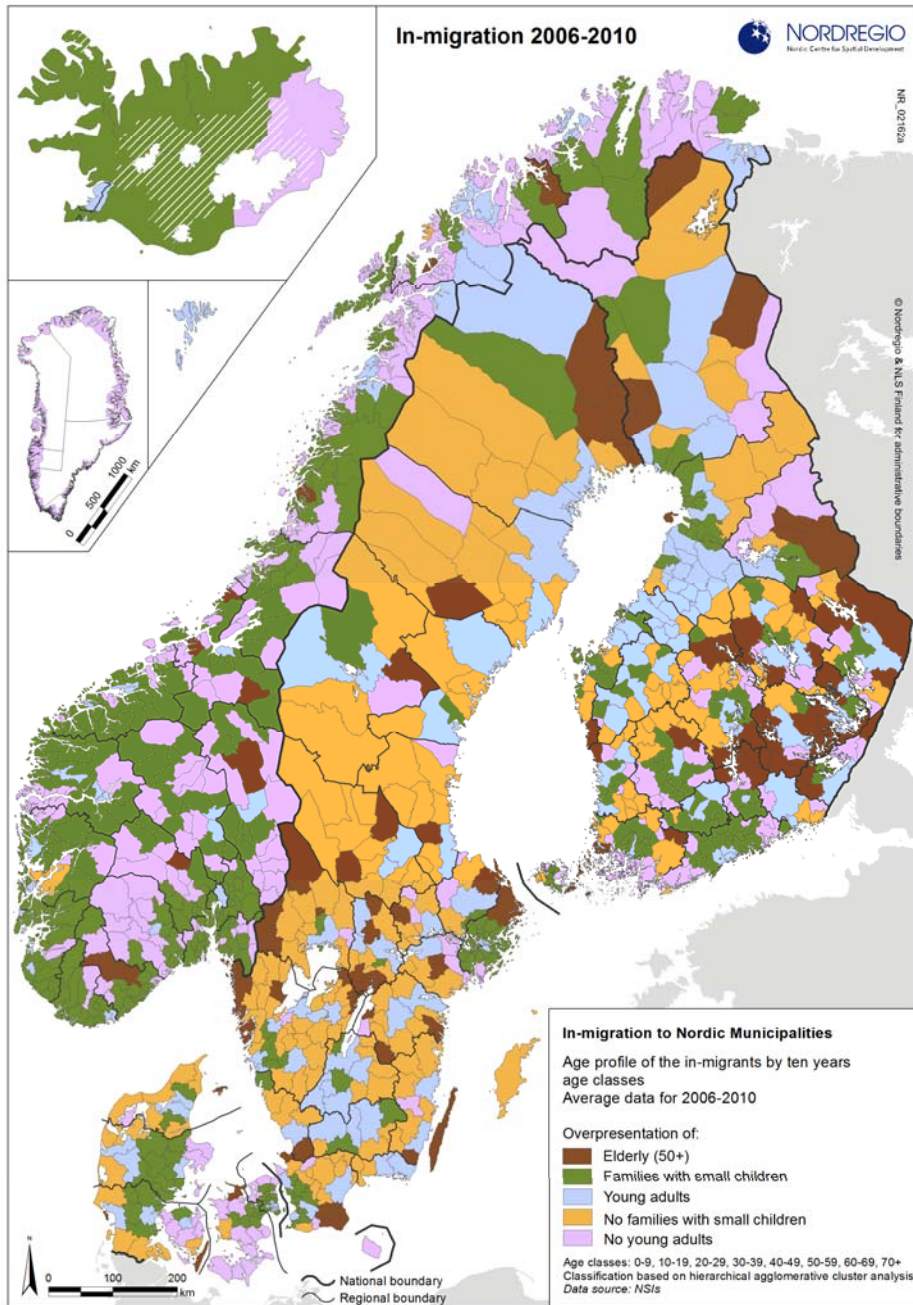
Political action focusing on these flows may lead to a positive net migration.





Who moves out?

- Young adults from the main cities
- Families with children in Norway
- Elderly people from Swedish countryside



Who moves in?

- Young adults to the main cities
- Early retirees to the countryside
- Families with young children in Norway and some other secondary cities

Development Policies - Policy Developments

Why is sparsity a challenge for regional policy?

- A clear objective: Territorial Cohesion

people should be able to live wherever they want

“securing better living conditions and quality of life with equal opportunities irrespective of where people live”

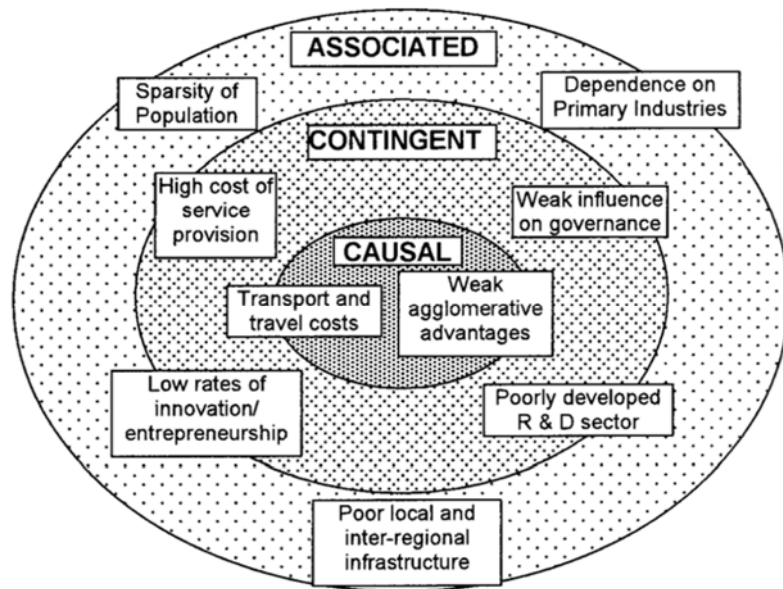
- A new motto: Territorial Diversity

“competitiveness and prosperity depend on the capacity of the people and businesses located there to make the best use of all of territorial assets.”

Green Paper on Territorial Cohesion (2008)

Core-Periphery in a nutshell

“For both geographers and economists alike the world is becoming more ‘spiky’, peppered with economic agglomerations separated by ever growing economic ‘deserts’” (Rodríguez-Pose, 2011, 351).

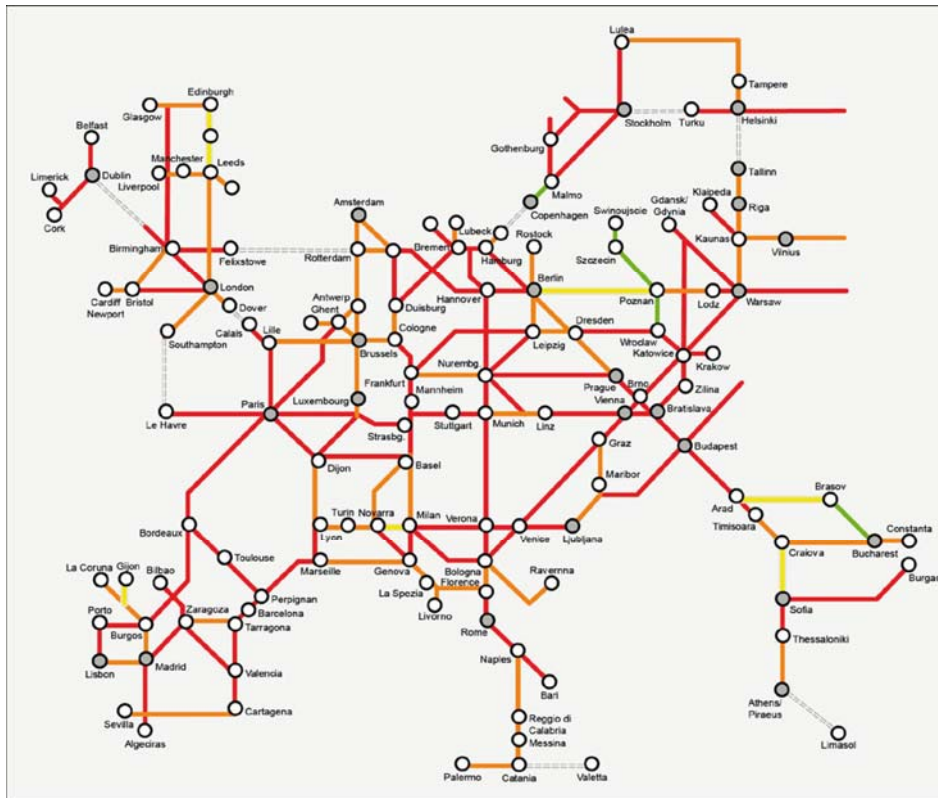


Source: Copus 2001:540

- *Economy* - ‘peripherality’ can be conceived as a spatial theory linking geography and economic process (Anderson, 2000).
- *Power* - peripherality refers to the condition of being at the edge of a communication system and to the perception of being marginalised and distant from decision-making centres. (Anderson, 2000)
- *Dependence* - “rurality and remoteness from markets has generally been defined with respect to a single, central market” (Ward and Hite, 1998).
- *European Spatial Planning* – relates to the locational disadvantage of being located far away from the continent’s major markets (Keeble et al. 1982; 1988)” -> low ‘market potential’ (Crone, 2012)

The three C's

- Competition between cities and regions
- Urban-Rural continuum
- Rural areas are deemed as uncompetitive in this normative agenda
 - Rural Development becomes a corollary of Urban Development (focus on urban-rural partnerships)
 - *Shadow areas* of urban-urban connectivity (Richardson, 2000, p.58)
- Transport infrastructure
 - symbolic linkages that usually have little (positive) economic impacts

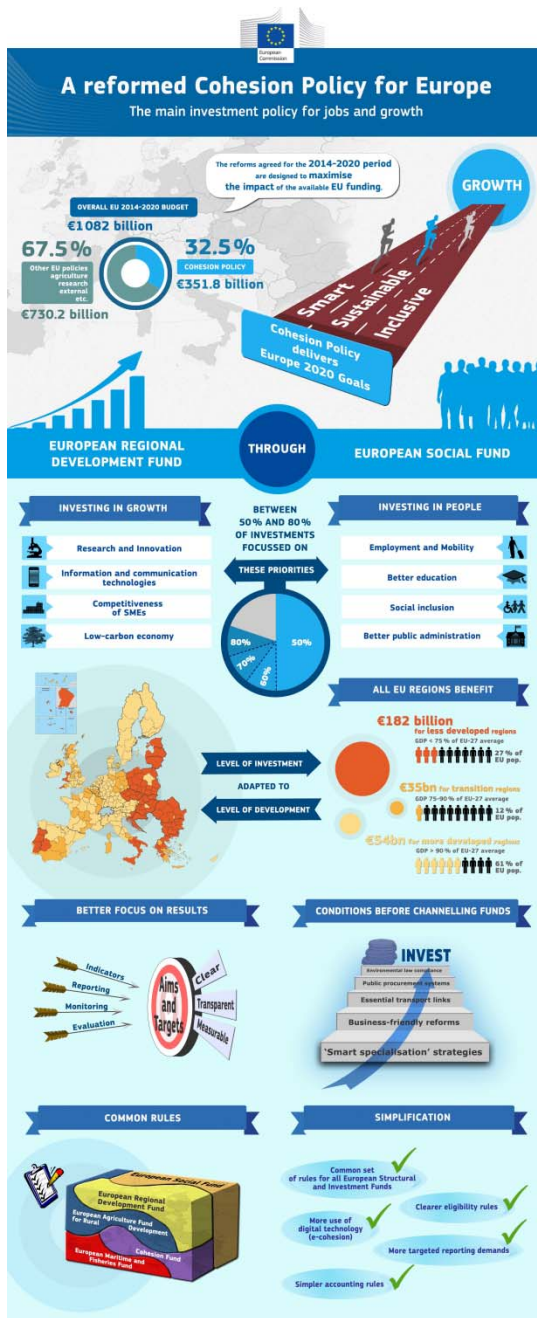


Map 1.22b Average travel speed on the core Ten-T road network, 2030



Sources: Stelder et al. (2013), JRC IPTS and DG REGIO calculations

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EU Policies with impact on Rural Regions

■ Cohesion Policy

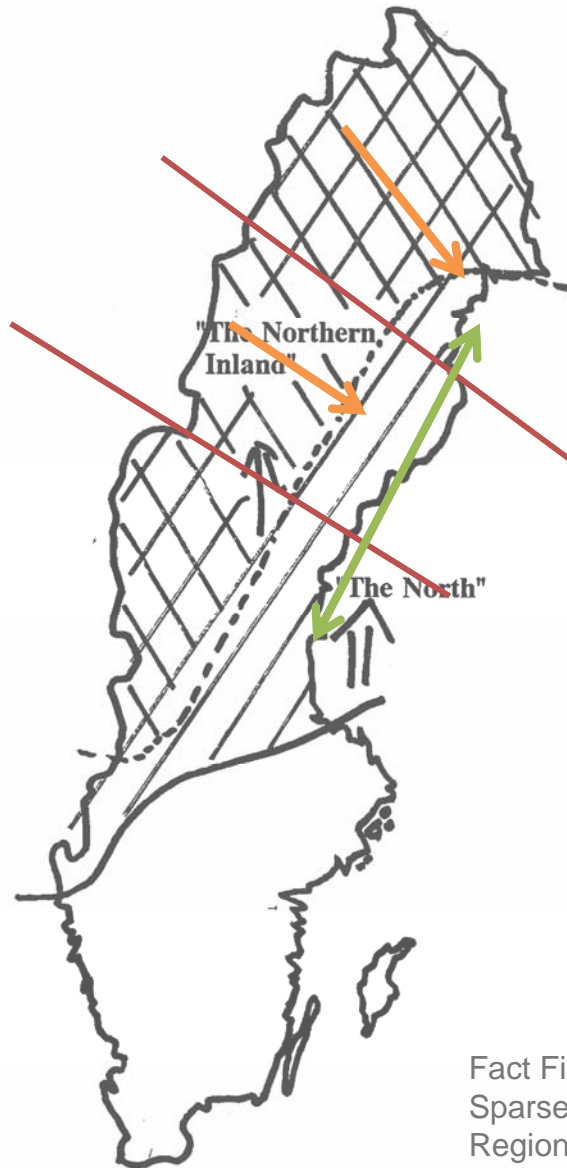
- Investments at the regional level
- Implementing the Europe 2020 Agenda
- Promoting regional performance

■ Common Agricultural Policy

- Supporting the primary sector (Pillar I)
- Supporting diversification (Pillar II)
- Supporting local constellations of actors

2.

Regional Development: friend or foe?



Fact Finding mission on the
Sparsely Populated
Regions of Finland, Norway
and Sweden (1992)

■ Regional development policies

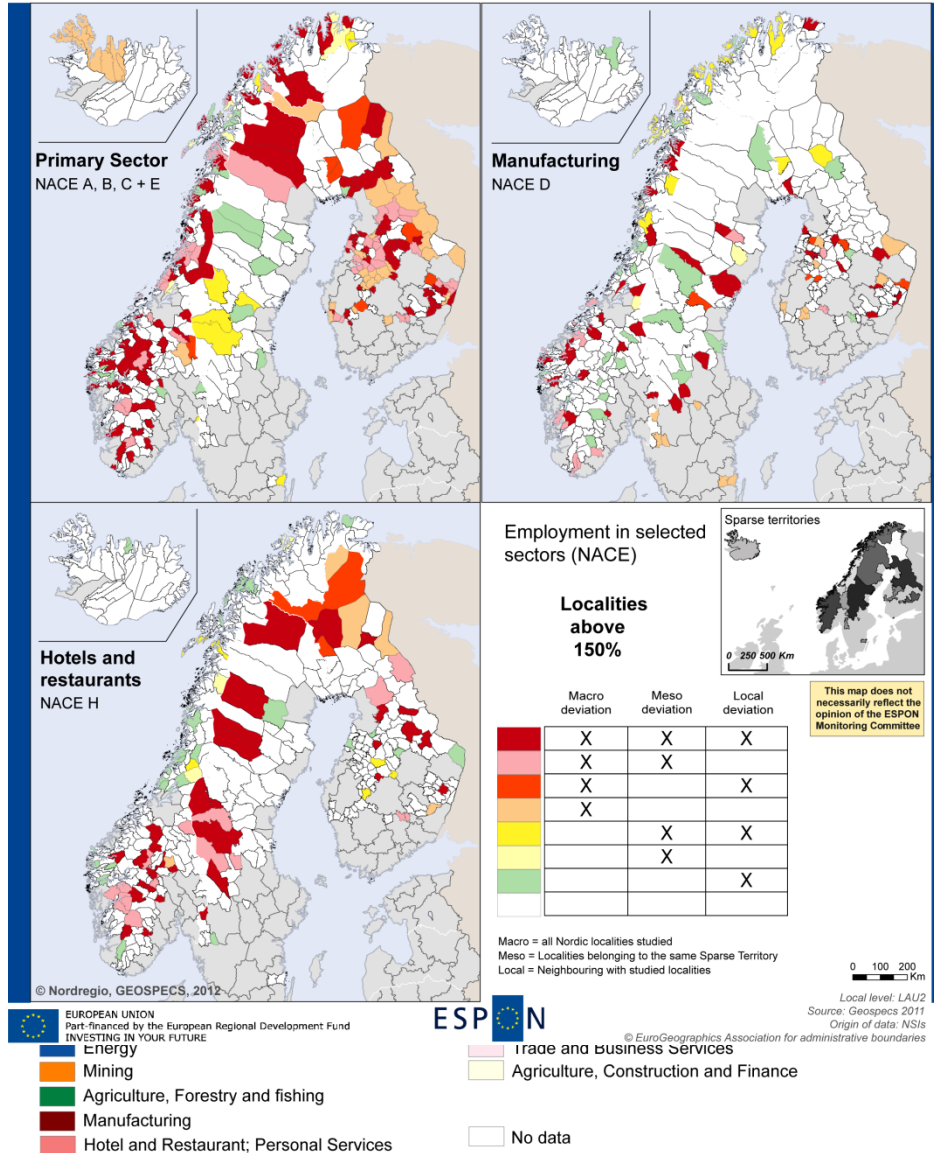
- Fragmentation of rural space
- Institutional marginalization
- No leverage for holistic spatial planning approaches

■ Functional rural spaces:

- interdependencies, not dependencies from regional centres
- Regional enlargement

Cluster analysis of employment in Nordic LAU2

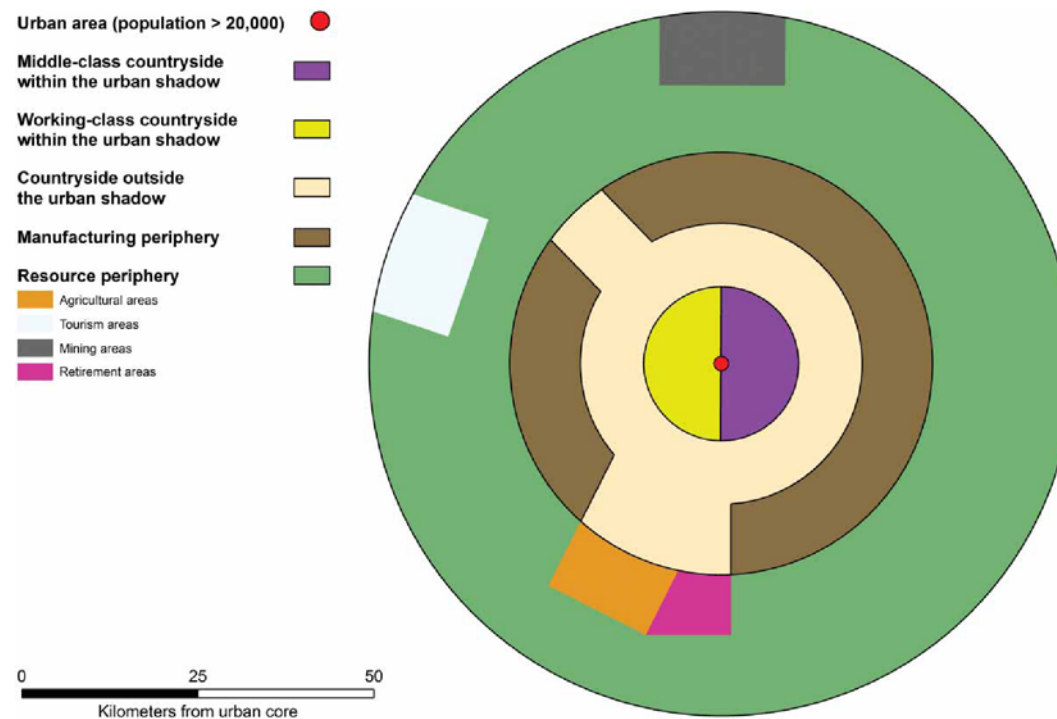
Multiscalar Analysis of Employment in Nordic SPAs



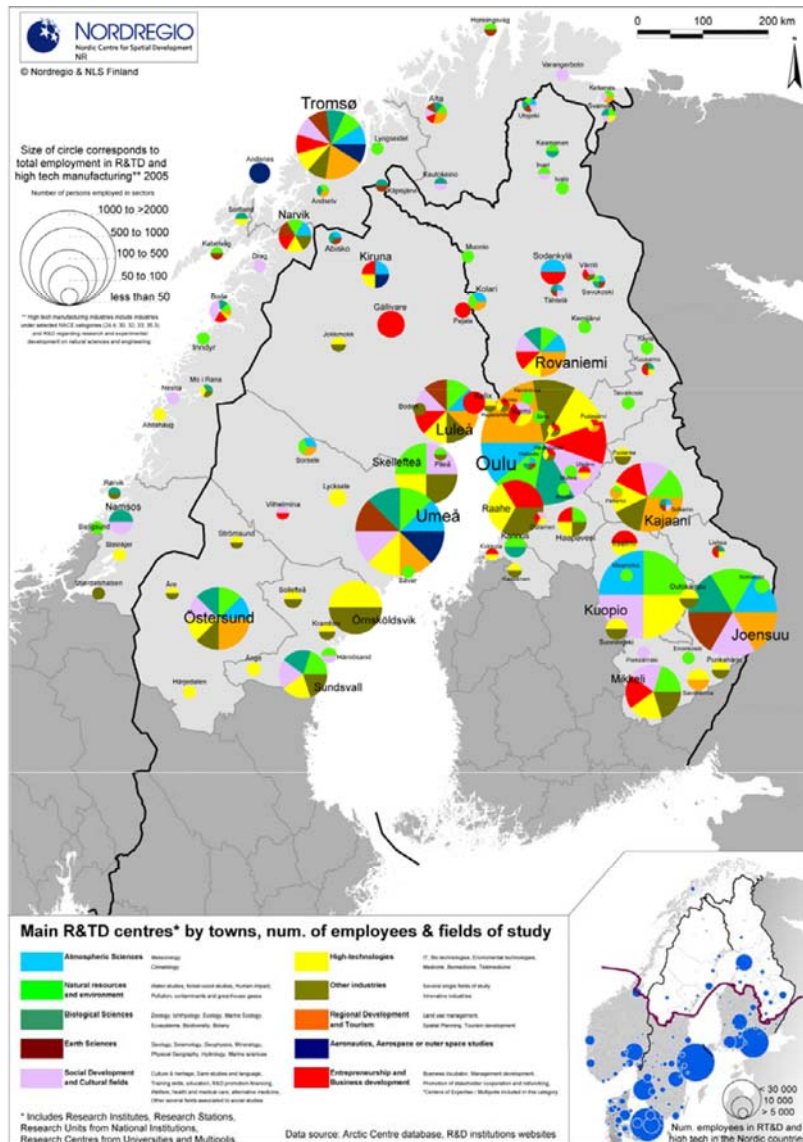
Acknowledging Diverse Peripheries

- The periphery is not homogenous in socio-economic terms
- What is the main characteristic of SPA? Their distance to urban centres, or their own socio-economic profile?
- Peripheries *do* change

Refined typologies of the *Nordic Rural Spaces* (much) needed

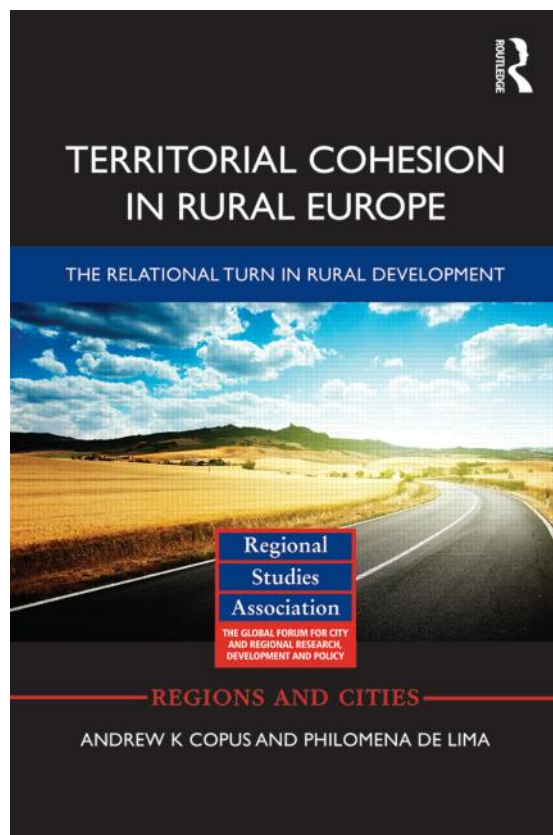


From Martin Hedlund (2014): Mapping the Socioeconomic Landscape of Rural Sweden: Towards a Typology of Rural Areas, Regional Studies



Smart Specialisation(s?)

- What role can innovation play for rural development?
- The bioeconomy
 - New products and markets for traditional outputs
 - Green energy production
- The circular economy
 - New activities bringing an additional added-value to the local economy
- The knowledge economy
 - New competences and skills based on human capital, not natural resources
- New Rural Economy
 - Diversified, 'urban-like' economies on a smaller scale



The New Rural Economy

- What is the place of rural areas in a globalized economy?
 - Integration of rural areas in internal patterns of migration
 - Rural businesses present in global markets
- Knowledge as the primary economic commodity for rural areas
 - “smaller but more entrepreneurial” (Nuur and Laestedius, 2010)
 - Rural areas as a place for knowledge production and experimentation

(Re-)constructing peripherality

- One core-one periphery -> multiple peripheries connected to multiple cores
- Rurality should not be constructed as the 'in-between' spaces of urbanity. Rural spaces have a socio-economic logic of their own.
- European spatial policy process is seen as being as much about politics and power as it is about rational policy-making. (Richardson, 2000, p56)
 - What is the place of the rural in modern regional policymaking?

Is sparsity the future of Europe?

démographie

LES ZONES DE FAIBLE DENSITÉ GAGNENT DU TERRAIN

Site plusieurs kilomètres sans voir aucune maison habitée, celui qui s'est pas rare en Limousin. Surtout sur le plateau de Millevaches. La situation a beaucoup changé depuis une centaine d'années. Au début du 20ème siècle, les zones peu peuplées, comptant moins de 20 habitants au km², étaient incultes dans la région. À l'aube du 21ème siècle, elles couvrent un bon tiers du territoire. Principalement localisées dans la moitié est, elles s'étendent sur le plateau de Millevaches et se prolongent jusqu'aux entrées de Menouet, au sud de la Creuse, et de Châteaus-Mahault au nord de la Creuse.

DESSEIN CITÉS

Il y a un siècle, la population limousine atteignait presque un million de personnes. Chiffre à comparer aux 710 000 habitants actuels. Dans ce contexte de déclin démographique, les disparités de peuplement se sont accentuées. Seules les zones déjà les plus denses ont vu leur population s'accroître. Il s'agit, comme aujourd'hui, des entrées de Limoges, de Saint-Junien, de Brive-la-Gaillarde et de Tulle. Elles se caractérisent par 7 % de territoire, proportion qui a peu varié en cent ans. Ces quatre villes regroupent maintenant presque 30 % des Limousins. L'influence de la capitale régionale s'est légèrement étendue, la seule commune de Limoges étant passée de 41 000 habitants au début du siècle à presque 124 000 en 1999 (1). Si Brive et Tulle étaient de taille comparable en 1901, leurs chemins ont eu une destinée divergente. La première a plus que doublé sa population en cent ans, tandis que la seconde la maintenait à peine. Le mouvement de périurbanisation, qui a caractérisé les années 70 et 80, a aussi contribué à élargir légèrement les espaces densément peuplés. De nombreux citadins se sont alors installés dans les communes rurales environnant les villes. Quant à Guéret et Lussat, elles se caractérisent respectivement par 4 100 et 5 100 habitants en 1901. Soit moins que Saint-Junien et que Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche à l'époque. La zone de Guéret s'est surtout densifiée à partir des années 60. En revanche, les espaces déjà peu habités au début du siècle se sont encore dépeuplés depuis. C'est surtout après la première guerre mondiale que le Limousin a commencé à changer de visage. Il faut dire qu'il a perdu plus de 100 000 habitants entre 1911 et 1921. Une forte émigration s'est ajoutée au déficit de naissances et aux importantes pertes humaines dues à la guerre. Les zones de très faible densité ont ainsi fait leur apparition dans les années 20, du côté de Bugeat. Elles sont restées limitées jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale, puis se sont rapidement étendues, englobant Adoubeix, Bourzeix, Ussel et Égton. Aujourd'hui, la quasi totalité du plateau de Millevaches compte moins de 20 habitants au kilomètre carré.

(1) La population entre deux recensements est calculée en soustrayant la population de 1901 de celle de 1999.

VALÉRIE GENAY

Densité de population (hab/km²)

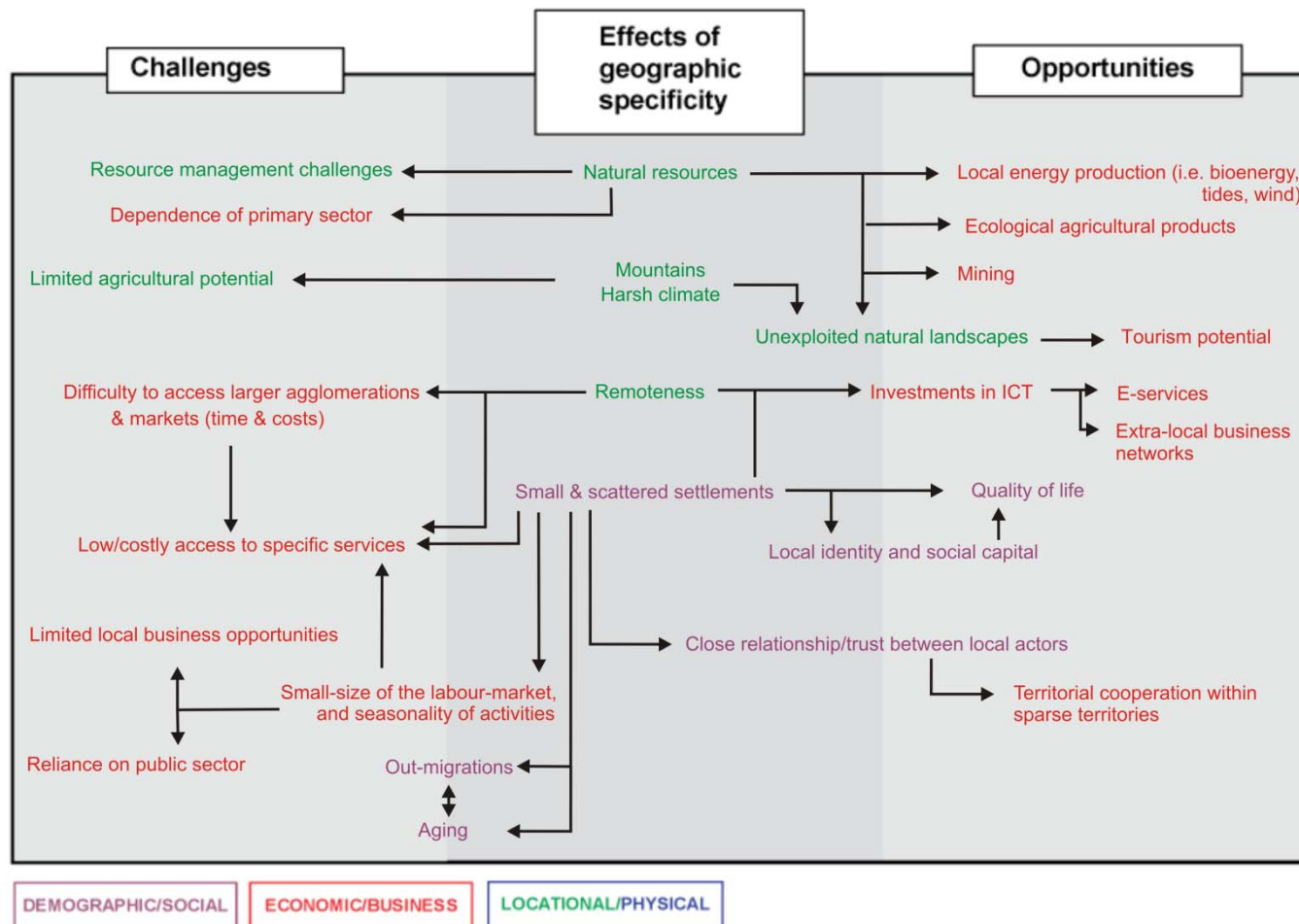
source : Insee, recensements de la population

INSEE limousin

Sparsely populated areas are gaining ground

- Norden as a testing ground for spatial development policies
- SPA are likely to be more numerous and widespread in the future
- In Europe, shrinking regions or localities are not the exception, but the norm: concentration of population benefits few large metropolises

From locational disadvantage to territorial potential



Wrapping-up

- Overcome the institutional fragmentation of SPA
 - Thinking beyond the urban-rural continuum and geographical contiguity as organizing principles of the Nordic socio-economic spaces
 - *within, between* and *beyond* sparsely populated territories
- Dual development strategies need to better integrate the urban and sparsely populated components
- Mainstream inter-municipal initiatives beyond regional and national administrative borders
 - *Functional territories*: better synergy effects between regional and local development strategies across different regions
 - Take advantage of the long-standing cross-border cooperation Finland-Norway-Sweden
- The natural resource-knowledge conundrum
 - Sourcing new skills and competences



Enjoy the symposium!

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