Commission for
Rural Communities
Tackling rural disadvantage

The Social Contribution of Land-based Industries to Rural Communities

Final Report

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Prepared for the Commission for Rural Communities

by the

Countryside and Community Research Unit, University of Gloucestershire

March 2007

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Acknowledgements

We are extremely grateful to the members of the five communities (Clun, Harting, East Hatley & Hatley St George, Horton & Rudyard and Rookhope & Eastgate) whose contribution was of course crucial, and without whom a rich insight into the dynamics of these areas would not have been possible. We would also like to thank the members of the Project Steering Group (Alastair Johnson, Richard Burge, Margaret Clark, Valerie Smith, Brian Wilson and Michael Winter) who provided helpful guidance to the team throughout the course of the project.

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Executive Summary

Background

This study explores the social interaction between land-based industries (LBIs) and rural communities. More specifically, it is concerned with the social impacts of land-based industries upon rural communities and, in parallel, the expectations that rural communities have of land-based industries, and vice versa.

The rationale for the research stems from the profound changes that have occurred in recent decades with regard both to England's land-based industries and to the nature of its rural communities. While agriculture remains the dominant activity in terms of land management, there is evidence that this is also in decline and that the amount of land managed by other land-based industries is growing. In parallel, it is often perceived that the role of farmers and other landowners in rural local governance is now largely diminished. Likewise, it is assumed that the rural population now has much weaker ties to the land as most are host to a diverse range of inhabitants including commuters, retired people and service sector workers.

Partly in consequence, rural policy has tended in recent years to relate separately either to land-based activities, such as agriculture, forestry, conservation and recreation, or to socio-economic concerns such as affordable housing, social deprivation and local governance. However, it is increasingly recognised that greater synergy between these two elements of rural policy is required to address the complexity of issues affecting contemporary rural England.

Research methods

The research employed an ethnographic approach, involving in-depth qualitative research in five case study communities in different parts of upland and lowland England. Study areas were selected to ensure variations in terms of unemployment, deprivation, age structure, land use and sparsity. These five case study communities were:

- Clun (Shropshire)
- Harting (West Sussex)
- East Hatley and Hatley St George (Cambridgeshire)
- Horton and Rudyard (Staffordshire)
- Rookhope and Eastgate (County Durham)

The ethnographic approach allowed an in-depth exploration of the perceptions and concerns of a wide range of residents and land-based stakeholders in these communities. Guided by a fieldwork checklist - developed by the research team and informed by a selective literature review - two researchers spent ten days in each community between May and September 2006. Following the principles of an ethnographic approach, researchers aimed to become immersed in the respective communities, participating in various community activities and engaging relevant people in conversation at all times of day. The suite of methods included semi-structured interviews, one-to-one and group interviews, participant observation, informal conversations and analysis of text and visual information.

Research findings

Findings reveal that the nature and scale of interactions between land-based industries and rural communities vary considerably from place to place, reflecting a host of factors including the nature of local land-based industries, local social structures and norms, and the influence of key individuals. Caution therefore needs to be exercised in making generalisations about the various contributions of LBIs to rural communities in England.

Farming and forestry have in recent years had a generally declining impact on the local labour market. However, land-based industries retain importance as employers in some communities and new employment has been created through farm diversification and the growth of 'consumption activities' such as equine activity and other types of recreation. The nature and scale of such diversification are important in the context of local employment impact. The increased provision of tourism and recreation facilities, the restoration of redundant buildings, the creation of small business units in farm locations and the adding of value to local raw materials have all served to offset, to some degree, the typical decline of land-based employment.

The findings also suggest that relationships between land-based industries and rural communities may be reinvigorated to the extent that wider forces of demand and supply (associated with sustainable consumption and environment agendas) encourage more local selling and buying of agricultural produce. Nowhere are such sales a dominant element of the local economy, but many examples were found of modest sales of farm produce, often linked to a growing tourism industry and to the general level of vibrancy in the community.

While there has been a decline in the influence of several land owners and managers as community leaders, this decline has been rather less – and certainly more geographically variable - than first thought. The reasons for such declining involvement include a sheer decline in the numbers of owners and managers of land-based industries living locally, the reduced time available to such people as more and more labour is shed, and the growing role played by newcomers with little or no direct connection with the land. The latter can sometimes be compounded by a strong preservationist ethic – a state of affairs that appears to have alienated many hitherto politically active farmers. That said, the research encountered many examples of farmers and other land-based personnel making substantial contributions to social, cultural and educational activity in and around their parish, generally in an informal capacity.

Focusing on the expectations that local residents place on the land-based industries, many relate to countryside access and a concern that traditional privileges be respected. Other expectations include a wish that the residents' peace, quiet and freedom from excessive farm traffic, smells and noise be respected, coupled with a dominant anti-development ethic. Such views tend to be more strongly held or expressed by relative newcomers with only limited knowledge of modern land-based industries. Those in local businesses (for example running B&Bs, pubs and tourism facilities) expect the land-based industries to continue to manage the area's landscape and associated wildlife in a way that is sympathetic to the needs of tourism, itself a source of mutual dependence by land-managers and rural communities.

Overall, it appears that any 'fault-line' between land-based industries and their local communities is often less real or significant than are divisions *within* those

'communities' – most notably those between newcomers and established residents long exposed to the needs and activities of the land-based industries.

Policy issues

In order to help identify policy issues associated with the research findings, a dissemination event was held involving stakeholders from a range of local, regional and national organisations. The variations revealed by the study served to highlight the potential difficulties of implementing national policies that would meet the needs of unique communities. Thus the geographical level at which they should be addressed requires further consideration and debate by policy makers. Nevertheless, the policy suggestions provide a useful addition to the debate on the social contribution of land-based industries to rural communities. In particular, the following would strengthen links and address some of the issues found in this research:

- The need for devolution of decision-making powers to the local (but not necessarily parish) level.
- The advantage of LEADER style 'community chests', providing small pump-priming grants to develop projects, involving land-managers and the community.
- The need for education in rural communities about land-based industries and their future development.
- The potential benefits of economic and policy support to encourage local buying and selling of local produce.

Developing Indicators of social interaction

Indicators of social interaction between land-based industries and rural communities have potential value for tracking long-term trends and for examining spatial variations in land-based-community interaction and vibrancy. Given that the characteristics, patterns and reasons for the nature of social interactions are often embedded in the local social, historical and cultural contexts, identification of meaningful indicators of social interactions is problematic. Further, given the importance of contextual factors in shaping interactions, the application of any defined indicators will also be limited as it will be difficult to generalise from one area to another.

Nevertheless, five potentially useful indicators are identified which a) chime with the evidence arising from the ethnographic work; b) have some relevance to all five communities examined in this study; and c) are judged to be realistic in terms of either data availability or the practical application of such data if it were made available. These are:

- Extent of rural diversification
- Local sales and purchasing of land-based products
- Number of farmers / land-based representatives on parish councils
- Number of land-based-related complaints
- Change of use/ occupancy of farm holdings (and buildings)

1. Introduction

The context and rationale of this research derive from the profound changes that have occurred in recent decades with regard both to England's land-based industries and to the nature of its rural communities. Agriculture is no longer a principal employer in rural areas and the majority of rural residents are no longer employed in agriculture, other land-based industries or in upstream and downstream activities linked to the primary sector. While agriculture remains the dominant activity in terms of land management, there is evidence that this is also in decline and that the amount of land managed by other land-based industries is growing. Furthermore, the dominance of farmers and other landowners in local rural governance (See Newby et al. 1978) has been reported as declining or perceived as a thing of the past.

In general terms, the population of rural England now has much weaker ties to the land – a number of rural settlements are now host to a mixture of commuters, retired people, workers in manufacturing and, more notably, service sectors, and their families. Partly in consequence, rural policy has tended, until recently, to relate separately either to land-based activities, such as agriculture, forestry, conservation and recreation, or to socio-economic concerns such as affordable housing, social deprivation and local governance.

These two groups – those whose livelihood derives mainly from land-based industries and those for whom that is not the case - appear less and less to interact and share common concerns. Slee (2005) asserts that, for most rural residents, the countryside that surrounds them tends to be seen more as a consumer commodity than a place of production of food and raw materials. And various developments, such as BSE and FMD and certain aspects of CAP reform, not to mention legislation with regard to field sports, have served to engender a 'beleaguered' mood amongst many engaged in the land-based industries.

To address these issues, this research explores the interaction between the land-based industries and rural communities. More specifically, it is concerned with the socio-economic impacts of land-based industries upon rural communities and, in turn, the impacts that rural communities have on land-based industries. In parallel, the research is concerned with the expectations that rural communities have of land-based industries, and the expectations that people engaged in land-based industries have with regard to various aspects of the local community. These social impacts can find expression through various channels, including the employment of labour, expenditure on local services, participation in local community activity and aspects of the management of land, including the production of public goods.

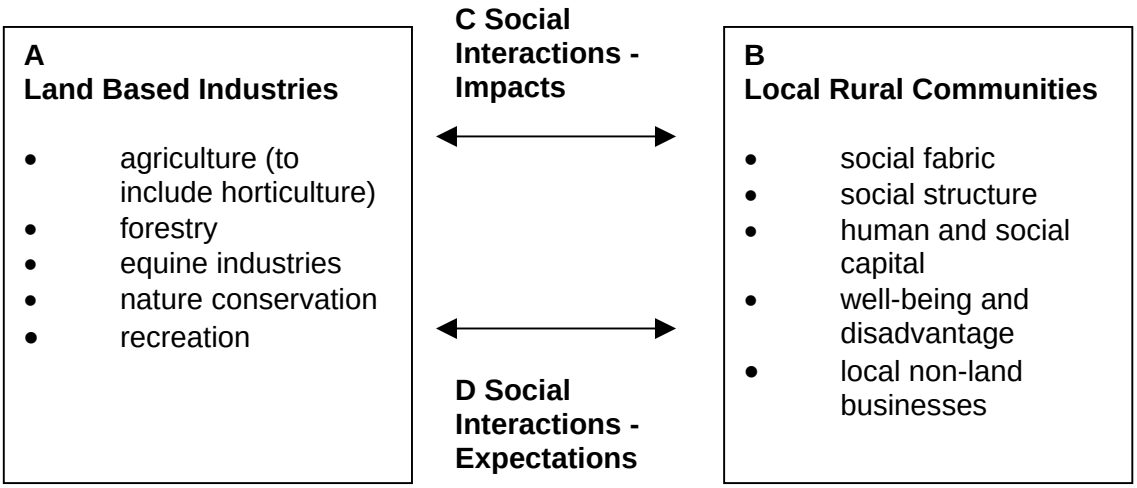
Similarly, the nature of these social interactions might relate to the participation of landowners and managers in community development and local governance, reasonable access to land and sympathetic environmental management. The research will explore the extent to which these relationships vary:

- from place to place, and within places, in rural England,
- by type of land-based industry - for example its sector, with variations also within sectors;
- by land occupancy;
- by type of rural community (e.g. commuter, retirement, upland), and within communities, and also
- over time.

Throughout this report the word 'community' is used to encompass the relevant case study areas or localities, which comprised one or more rural settlements and the surrounding areas of varied land-use within a designated Parish. Given the ethnographic approach employed in the study, which involved researchers spending time observing and participating in community activities, the term 'community' is preferred to 'parish', 'area' or locality' when describing the research findings.

1.1 Study aims and conceptual framework

The aims of the study are to explore the level and nature of social interaction between various land-based industries and rural communities, produce relevant policy implications and, if possible, highlight elements of good practice. More specifically, it is concerned with the social impacts of land-based industries upon rural communities and, in parallel, the expectations that rural communities have of land-based industries, and vice versa. This is detailed in the following model below:



At the heart of the research was an elucidation of the *social interaction* between land-based industries and local rural communities, denoted by the respective arrows representing different types of social interaction[1]. To elaborate the model:

A Land-based industries

Land-based industries (LBI) were defined for this study as including: agriculture (and horticulture), forestry, equine industries, nature conservation and recreation. It is clear that the LBI definition includes different types of industry. Agriculture, and to a lesser extent forestry, are production-based industries, whereas recreation and equine businesses have stronger ties with issues of consumption. Lastly, nature conservation is concerned with protection and enhancement.

[1] To maintain the rigour of the conceptual framework, and any analysis within that framework, it should be emphasised that whereas *impacts* can affect people, activities, places and things, only people can experience *expectations*. Thus it is only people in local, rural communities who have expectations concerning land-based industries and, similarly, it is only people engaged in land-based industries who have expectations concerning local, rural communities. This distinction was recognised explicitly throughout the research.

B Local rural communities[2]

The research brief refers to 'social fabric', which we take to embrace such phenomena as demographic and social structure, social relationships, human and social capital, well-being, prosperity and disadvantage. We also include non-land-based small businesses as a component of rural communities. Nevertheless, the research aimed to explore interactions between individuals and groups in a community context, encompassing elements of identity, belonging and social interaction and taking those working for LBIs to be part of the wider community.

C & D Social interactions - Impacts and Expectations

These refer to the impacts of land-based industries upon local rural communities and vice versa. Examples include the employment by land-based industries of residents living in local rural communities; land owner/ manager involvement in the social and political life of the community; and the presence of land-use constraints on the people of the local community (e.g. regarding access and the availability of land for development).

There are also expectations[3] of land-based industries by local rural communities and vice versa. Such expectations might, for example, relate to the countryside management practices of land-based industries; rights of access by the community to land owned or used by land-based industries; the spur to the local economy provided by land-based industries – for example, through facilitating rural tourism; and also the participation of people engaged in land-based industries in local community activities and governance. Conversely, land managers might expect local communities to understand land-management practices and to be tolerant of farm traffic and other inconveniences.

Conceptual Framework

The presence of strong elements of production, protection, consumption and community issues made the development of a conceptual framework far from straightforward. An existing one that spanned the rural land use and community development aspects could not be found and so the decision was taken to adapt relevant work by Holmes (2006) who suggests a 'triangular' approach to rural land use change based around *production*, *protection* and *consumption*. The main adaptations were to add the dimension of community and to combine the issues of protection and consumption. Thus production would include the traditional rural land uses of agriculture and forestry; protection would relate to designations for landscape, nature conservation and heritage; and consumption would include the non-production land uses of access, recreation and tourism. Community would relate to issues of social cohesion and the social fabric. This additional element to the overall approach was taken into account in selecting case study locations and, where appropriate, in later analyses.

To help clarify the issues within this framework, and in turn develop research questions relating to interactions, impacts and expectations, an email survey of key

[2] The word 'local' rules out non-spatial interest communities such as travellers or ramblers.

[3] The word expectation is taken here to mean what is hoped for, rather than what is anticipated. It should be emphasised that whereas *impacts* can affect people, activities, places and things, only people can experience *expectations*. Thus it is only people in local, rural communities who have expectations concerning land-based industries and, similarly, it is only people engaged in land-based industries who have expectations concerning local, rural communities.

informants was undertaken during the initial stages of the research. The principal aim of the survey was to help generate a checklist of issues to explore in the in-depth case studies; it also aimed to highlight relevant literature (particularly 'grey' literature that the research team may otherwise miss) and to generate interest and engagement in the study to help meet the needs of end-users. A summary of the survey results, and their relevance to the study, is contained in Annexe 1.

1.2 Project phases

To achieve its aims, the project had a number of objectives, delivered through five phases. In brief, the objectives, as revised and agreed in the project inception meeting, were as follows:

Phase 1 - Preparation

- Descriptive overview of the nature of England's land-based industries and rural communities.
- Survey of key informants to seek interest and engagement and to gather brief qualitative and factual information.
- Literature review of any earlier work pertaining specifically to that impact and those expectations.
- Further clarification of the scope, concepts and research questions / hypotheses that will underpin the remainder of the research.
- Preliminary work on indicators of impact that might be desirable and practical.
- Sampling criteria and suggested case study areas.
- Detailed plan of methodology and timetable for Phase 2.

Phase 2 – One in-depth ethnographic case study

- Design of project check-list and other protocols for Phase 2 case study.
- Preparation for Phase 2 fieldwork.
- Ethnographic fieldwork in one case study area.
- Presentation of headline findings and implications for methodology to be applied in Phase 3.
- Final development of methodology and preparation for Phase 3.

Phase 3 - Four in-depth ethnographic case studies

- Ethnographic fieldwork in four case study areas.
- Analysis and write up of case study findings.

Phase 4 – Development of indicators

- Define 'desired indicators' that chime with the evidence of interaction and expectations emerging from phases 1 - 3.
- Identify what proxy indicators might be available from a wide variety of sources and assess their merits and limitations.
- Devise a practical and cost-effective programme of data assembly / interpretation, linked to existing or likely data gathering exercises, that might be recommended.

Phase 5 – Conclusions and recommendations

- Dissemination event and workshop to include the key informants surveyed during Phase 1.
- Drafting a Final Report, summarising and appraising the research undertaken, drawing conclusions and highlighting policy issues.

This report encompasses work relating to all five phases of the research, beginning, in chapter 2, with a targeted review of the literature concerned with the social

interactions between land-based industries and rural communities. Chapter 3 outlines the methods employed in the research, including the ethnographic fieldwork and process for selecting case study areas, while detailed comparative research findings across the five study areas are presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 goes on to identify some broader policy issues arising from the research, including the potential for developing indicators of social interaction from the qualitative findings.

This report should be read in conjunction with its accompanying Annexe, which contains the detailed findings from each of the five case study areas, along with further information relating to the research and its methods. These detailed findings are extremely rich in terms of both context and narrative, and therefore give a real flavour of the interactions and dynamics present in the five communities. Readers of this report are therefore encouraged to engage with the in-depth ethnographic material located in the annexe report.

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This selective literature review covers articles and reports produced in the last 10 years i.e. since the mid-1990s, but with emphasis on the most recent documents. It concentrates on the interactions (impacts and expectations) between rural communities and land-users in England. It is not possible to consider all the literature concerned with the much broader topics of rural communities and land use in England, although these topics will be touched upon in the next section, which deals with the background of social and economic change in rural England and forms a backdrop to the research.

Following sections will look at the impacts of land use on communities and expectations and attitudes from communities of land users and from land users of communities. There is very little literature concerning the impacts of communities on land-based industries. The conclusion then relates the preceding sections to this research project.

2.2 Changing rural communities and land usage

There is a large amount of literature concerning the social changes that are taking place within rural areas of England. To summarise, in a report for Defra, the Rural Evidence Research Centre (RERC) (2004) finds that:

> *'The rural areas of England have undergone considerable demographic, social and economic change over the last three to four decades. These changes have led to a much more socially and economically differentiated countryside, much less dependent on agriculture and related activities for employment and generally more prosperous than ever before. Despite this increased general prosperity, however, some parts of rural England still contain areas and settlements experiencing long-standing economic under-performance, social deprivation and lack of services'* (RERC, 2004, p.8).

The State of the Countryside Report (Commission for Rural Communities (CRC), 2005a) reinforces this message:

> *' … rural England has undergone rapid and profound changes in its society, economy and environment over recent decades. These changes have perhaps seemed more acute because of the expectation of constancy and stability, because of a belief by many in the countryside as the 'one fixed point in a world of change'* (CRC, 2005, p.122).

The social changes identified by that report form a backdrop to the interactions between communities and land-users and hence to this research. The changes identified by the report are summarised below:

- An increase in population masking an exchange of population between rural and urban areas, with younger people tending to move out of rural areas while older, more prosperous people move in;
- Rising rural house prices leading to an affordability gap;
- Variations related to scarcity and settlement size;
- Rising inequality within rural communities;
- Conflict over the use of land becoming increasingly significant.

The CRC's study on Rural Disadvantage (2005b), based on Shucksmith (2003), lists 5 principal groups experiencing rural poverty:

- Elderly people
- Children
- Low-paid and seasonally employed manual workers
- People without paid employment, such as carers, disabled people and the unemployed
- Self-employed people in low-income sectors.

In addition, Citizens' Advice Bureau (2005) describes the problems faced by migrant workers in rural areas.

Hill *et al's* (2002) study of the contribution of natural heritage to rural development emphasises the secondary impacts that the conservation and management of natural heritage could have on rural economies, but it does not establish the extent of social importance beyond an initial analysis of business networking. In assessing the contribution of a broad range of inherited resources to differential economic performance, Courtney *et al* (2004) reveal that, while community cohesion is being increasingly eroded through demographic and economic restructuring, in some areas local ties and networks within the farming sector remain strong. However, the extent of the social integration of the farming sector into rural communities is not established.

From an economic perspective, Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Defra) (2005) identifies a correlation between poor productivity and social exclusion:

> *'Whilst the majority of rural areas are experiencing relatively high levels of economic prosperity and low levels of social exclusion, the picture is not homogeneous. It is possible to identify areas that have consistently lower rates of productivity than others … the evidence shows that poor economic performance tends to be associated with higher levels of social exclusion' (Defra, 2005, p.2).*

There is a considerable amount of literature on the importance of social capital to rural areas based on the work of Putnam (1993) (see for example Moseley, 2003; Selman, 2001; Williams, 2002, 2003, Lee et al, 2005), an importance that has been recognised by government (Department of Environment, Transport and the Regions, 2000; Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2004). There has been some survey research, with the 2003 Home Office Citizenship Survey showing an increase in informal volunteering since 2001, although the proportion of people involved in civic participation and formal volunteering shows no significant change (Munton and Zurawan, 2003). However, the relationship between social capital and the involvement of land managers in rural communities is complex and has been little researched.

The ways in which rural communities are governed are also changing. Goodwin (undated) reviews the change from rural government to rural governance, which '*has been bound up with, and is part of, a host of other economic, social and cultural changes in the countryside'* (p.3). He points out that the assumption of single-interest communities in rural areas is often false and that factors such as large distances and poor public transport can make it harder to achieve community participation.

Land usage in rural areas has also been adapting to changed circumstances. As CRC (2005a) points out, *'farming is the predominant use of the land of England'* (p.100). However, farming is changing, not least in response to changes in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), and farmers are diversifying into additional activities. Pretty (2002) claims that modern industrial agriculture has led to a separation of people and nature, and of farmers and communities. However, he also explains how innovations such as community supported agriculture and box schemes can increase connectivity between farmers and local communities. In addition, the conservation value of farmland is becoming more significant. At the same time, forestry is also changing, as more emphasis is put on conservation and recreational uses of forest land rather than on timber production (CRC, 2005a; Fagan et al, undated; Slee et al, 2004).

The diversification of agriculture and forestry has opened up new opportunities for recreational use of land. In particular, some areas of the countryside are increasingly being used to provide stabling, grazing and activity space for horses. Although little has been written about the extent and effects of equine activity in the countryside, it does appear to be a significant land user. British Horse Industry Confederation (2005) summarises the current position of the horse industry and lays out plans for the future.

Other users of rural land such as the military (Woodward, 1999; 2005) are largely outside the scope of this research and are therefore not considered in any depth.

2.3 Impacts of land uses on rural communities

Land usage can impact on rural communities economically, socially and environmentally and impacts in all three categories can be positive or negative. In fact, as rural communities are not homogeneous entities, particular impacts may be positive for some groups and negative for others.

There have been a number of attempts to quantify the market and non-market impacts of land usage, particularly in the case of forestry and (within that) community forestry (CJC Consulting with Macaulay Land Use Research Institute, 2000; Willis et al, 2003; Slee et al, 2004). Slee et al identify four '*main groups of values'* arising from forestry (p.444). They are:

- Forestry values
- 'Shadow' values
- Non-market values
- Social values

It is worth looking at these four types of value in some detail as they are applicable to other land-uses as well as to forestry. Forestry values are the benefits or disadvantages arising from forestry activity including upstream and downstream economic linkages. Shadow values emerge from the influence of the forests over locational decisions made by businesses and individuals. Whilst it is usually thought that attracting businesses and affluent residents to an area is a benefit, it can also have negative affects, for example, in pricing locals out of the housing market. Non-market values include informal recreation, biodiversity, landscape and other environmental benefits. Social values, which are perhaps most relevant to this study, '*comprise the sum of values to local communities arising from identity and a sense of belonging, social capital building attributable to trees and social entrepreneurship arising from the development of tree related projects'* (Ibid, p.445). With regard to the

relative importance of the four types of value, Slee et al believe that '*it is probable that over large areas of lowland England the non-market, social and shadow values of forest and woodland are much more important than the conventional forestry values for local development'* (Ibid, p.451).

It is widely recognised that woodlands make a considerable contribution to the local environment and also to human well-being and quality of life (Burgess et al, 1988; O'Brien, 2003; Ward Thompson et al, 2005). As O'Brien (2003) says:

> *'Woodlands are appreciated by respondents for a wide range of benefits, the majority of which do not appear to be related to their economic use or necessarily to whether people use them frequently or not'* (p. 50).

Willis et al, (2003) estimate the marginal benefits of woodland in Great Britain, and find the total figure of approximately £1.0 billon to be dominated by *'recreational and biodiversity values, followed by landscape benefits, with carbon sequestration also contributing significantly to the total social and environmental benefits of forests'* (p.3).

The Institute for European Environmental Policy (IEEP) et al, (2004) look at the social, environmental and economic impact of hill farming. They conclude:

> ***'****In national terms, the direct economic benefits of hill farming in terms of agricultural employment and output appear to be in decline in the English LFA, as in agriculture elsewhere. However, regionally and locally, employment and economic activity associated with hill farming can be significant… [However], what is clear is that other economic activity in the LFA, particularly tourism, appears to benefit from the presence of hill farming activity'* (p.76).

With regard to social impacts, the study finds:

> *'Our research found a variety of evidence of the nature and extent of the social impacts of hill farming in relation to the local community, the maintenance of the local infrastructure and the provision of local services. Farming and farmers continue to play a central role in the cultural identity of hill farming areas. But as hill farming has come under increasing economic pressures, farm incomes have fallen and farm labour has reduced, the positive contribution made by hill farmers and their families to the communities in which they live appears to have declined, but not disappeared'* (p.78).

Scottish Agricultural Colleges et al, (2005) researched the social benefits of traditional hill farming in Cumbria and reached similar conclusions. The research identifies: general public preferences for hill farmer attributes; wide interest in a variety of facets of the uplands, and in wildlife in particular; and the role that farmers can play in interpreting the landscape. It concludes that the continuing loss of traditional farmers from the hills will threaten cooperative practices and the ability to manage upland landscapes and deliver public goods (p.2).

Lobley et al, (2005a) also look at the social impacts of agricultural change, particularly on farmers and their families. They discover that:

> *'Despite being socially embedded in their communities (that is living very near to their place of birth and most of their close family and friends) the results of the household survey suggest that farmers are less socially active than non-farmers'* (p.6).

And Reed et al, (2002) identify a withdrawal of farm family members from participation in civic society. However, Lobley et al, (2005a) also find that those farmers who were actively adapting and diversifying were likely to have increasing social contacts, often as a result of the diversified activities.

Lobley et al's (2005b) study of the impact of organic farming on the rural economy found that *'both organic and non-organic farms generate a considerable amount of economic activity in terms of sales, purchases and employment'* (p.78). However, organic farms tended to generate more employment, although many of the extra jobs were for casual labour. Organic horticultural farms were found to be most closely integrated into the local economy.

There have been a number of studies on the impact of the 2001 outbreak of foot and mouth disease. Scott et al's paper (2004) focuses on what the outbreak reveals about *'the position of agriculture in rural economy and society'* (p.1). They conclude:

> *'The key issue highlighted by the FMD outbreak is the inextricable link between agriculture and tourism, and vulnerability that overdependence on them causes, particularly in more peripheral, less agriculturally favoured areas which are symptomatic of the devolved regions of the UK' (p.12).*

Although Scott et al, carried out their research in Wales, it seems likely that their conclusions also apply to at least some areas of England.

Di Iacovo (2003) looks at the relationship between farmers and local communities in Tuscany. He suggests that 'multifunctionality of agriculture may also offer new opportunities to the social aspects of rural life' (p.102). He describes an action research project to involve farms and farmers in providing social services in three areas, involving disabled people, teenagers and young parents, and elderly people respectively.

Agricultural and forestry land can also have environmental uses, which have their own economic and social (as well as environmental) impacts on local communities. Courtney et al (in press) classify environment and natural heritage-related activities as 'core', 'primary' and 'reliant':

> *'…those for which the environment is core to their existence, primary activities engaged in the physical exploitation and management of the natural environment, and activities which are reliant on the environment and natural heritage for their commercial success'* (p.2).

Their research – carried out in Scotland – found that 'reliant' firms were most likely to benefit the local economy by sourcing locally.

Environmental projects can act as catalysts to further the integration of communities and increase social capital. For example, Kwolek and Jackson's (2001) study of a community project in the Upper Nene valley finds that the community group working to improve the environment brought together people from neighbouring parishes and established links with local farmers. On a larger scale, the Protected Landscape Approach attempts to link landscape protection with local communities (Brown et al, 2005). For example, the Blackdown Hills Rural Partnership involves over 75 organisations and *'seeks to safeguard the distinctive landscape, wildlife, historical and architectural character of the AONB whilst fostering the social and economic well being of the communities and the people who live and work there'* (Philips & Partington, 2005, p.124).

Recreational use of land can also overlap with other uses and is often, although not inevitably, associated with tourism. Oliver and Jenkins (2003) find that there is '*no universal agreement about the net benefits of rural tourism'* (p.295). They find the benefits to be dependent upon factors such as visitor numbers and length of stay, proximity of urban centres, local accommodation provision and other local facilities and places of interest. They distinguish between hard and soft tourism, the latter being embedded within the locality and *'likely to generate larger income and employment multipliers per unit of tourist spending'* (p. 298). Christie and Matthews (2003) estimate the economic and social benefits of walking in the English countryside and conclude that *'[t]he total benefits from walking are greatly in excess of the costs of path restoration and maintenance' (p.1).*

In some parts of England, a particular form of land use associated with recreation – the equine industry – is becoming increasingly apparent. There appears to have been very little research into equine activities and associated land-use and impacts. However, the Henley Centre (2004) estimates the size of the equine industry in a number of terms including its economic value and employment, but not in terms of the area of land used. The British Horse Industry Confederation (2005) consider that:

> *'The industry makes a hugely important contribution to the economy and social fabric of many communities. It is particularly important in (but by no means confined to) rural areas'* (p. 10).

Crossman and Walsh (2005) studied the breeding of 'sport horses' and point out that the majority of breeding is done as a hobby, with only 16% of breeders breeding for profit. This imbalance may apply to equine land-users in general and may have implications for the impacts of equine land usage on rural communities.

2.4 Expectations and attitudes

Bell (1994) carried out an anthropological study of a Hampshire village, 'Childerley', spending eight months there during 1987/8. He was particularly concerned to understand how the residents 'think about nature and how they use their ideas about it in their everyday lives' (p.4). He found that local people 'circulated socially within fairly homogeneous sub-communities of wealth and associated cultural differences' (p.28). Bell (1994) found the inhabitants of Childerley to be proud of their rurality:

> *'Childerleyans take pride in their sense of themselves as country people. They use this sense of their difference as a source of identity, motivation and social power – a source they find secure and legitimate'* (p.119).

While Bell did not specifically examine relations between land-managers and other residents, some of his findings are relevant to this study. In particular, he identified two distinct lifestyles which he called 'front door' (formal, distant) and 'back door' (informal involved), which appeared to be related to attitudes to the land and the natural world. The 'front-door' group tended to value open landscapes that accentuated their separateness and privacy and were also connected with status, whereas 'back-door' residents were more interested in the foreground and the wildlife in their own gardens. Some of, but not the entire, 'back door' group worked on the land, whereas the 'front door' people tended to be wealthy and mainly (but not entirely) incomers. The existence of these two lifestyles emphasises the importance of examining both formal and informal interactions between land-based industries and rural communities.

With regard to attitudes to the perceived importance of land-use issues to the inhabitants of rural areas, the Commission for Rural Communities 'Rural Insights' survey (Mortimer, 2007) found that, while farming is not identified by many as a priority for local action, 25% of respondents identified 'agriculture/farming/farm diversification/fishing' as a priority for national action which would have a positive impact on rural England.

There has been a significant amount of research on people's attitudes to woodlands as a resource for recreation, although not on attitudes to the land users (for example Burgess et al, 1988; Macnaghten et al, 1998; O'Brien, 2003; 2004; 2005; Ward Thompson et al, 2005). In fact, in the case of woodland it can often be difficult to pinpoint a local 'land user'. Attitudes to woodlands are found to be complex and locally specific, involving feelings such as pleasure, nostalgia and fear. As O'Brien (2003) sums up:

> *'When publics talked about woodlands and trees it was almost never in isolation but as part of the wider landscape and also as part of their wider everyday life; so for trees and woodlands, for example, discussions related to concerns over development, education and safety. These linkages to wider issues need to be explored in more detail and to be better understood' (p. 50).*

According to Moore-Colyer and Scott (2005), *'the public today care passionately about their local landscapes and resent the current scale and pace of change, homogenizing development and destroying sense of place'* (p.501). Their research in Wales revealed public support for the functionality of landscape:

> *'Functionality in the landscape was also evident with the strong support for modern farming, where the public positively assessed the landscape as a place for food production' (p.510).*

Murdoch et al, (2003), look at relations in three very different rural areas, Buckinghamshire, Devon and Northumberland, which they call the 'preserved countryside', the 'contested countryside' and the 'paternalistic countryside' respectively. In Buckinghamshire, they found the countryside to be dominated by 'local preservationist networks' often in conflict with 'well-resourced national to local networks' over development. By contrast, in Northumberland, landowners are dominant but *'although the landlords aim to act in keeping with long-standing traditions, a key feature of paternalism, the assumption of political leadership, is now absent from the countryside in Northumberland'* (p.131).

In Devon, they describe a process of change whereby farmers, although not such a dominant force in local politics as they had once been, are still 'disproportionately represented at the various levels of local government' (p.101). They find that an influx (in the 1980s) of environmentally conscious incomers 'helped catalyse a major shift in public attitudes to agriculture and the countryside' (p.100), with farmers under pressure to change their farming practices. In this county, the authors identify two networks with different views of the countryside.

> *'The divisions that lie between the environmental and developmental networks thus rest upon different appreciations of the core values of the farmed countryside and the major threats it faces' (Murdoch et al, 2003, p.101).*

Gray (1999) studied the way in which farmers and shepherds in the Scottish borders related to the hills in which they lived and worked. Although he does not focus on relations between land-users and other residents, he finds an assumption that

townspeople would not feel at home in the country in the same way that they (country people) did not feel at home in the town. 'This opposition between town or city and country … affect[ed] *'the way people related to each other in forming a borders identity'* (p.454).

In their study of C*omplementarities and Conflicts between Farming and Incomers to the Countryside in England and Wales*, Milbourne et al, (2000) discover a mixture of attitudes. They find that the majority of incomers have regular, but sometimes superficial, contact with farmers, with greater levels of contact resulting in more sympathetic attitudes. Almost three-quarters of residents purchase food from local firms. However, there is opposition to intensive farming practices and support for organic farming.

Local conflicts are not generally related to farming, but those that are can be divided into four categories relating to:

- Lack of understanding of farming
- Access to land
- Smells, noise and by-products
- The position of farmers and farming in society

Local purchasing is found to be an important point of contact between farmers and locals, and people's professed reasons for local purchasing shed light on their attitudes:

> *'…the reasons for people's interest in local products do not revolve solely around issues of food safety and environmental interests. A significant proportion of people articulated their sympathy for farmers in difficult economic circumstances and stressed their desire to help them'* (Ibid, p. 3).

The research shows local purchasing in support of local farmers, especially in remote areas:

> *'We found … considerable evidence of an ideology of localism based on sympathy for farmers, an ideology equally at home amongst outside incomers as more established residents'* (Winter, 2003: p. 29).

Weatherell et al's 2003 study of local purchasing also finds that attitudes to farmers are generally positive or neutral, with more positive attitudes in rural areas.

However, farmers do not seem to be aware of this public support. Lobley et al's Rural Stress Review (2004) finds that farmers feel undervalued in their local communities, although '*evidence suggests that newcomers to rural areas are often not as hostile to agriculture and farmers as farmers think they are'* (p.2).

Attitudes to equine land-use may be less positive. There has been little research on this, apart from the emotive, and probably atypical, issue of hunting with hounds. Milbourne (2003) studied villagers' attitudes to hunting in four hunting areas in England and Wales. He finds '*widespread but passive knowledge of hunting'* (p. 164), with only a minority of residents actively involved. He finds general support for hunting. However, '*strong local public support for hunting does not preclude the possibilities for internal tensions and conflicts surrounding the practice within these rural areas'* (p.168). Bell (1994), in his anthropological study of 'Childerley', found mixed attitudes towards hunting and shooting.

Recreational land usage can also lead to conflicting expectations and attitudes. Smith and Krannich (1998) studied attitudes to tourism in small towns in the United States, and found three categories of community:

- Tourism-hungry
- Tourism-realised
- Tourism-saturated

Tourism-hungry communities are eager for the benefits of tourism, but within tourism-saturated communities views are dominated by the negative effects of tourism such as increased traffic and rising house prices. It seems likely that this is also true of Britain.

MacNaghten (2003) tells of the role of the planning process in a local conflict, in which he himself was involved, concerning a proposed stock car track which was opposed by local people.

> *'It is … beyond question that the formal planning process has been divisive, has polarized village life, and has militated against any future possibility of constructing a cohesive and inclusive vision for future countryside living'* (p.99).

Public attitudes to the use of land for environmental protection can also be mixed. Bonaiuto et al, (2002) look at attitudes to the setting aside of land for environmental protection in Italy, with reference to two national parks. In both cases, they found initial strong local opposition to the creation of the parks. They interpret this as being a reaction to the imposition of the parks by outsiders – the national government – based on the 'regional identity' and 'place attachment' of local people.

The importance of the attitudes and involvement of local communities in the conservation of unimproved limestone grassland in the Cotswolds Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB) is emphasized by Cotswolds Conservation Board (2005). It points out that:

> *'Many sites, usually Commons, have strong links with local communities but those communities do not always feel involved with the management and conservation of the site' (Cotswold Conservation Board, 2005, p. 12).*

The document also points out that the CROW Act may increase recreational pressure on land that is of particular environmental importance. It suggests the involvement of Parish Councils and the use of Parish Maps to encourage local people to identify with and to become involved in conservation, and the raising of awareness *'through talks events and publications to motivate and encourage direct action by local communities in the protection of the limestone grassland habitat' (Ibid, p.13).*

2.5 Conclusions

This selective literature review has focused on the interactions (impacts and expectations) between rural communities and land-users in England. Although there is a large volume of literature concerning rural change, research on rural land use is concentrated on particular uses, especially on agriculture and forestry. It is also necessary to emphasise that there is considerable overlap between uses. For example, the same piece of land may be used for agriculture, recreation and conservation and the uses may be mutually dependent. In some cases, particularly

when dealing with recreational and/or conservation usage, it can be difficult to identify a local land-user, as the same piece of land may be used in different ways by different people.

Impacts of land users on local communities have also been scantily covered, and where they have they do not always readily relate to the five dimensions of community outlined in the research tender. There is even less literature on the impact of local people on land-users, apart from studies of campaigns against specific land uses such as wind farms (Woods, 2003). Research on public attitudes to and expectations of land users tends to be concentrated on farmers and farming, although there is also considerable research on attitudes to land uses such as woodland, where the user may be the community itself.

Clearly, the literature suggests a wide range of *impacts* and of *expectations* that warrant research. Some general conclusions emerge which deserve some consideration in this study.

- Impacts can be both **actual and perceived**. An attempt must be made to establish both - with the perceptions of both the land managers and the residents being of potential interest.

- There are only faint hints in the literature that we have consulted about the role of **'mediators' or intermediaries** in shaping both the impacts and the expectations. But this may be an interesting line of enquiry. How do 'the planners' (in a broad sense), parish and other local councils, local consultation forums and partnerships, the local media, local civic leaders – and others - serve to shape the various impacts and expectations?

- There is considerable **variation in the degree to which the various sectors of land-based industry have been scrutinised** with regard to their local impact and local expectations. Agriculture and forestry have been much researched; conservation and recreation rather less so; and the equine industries hardly at all.

- It seems that much of the local social impact of these various industries appears to result as a **consequence of economic impact** – especially via the labour market and the spin-off locally of associated commercial initiatives. We would be unwise therefore to put 'economic' and 'social' into separate boxes and to neglect the former. At the same time, to spend too much time trying first to establish the nature of the various economic impacts is to risk a serious diversion of effort given the unequivocal social / community focus of this project.

- Finally, **social heterogeneity.** We must not anticipate that common shared views exist on these various matters, regarding either impact or expectations. We must hypothesise variation between our study areas, between the communities in those areas and between individual people and interest groups within those communities. How far that variance exists in practice will be an important conclusion to the research.

3. Research methods

3.1 Case study area selection process

This section details the final selection of case study areas. The first step was to identify those districts defined as 'rural', selecting all those classified as 'Rural 80', 'Rural 50' and 'significantly rural'. This resulted in 178 districts.

A shortlist of districts was then identified using proxy variables for 1) Community, 2) Production and 3) Protection and Consumption:

1) Community: The first part used data from the census. Two variables to indicate social cohesiveness were selected, namely the level of in-migration and commuting. All of the 178 districts were then classified into four categories for both of these 2 variables. Those in the 1 (low) category for both variables were placed in the 'low in-migration and commuting' category. Those in the 4 (high) category for both variables were placed in the 'high in-migration and commuting' category.

2) Production: As with community, variables based on official statistics were used, one from the Census and the other from the June Agricultural Census. The first looked at the change in agricultural land holding area between 1995 and 2003 and the second at the number of people employed in agriculture, forestry and hunting. As with the community, the 178 districts were placed into four categories from high (areas of high change in land use and employment) to low (areas of small land use change and low agricultural employment).

3) Protection and Consumption: Again two variables were selected. For consumption, the Census category for Hotels and Catering was selected and for protection, the presence of a landscape designation (National Park, AONB or Heritage Coast) was the key variable. In the latter case, the allocation into four categories was more subjective, but using data from the MAGIC website it was possible to determine that 1 (low) meant only a minor presence of designations up to 4 (high) where designation was dominant.

The initial screening produced a total of 36 districts across 6 cells according to the discussed criteria; the five districts that were selected are shown in bold in Annexe 2.

Case study locality selection

The following criteria were used to help select a diverse range of case study localities within the 5 chosen districts (South Shropshire, Wear Valley, Chichester, South Cambridgeshire and Staffordshire Moorlands). For each criterion, a variation in each was desirable:

- Land occupancy
- Equine presence
- Levels of afforestation
- Community size/pattern
- Sparsity (preferably 2 in the 'sparse' category)

These criteria enabled a specific list to be drawn up (See Annexe 3). A number of sources were used to provide information to inform the selection of localities; including web-based sources such as the MAGIC website, National Trust, Local Authorities, British Horse Society, Local Parish websites and Natural England

(Nature on the Web and Countryside Agency Open Access maps). Other sources included Ordnance Survey Maps, the Agricultural Census, Population Census and local Parish Plans, as well as local knowledge of the research team.

Phase 3 case studies

The first case study district selected was South Shropshire; within this area, a 'sparse' area was needed that was also within an AONB. The parish of **Clun** met these criteria as well as having significant afforestation.

The other 'sparse' area also within an AONB is Eastgate and Rookhope within the **Wear Valley** (County Durham). This is an upland area with Eastgate on the Main A road and Rookhope higher up the valley.

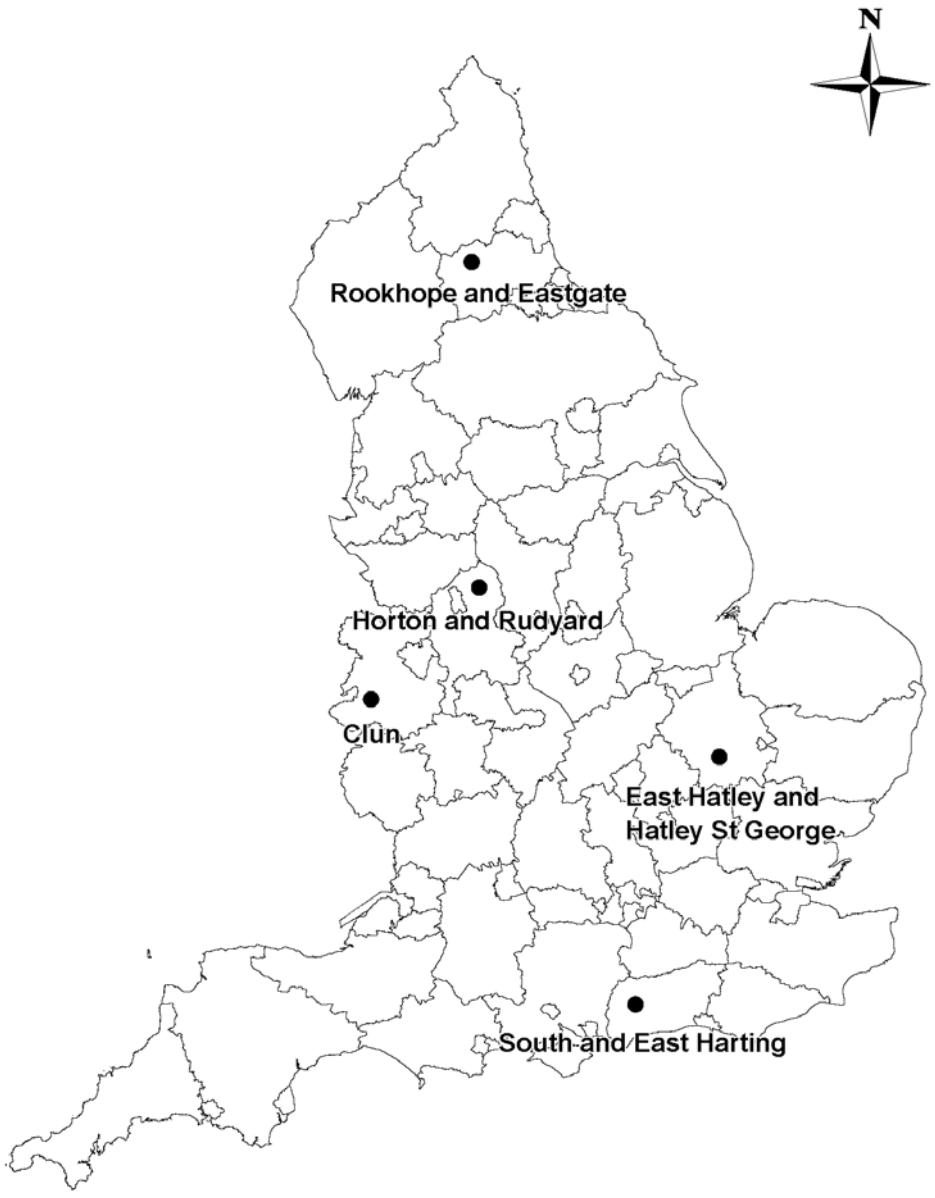
The **Chichester** district provides a mixture of highly productive agricultural land, existing AONB designation (and possible National Park) and close proximity to London. The community of South Harting was chosen as it sits on the South Downs Way with various National Trust properties.

The **South Cambridgeshire** district covers productive agricultural land without any designation, but with a heavy influence from the Eastern Counties' conurbations of Bedford and Cambridge. Here we selected a case study which included the small communities of East Hatley and Hatley St George.

The **Staffordshire Moorlands** is not an area of high agricultural productivity, but it provides an area of change in terms of land use and agricultural employment. The community chosen is Rudyard and the surrounding area. There is a high level of recreation in the area centred around the reservoir and some areas seem quite affluent in comparison to the main centre of Leek. There are a large number of small farming communities.

The location of all five case study communities in England is shown in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Location of the five case study communities in England



3.2 Introduction to ethnographic research

The tender brief specified that the principal approach employed in the study should be an ethnographic one. Hughes et al, (2000) define ethnography as the qualitative description of human social phenomena, based on fieldwork. Ethnographic research is a holistic method founded on the idea that a system's properties cannot necessarily be accurately understood independently of each other.

In order to collect data that unravels the complexities of human social phenomena and the systems associated with them, a range of research techniques falls under the umbrella of 'ethnographic research'. These include semi-structured interviews, one-to-one and group interviews, participant observation, informal conversations and analysis of text and visual information (for example through examining local newspapers etc) during a period of fieldwork. The core principle is that researchers become immersed in the communities under study, which implies that they stay within the study area, use local sources for their meals, such as local shops, pubs and restaurants and remain 'on-duty' throughout their time in the field.

3.3 Research methods

The methodology described in this section was tested and refined during Phase 2 in the parish of Clun and Chapel Lawn. Using an ethnographic approach and guided by a fieldwork checklist developed by the research team (See Annexe 4), two researchers spent ten days in the area during May 2006. The Clun fieldwork reinforced the importance of remaining flexible and allowing the researchers to adapt to the specific community in which they were working. Some important practical lessons were also learnt which were used to inform fieldwork in the other four case study areas. In particular, over-reliance on 'snowballing' to locate interviewees was found to be a potential problem as it is unlikely to lead to a cross section of the community. The case study also highlighted the importance of focusing on 'interaction' between land-based industries and rural communities, and not being sidetracked into the general dynamics of the community and land-based industries further than is necessary to establish context.

Incorporating the lessons learned in Clun, fieldwork was carried out in a further four case study areas during July and September 2006, with the two researchers each spending a total of twenty days in two study areas. The following three sub-sections provide further details about data collection and analysis in the five areas.

Scoping and Preparation

The base map of the respective parish was first examined and all relevant land designations, places of interest, pubs, churches, equine and recreation opportunities were annotated. Websites were searched to find suitable accommodation. In order to maximise the opportunity for making local contacts, researchers stayed mainly within local village communities; this provided greater opportunity to engage with more people and activities.

Information regarding community activities, contextual information and key informants was identified through websites (see Annexe 5 for the Clun example). In addition, contacts within organisations outside, but having an influence over, the parish were noted. In instances where electronic material was not available, efforts were made to obtain relevant information from written and other sources. Arrangements were made for local newspapers relating to the previous week to be

purchased and back copies of other relevant newsletters were requested. A box file was kept in which to store any relevant material gathered before and during the fieldwork.

The first communication with the community was generally a telephone conversation with the Chair of the Parish Council[4]. This allowed the nature and extent of the research to be explained and gave opportunity for researchers to be provided with further contacts and useful information.

While the fieldwork was not intended to be structured, it was thought necessary to make some appointments in advance; on average, a dozen appointments were made with key contacts prior to fieldwork commencing. A short project briefing explaining the background to the research and its aims and objectives (See Annexe 6) was sent to these contacts. A list of activities deemed useful to attend was also drawn up and, where necessary, the relevant individual was contacted and permission sought to participate.

As agreed with the project Steering Group, use of an interview schedule was not deemed appropriate given that it may compromise the ethnographic approach. Instead, a checklist of issues (See Annexe 4), which had arisen from the literature review and the email survey, was produced to help guide fieldwork. The researchers discussed the checklist in detail prior to going into the field. Particular attention was paid to how these issues related to the relevant interactions, impacts and expectations raised by the email survey and literature review. In using the ethnographic approach, flexibility was paramount; it was nevertheless helpful to have identified potential issues and to be able to make occasional reference to this broad checklist.

During the Fieldwork

On arrival, researchers walked extensively around the largest community in the parish, acquainting themselves with the layout, examining notice boards, noting features of interest and obtaining relevant leaflets and newsletters. Information already gathered was verified and anything additional was noted. Within the 10 days of fieldwork, a large proportion of the area of the community was covered, either by car or on foot, and some digital photographs were taken.

[4] In terms of informing people about the research, this is a delicate issue and one that needed to be given careful consideration. On the one hand, if too many people are informed about the research this may impact on the actual activities as the presence of what Silverman (2001) calls a 'foreign body' impacts on the data gathered. However, if too few people are informed and the researcher is asked what she is doing in the area, people may become suspicious. In order to reduce the risk of this, some key individuals in each area were informed of the research: the owner of the accommodation used during the research; the Chair of the Parish Council and the Church of England incumbent. The use of what Silverman (2001) calls 'situational ethics' is noted here; this is the process by which the researcher assesses a situation they find themselves in where relevant data may be gathered, but only if certain aspects of their interest in the data are withheld. As a bare minimum, the researchers were expected to reveal that they were 'doing some research into the expectations of rural communities on the land-based industries' or 'the impacts of the land-based industries on rural communities'. They did not offer explanations that were contrary to the information given to three individuals above. However, permission was always requested before any conversations were recorded.

Researchers participated in various village activities (see Annexe 5 for examples from Clun), the majority of which appeared to be pertinent. In less relevant cases, time was not wasted because it enabled more contacts to be made and researchers' faces became more familiar to local inhabitants. Opportunities were maximised to engage relevant people in conversation and numerous informal conversations took place at all times of the day and evening. Diaries and a profile of key informants and were kept for future reference.

Interviews were conducted with a specific but broad range of actors drawn from local civic and parish organisations, land-based industries and non-land businesses. Throughout the fieldwork, many further contacts were suggested to the researchers and a number of these were followed up (depending upon their relevance to the project and on the time available). Although this 'snowballing' technique was effective, care was taken that researchers were not constantly guided to the 'usual suspects'; it was necessary to step outside this circle and methods were sought to achieve this.

Many of the interviews were recorded to ensure that no information was missed and to allow useful quotes to be captured. Recordings were listened to in conjunction with writing up of notes, although no conversations were fully transcribed. Where recording took place, permission was always sought from the interviewee and confidentiality was assured.

Analytical methods

The recording of interviews enabled many quotes to be extracted and, although the tapes were not transcribed in detail, it gave researchers the opportunity to analyse the way in which they had conducted the interview, as well as the material itself. In some cases, researchers found time to write up interview and other notes whilst in the field.

On return from fieldwork, both researchers entered their notes under a set of preliminary headings relating to 'community', 'production' and 'protection/consumption' based interactions. A second draft was then produced which presented the findings under themes and sub-themes specific to that study area. This process helped to ensure that the research remained true to the conceptual framework and consistent across the five areas, while capitalising on the patterns and processes unique to each area afforded by the ethnographic approach.

4. Comparative research findings

Full and detailed findings from the in-depth ethnographic work in the five case study communities are given in Annexe 7. These self-contained sections contain detailed accounts of the research findings, presented according to the main themes specific to the community in question. While the material contained in the annexe provides the detailed narrative, description and explanation which befits the ethnographic approach employed in the study, this section aims to provide a comparative analysis of the research findings, looking across the five communities and drawing out the salient comparisons and conclusions regarding the main themes that have underlain the research. This is achieved in three main ways:

- by summarising some of the characteristic features of the different communities such as the varying nature of their land-based industries (LBIs), their facilities and other resources;

- by examining the impact of LBIs on community life in terms of local employment, evidence of local buying and selling, and involvement in the social and political activities of the communities; and

- by distilling the mutual expectations of LBIs and local residents, and exploring levels of integration and alienation in the different communities.

4.1 Characteristics of the case study communities

It should first be recalled that the five case study communities were selected according to a number of criteria which helped differentiate various types of community, economy and land use (see Section 3.1). In the first instance, a shortlist of rural districts was identified using proxy variables for 'community', 'production' and 'protection and consumption'. Case study communities were then selected from the short-listed districts according to the following criteria:

- Land occupancy
- Significant equine presence
- Significant afforestation
- Community size and pattern
- Sparsity

A full description of the case study community selection process is given in Section 3.

Table 4.1 summarises the essential socio-economic characteristics of the five communities studied (where necessary referring to specific settlements within those parishes where fieldwork was concentrated). Table 4.2 then presents a summary of demographic data for the five communities, more detail for which is given in the respective case study sections located in Annexe 7.

To elaborate, while both Hatley (Cambridgeshire) and Harting (West Sussex) represent quite wealthy communities with high rates of in-migration and commuting, Horton (Staffordshire) and especially Rookhope/Eastgate (Northumberland) have lower rates of both. Likewise, Hatley and Harting still retain economically strong farming activities, in contrast to the moorlands of Horton and former mining and quarrying activities of Rookhope and Eastgate. The fifth community, Clun (Shropshire), holds a middle position in terms of in-migration and commuting, as well as landscape designations and rural land uses. It has an active forestry sector (public

and private), low intensity farming, a good deal of recreation provision and one equine business.

Table 4.1 Some key characteristics of the five case study communities

Parish*	Social characteristics	Facilities and services	Dominant Land Based Industries
Clun (Shropshire)	Essentially a very small town. Mix of indigenous and newcomers. High % of elderly people	Wide range of services as befits a small town including shops, post office, 2 pubs, hotels and B&Bs, castle remains and doctor's surgery.	Active forestry sector. Low intensity farming. Whole area is AONB, Offa's Dyke trail passes close to the parish. Some equine activity
Harting (West Sussex) (includes South Harting)	The main settlement, South Harting, is a socially very active mixed community – a wide social spectrum. High % of elderly people. Very high % of owner occupation.	Good range of village services, and community social / cultural activities.	Farming is important – largely arable with some sheep and beef cattle. A growing equine sector. Much outdoor recreation including South Downs Way. Nature conservation and landscape designations
Hatley (Cambs) (consists of East Hatley and Hatley St George)	East Hatley is a small 'middle class' commuter settlement. Hatley St George is an estate village. Little interaction between the two.	East Hatley – no facilities. Hatley St George has small shop and post office and a playing field. Each has a medieval church.	Arable farming is important and productive. Includes a large private estate. No significant designations for landscape or conservation, apart from one small SSSI.
Horton (Staffs) (three hamlets including Rudyard)	Well established population - very few newcomers (i.e. resident for less than 15 years)	Neither Horton nor Rudyard has a real centre and no pub, shop or post office. There is a small primary school, village hall, church and two chapels.	Recreation and tourism centred on large scenic lake. Dairy and beef farming. Growing equine sector. Close to Peak District NP but no designations.
Stanhope (C. Durham) (includes Rookhope and Eastgate)	Very small settlements in a remote location. Rookhope and Eastgate constitute 'deprived' communities in many respects	Rookhope has various services including shop, post office and community-run pub. Eastgate has more basic provision	Small upland farms – largely sheep and beef cattle. Tourism and grouse shooting. Industrial heritage. Fells are protected conservation sites.

*Containing the particular subsumed settlements and communities relevant to the study.

The only other case study parish with a significant amount of woodland is Harting, although there are ancient woodlands in and around Hatley. Reflecting the movement in of commuters, Harting, Horton and, to a lesser extent, Rookhope have emerging equine (private and commercial) activities. In Hatley, a busy stud has now become a livery. And while Harting, Rookhope/ Eastgate and Clun are all protected by AONB status, there is much less landscape protection in Horton and Hatley, although both have conservation areas and SSSIs.

Located in different parts of rural England, the five rural communities are characterised by a number of other social and demographic differences as indicated in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Some demographic data regarding the case study parishes

Community*	Population	% pop over 75	% 2nd homes	% Unemployed	% employed in agric***
Clun	1065	10.6	7.1	2.5	18.0
Harting	1407	10.6	3.4	1.7	5.5
Hatley	205	4.4	3.9	2.1	4.0
Horton (including Rudyard)	778	8.1	5.7	1.7	11.4
Rookhope/Eastgate	425**	9.0	6.7	4.5	7.2
Rural England	**9.5m**[2]	**8.4**[2]	**1.9**[1]	**2.7**[1]	**3.3**[1]

*data for whole parish except as indicated
**Figure for entire parish of Stanhope is 4519
***Includes agriculture, hunting and forestry
Source: [1]CRC; [2]RERC (2005) (2001 figures)

Population size varies from over 1000 in both Clun and Harting to under 500 in Hatley, with the larger communities having higher numbers of retired people aged 75 and over. However, unemployment rates appear to reflect the nature of the rural economy rather than the size of community, with the highest unemployment rates (2.5% and 4.5%) to be found in Clun and Rookhope & Eastgate. Interestingly, these two communities also have the highest rates of second homes. This correlation is reinforced by Harting, which has one of the lowest unemployment rates (1.7%) and lowest proportion of second homes (3.4%).

Not surprisingly, the housing stock reflects the relative prosperity of the different communities. While Hatley St George is essentially an estate village, where only five houses are not owned by Hatley Park estate, both Harting and Horton are characterised by detached houses, listed buildings, converted farm buildings and relatively little new residential building (apart from a conversion to luxury apartments in Rudyard and a proposed new housing development in South Harting). There is a perceived lack of affordable housing in all five communities. The majority of the former council houses in South Harting are now in private ownership, but some are available for rent. In Clun, some low cost housing has recently been constructed and in Harting the new development will contain the statutory 30% affordable homes.

Similar comparisons can be drawn in terms of village facilities. The small market town of Clun, reflecting its importance for tourism, offers a range of facilities including a doctor's surgery, school, post office, B&B establishments, eleven shops, two coffee shops, two pubs and two community halls. At the other extreme, Horton with Rudyard and Gratton, despite having a hotel near Rudyard Lake, has no real centre and no pub, shop or post office. However, there is a primary school and chapel in Rudyard, and a church and village hall in Horton. In Harting, the other sizable community, there is a church, primary school, two halls (British Legion and Community), a general stores and post office, carpet shop, hairdresser and two pubs; in the neighbouring Nyewood, there is also a hall, which is used as a post office twice a week. The smallest parish, in terms of population, is Hatley; the estate village of Hatley St George has a small shop and post office (subsidised by the estate) and a church, whereas East Hatley is now a commuter settlement and has no facilities, other than a recently renovated (but unused) church.

4.2 The local impact of the land-based industries

Given the varying characteristics of the five case study communities, it is not surprising that the impacts of the main land-based industries (LBIs) on the respective communities are also varied. This section focuses on the five main LBIs specified for this research (agriculture, forestry, nature conservation, recreation and equine activities), but with occasional mention of mining and quarrying and also of shooting.

Impacts are examined in terms of three possible interactions. Given the ethnographic approach of the research, the evidence presented is not numerical but an account of the variations that our investigations highlighted. The three interactions are:

- employment by the LBIs;
- the local purchasing of LBI products; and
- the involvement of LBI owners and managers in the social and political life of the community.

1) The employment of local labour

As regards **farming** (including horticulture), the effects of agricultural restructuring, and the trend towards fewer and larger farm holdings in particular, have manifested themselves in a rather large reduction in the direct employment of local labour, although there has been an increasing reliance on contract labour. In many cases, employed labour has been removed and farms have become increasingly dependent on family labour and larger capital inputs. Thus, farming in Harting is dominated by three or four large and mainly arable farms, and in the Rookhope Valley the number of farms has also been significantly reduced. A similar pattern characterises the move from dairying to arable and grazing in Horton, and in the Less Favoured area of Clun there has been a reduction in direct employment by low intensity farming. However, while East Hatley is now essentially a dormitory village with little agricultural employment, the population of Horton and Rudyard is still quite closely linked to farming for employment, although very family oriented and, given the amount of grazing land for sale, not in a healthy economic state.

Estate employment warrants a separate mention, as the one real exception to the overall trend is the link between farming and the community at Hatley St George, a settlement dominated by the Hatley Park estate. A significant number of people from the village (seven) are employed on the estate, which is in clear contrast to a lack of agricultural employment in the sister village of East Hatley. There is also an estate (Uppark Estate) in the south of Harting parish owned by the National Trust, but unlike Hatley Park it has less impact in terms of employment of local people.

The case of Rookhope & Eastgate is also distinct in that those communities have suffered from major job losses in mining, quarrying and cement works. Traditional links to grouse shooting do, however, remain although due to the seasonal nature of the work, together with the shooting rights being owned by an shooting syndicate, the interaction does not go beyond employment and is considered aloof by locals.

Also in line with national trends, there is evidence of **farm diversification** within the case study communities and this has helped to generate some, albeit varying, levels of local employment. In Harting, there is organic meat production, some light industrial units and a ‘Pick Your Own’ (PYO) farm just to the north of the parish, all of which involve the employment of both permanent and casual labour. In Horton, Clun

and Rookhope, diversification relates more to tourism and recreation enterprises, involving other sections of the local economy as well as farms, ensuring that it is *rural* diversification rather than farm diversification *per se*. In Rookhope and Eastgate, for example, there are three well-established static caravan parks on farmland, and the employment of gamekeepers and others involved in grouse shooting might count as farm diversification. However, the coast-to-coast cycle path that passes through the village has given rise to a number of tourism and recreation enterprises that are not associated with farming.

However, the dominant type of land-use change overall relates to **equine activities**, both private and commercial. While equine businesses are noted in Clun, Harting and Hatley St George (there is a horse livery on Hatley Park estate), a significant trend in most communities has been the selling off of smallholdings to incomers who keep horses for their own recreational purposes. It would appear that sole ownership of horses generates little direct employment, but there would be a positive benefit from associated requirements, such as farriers, horse feed and bedding, veterinary and other equine equipment. Clearly in liveries and other equine businesses the direct employment is significant. It is noted that the activity tends to offer a separate social sub-group for interested people, which was evident in Horton where those with horses mix among themselves in much the same way that farmers do at the livestock market. However, this seems not to have happened in Rookhope where those involved in recreational equine activities appear to mix in quite well and whose renovated holiday cottages have provided some employment.

Other LBIs that generate some local employment include the large sand quarry, private gardens and light industrial units in the parish of Harting, the recreational activities associated with Rudyard Lake (Horton), the Offa's Dyke and South Downs Way National Trails (the latter being also a bridleway) and the Shropshire Way in Clun, tourism and forestry activities also in Clun and the Killhope mining museum near Rookhope. However, the woodlands in Clun and Harting are generally managed by Forest Enterprise officers who do not live in the local communities and employ few, if any, local people. Similarly, nature conservation leads to relatively little direct employment of local people, though it often draws upon local volunteers. However, many local farmers and other landowners have joined agri-environment schemes and thus contribute to employment.

2) The local purchasing of LBI products

Another way of analysing the impacts of LBIs relates to the purchase of their products in the local communities. Again, the results demonstrate considerable variation between the five communities, from relatively little local buying and selling in Rookhope (some eggs and honey), Horton (farmer supplying a butcher in another parish, and two horse owners attempting to source supplies locally) and Hatley (some produce from neighbouring villages in the estate shop) to more active commercial linkage in Clun and especially in Harting. Interestingly, the local vicar of Rookhope wants to introduce a farmers' cooperative to sell Weardale lamb and beef, using the AONB as a form of branding, and has some support among the remaining farmers.

While such variations may reflect the wealth and character of the different communities, the situation is more complex than that. Clun, the second most deprived of the five parishes, has been 'reinventing itself through employment in tourism, services and small-scale industry'. This is leading to an increasing attempt to source and sell locally (e.g. meat, eggs, honey, cakes) by local butchers, pubs and B&B establishments. In Harting, the least deprived of the case study areas, the local

economy is buoyant and characterised by considerable local buying/selling. This includes a successful pick-your-own (PYO) business just outside the northern boundary of the parish, a local organic meat producer, another selling local lamb directly to consumers, local selling by a micro-brewery at Nyewood and the monthly Harting Market, where surplus local produce (of LBIs and individuals) is sold at what is very much a social event. Harting Store also has important economic linkages with most of the above enterprises. These observations would therefore suggest that there has been producer-driven local purchasing in areas trying to develop local tourism and consumer-driven local purchasing in more affluent areas.

The prevalence of local marketing also reflects the type of farming. Local marketing of meat products occurred in Clun, Horton and Hartley, but in Rookhope and Eastgate it had ceased when a local abattoir had to stop slaughtering for sale. More recently, a farmer in Eastgate had considered selling his meat locally, but was put off by the paperwork and hygiene restrictions. In areas of intensive arable agriculture, such as Hatley, there is less scope for local buying and selling. Conversely, in areas where agricultural production is more varied there is likely to be more potential for local marketing. In so far as local marketing increases social interaction, it may be that social interaction is less likely in areas of intensive arable farming.

3) The Involvement of LBI owners and managers in the social and political life of the community

In relation to the involvement of LBI owners and managers in the political and social life of the case study communities, the general trend is towards a declining involvement in local governance, most notably the parish council. Yet again, variations are detectable. There is little involvement of LBI personnel in the parish council in Harting (two LBI-related members recently resigned because of the need now for a declaration of interests) and in the parish of Stanhope, where only two of the 14 councillors are farmers and where the settlements of Rookhope and Eastgate each have just one representative. In Harting, a Parish Design Statement was prepared by a committee of twelve, of which only two had LBI connections, and these were clearly tenuous. However, despite the decline this does not necessarily mean that LBI owners and managers are under-represented, rather that there are less of them as a proportion of the total population.

Moreover, farmers and other LBI personnel are often involved in other elements of local governance, both formal and informal. For example, a number are active on the wider South Downs Joint Committee which impacts on Harting. In Hatley, the involvement of LBI personnel on the parish council is also declining (three of the five councillors are from East Hatley and they have no farming connections), but the owner of Hatley Park estate and one of his workers are still members. Here, there is an increasing attempt by newcomers to control local activities and governance. Indeed, East Hatley has a 'villages committee' (seven residents) that does not involve either retired farmers or former social housing residents, possibly because they are not interested in the activities organised.

In the other two communities, Clun and Horton, LBIs continue to be well integrated into formal parish activities. Two farmers and a forester are on the Clun parish council, just as six of the nine councillors in Horton and five of the nine members of the Horton village hall committee have LBI connections. Yet significantly, LBIs are not so well represented on the Horton Action Group and the Rudyard Lake Trust, the latter's trustees comprising mainly people from outside the parish due to the recreational attraction of the open water. In all of the five cases studies, there were examples of LBI owners and managers helping informally in the social life of the

community, often because they had the relevant equipment and knowledge. This is appreciated and acknowledged by the non-LBI members of the communities.

Where there were disputes or complaints about representation on local bodies, whether they be formal bodies such as parish councils or more informally the running of local activities, they tended to concern the relative roles of incomers and locals, rather than that of land managers and non-land managers. In general, the local-incomer split seemed more significant to local people than any split between land managers and the rest of the community.

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4.3 Mutual expectations, integration and alienation

The case study research was also interested in the mutual expectations of the LBIs and local residents. This section therefore considers social relationships in the various local communities, with an emphasis upon commitment, integration and potential conflicts.

To appreciate differences in these regards, it is useful first to summarise the social make-up and 'sense of community' in the different communities. Here one can draw comparisons between the vibrant nature and social integration of Harting, Clun and Hatley St George; the generally stable condition of Horton and Rudyard (where LBIs still make a significant contribution to the community); the declining influence of LBIs and the high deprivation and isolation in Rookhope and Eastgate; and the sense of alienation in East Hatley.

The parish of **Hatley** in Cambridgeshire, comprising Hatley St George and East Hatley in close proximity, demonstrates these extremes very well. Hatley St George is a harmonious estate village, with a village green and cricket club but no members from the neighbouring village of East Hatley. It has a good mix of different people, including the transient private rented sector living in Hatley Park estate housing. In contrast, East Hatley, apart from a handful of retired farmers and the occupants of four social housing bungalows who feel alienated from the community, is now essentially a middle class commuter settlement with a number of detached houses but no real meeting places or sense of community. There is clear tension between the two villages, based on differing attitudes to the countryside, with residents of East Hatley attempting to control the parish council and villages committee, as well as complaining about the estate's control of the village green.

However, while there is no real direct involvement in environmental matters by residents, there is relatively little conflict within each community – other than some alienation between land managers and the local community in **East Hatley** relating particularly to farm traffic and crop spraying. It would certainly seem that some of the middle class incomers in East Hatley are not 'in tune' with countryside matters and are now trying to impose their attitudes on community life. A good example is provided by the conflict generated by the recent refurbishment of St Dennis' church, which had been derelict for a long time and was designated a nature reserve with bats and other wildlife. Those (mostly incomers) wishing to keep it as a nature reserve, after losing the argument, then wanted to keep the grass in the churchyard long for conservation reasons, which displeased some other (mostly local) residents.

As in Hatley St George, the relationship between LBIs and the local community in both South Harting and Clun with respect to access, tourism development and community cohesion, is generally a very positive one. **South Harting** comprises a wide range of people, from wealthy city gents and retired military/professional people to the self-employed and indigenous population, many of whom live in the former

council houses. It is a very active and sociable community, with a lunch club (monthly), friendly society, horticultural society, Harting market (once a month) and annual street fete. Despite class differences, there is a good deal of social interaction in this parish and, although LBIs do not take a lead in community activities, they are involved in many events and in the social life of the community. For example, some LBIs are happy to offer voluntary leisure/education activities to the school and at other events such as the organisation of a barbecue at the fete. The church remains a focus of interest and socialisation for farmers in South Harting, and newcomers are well integrated into community life. No real conflicts are apparent; for example, over the conversion of buildings to light industry and other diversification activities, and the National Trust permits access to woodland and offers licences for hang gliding. As in many rural communities, there are occasional moans about farmers, crop spraying and the state of bridleways, just as some LBIs expressed concerns over dogs, vocal pressure groups and the lack of understanding of land management by the public. However, these do not appear to lead to any serious alienation.

Likewise, in the vibrant and inclusive community of **Clun**, there is a generally harmonious relationship between LBIs and the community. Farmers are still involved in the retained fire service and in the local school, the young farmers club meets in one of Clun's pubs, and the chair of Clun Show is a farmer. There is a particularly good relationship between LBIs and residents concerning access and recreation in the parish's large wooded areas and there is also recognition of their mutual dependence with regard to the development of tourism and the service industry in Clun. Some traditional cultural activities are maintained (e.g. the Clun Show) and others have developed, for example a Green Man festival which is popular with tourists (but not with many locals) despite not being historically significant. The indigenous population has, with one or two exceptions, been accepting of incomers because they renovate old buildings and help to run clubs and societies. Interestingly, it is some of these incomers, rather than the local people, that are now resistant to further change in the community. Whilst there was some feeling amongst farmers that the community, particularly incomers, did not understand and appreciate farmers and farming, the community members interviewed, including incomers, generally professed respect and sympathy for farmers.

Rising house prices, second homes and the feeling of alienation by some of the older farmers were expressed as concerns during the fieldwork in Clun, together with issues relating to off-road bike riders and deer poachers. Nevertheless, there seems to be a good attachment to the community by all; the landscape, wildlife, facilities and sense of safety and community are valued, just as there is recognition that the continued success of tourism is dependent on sympathetic land management.

The two remaining communities, **Horton** and **Rookhope & Eastgate**, clearly contrast in many ways but are both undergoing substantial change. Rudyard (in the parish of Horton) consists mainly of long-term residents who are still closely linked to LBIs for employment, many of them going back generations with a majority having lived there for over 15 years. The lack of a village centre limits social interaction and there has been in-migration of people into vacated smallholdings and lakeside properties; these have created their own social sub-group, based around a common interest in horses or boating activities. Farmers devote time and energy to parish committees and events and are welcoming of incomers, even if the latter do not particularly want to mix with farmers and local residents. There are no real conflicts between farmers, smallholders and people with equine interests, especially as some of the latter have leased land back to the farmers. However, despite the relative harmony many 'for sale' signs were noted during the fieldwork as farmers continue to sell off their land; this suggests that the contribution of LBIs to the social fabric of the

community will continue to change and that the future of farming in this area is particularly uncertain.

Both **Rookhope** and **Eastgate** are quite remote communities within the parish of Stanhope and this remoteness helps to reinforce the relationship between locals and incomers. However, in addition to their size differences, the two communities also differ in terms of community cohesion and integration. **Eastgate** is a sociable village and farmers still meet in the local pub; they are central to the community and, along with others, help to organise a number of social events. In contrast, the classic industrial settlement of **Rookhope** is struggling and appears to be in decline. While there is obvious pride in Rookhope's industrial heritage and some deeply rooted interconnections between land and community, the village retains some areas of private land and has a number of second homes and new residents. Although house prices are quite low, they are rising and there is a lack of affordable houses for local people. Despite monthly coffee mornings, an active bowling club and the re-opening of Rookhope Inn (largely through the efforts of incomers), there is some conflict and resentment between locals and incomers.

However, the greatest levels of resentment and mistrust in both communities concern the District Council proposals for some tourism development (an 'eco-village') on the site of the cement works in Eastgate. There is considerable resistance to this among the local people,. Concern is also apparent with regard to open access to the fells (given fears for safety on account of the old mine shafts) and there appears to be little interest and discussion among residents about conservation, despite the village's location within an AONB, although recently introduced walks and interpretation leaflets may change this.

4.4 A sector-by-sector perspective

Before drawing some final conclusions, it is useful to complement the comparisons between the five communities (i.e. place by place) with a brief comparison of the main LBIs which have featured in this study (i.e. sector by sector). This is limited to a distillation of the most salient findings for each of the five LBI sectors examined.

Agriculture and Horticulture

- A generally declining source of employment for local people, but increasing diversification may impact on local economies.
- Generally reduced levels of farmer involvement in local political and cultural life, but variations exist and this was not as profound as expected. (In any case, local representation is likely to reflect the social and demographic make-up of contemporary rural England).
- Informal, ad hoc contributions to community life by farmers were noted.
- Some evidence of the (re)integration of farming into the local economy, for example through direct marketing.
- In some places, smallholdings are being bought by hobby farmers / equine enthusiasts with excess land rented back to farmers.
- Some sources of conflict (mainly relating to farming practices and public access) between farmers and rural communities, but fairly superficial and not necessarily indicative of LBI-community relations.

Forestry

- Again, generally a picture of declining local employment.
- A number of forest managers were found to be located outside the areas, which has implications for integration with, and understanding of, local communities.

- But often the managers are keen to control forests and woodland in a way that is wildlife friendly and conducive to local access. This promotes active engagement, and empathy, with the local community.
- There tends to be considerable local interest in how forest / woodland is managed, which suggests good potential for social forestry initiatives.
- Some woodland activities, such as shooting, may be under-represented, due to the time of year at which the fieldwork took place.

Recreation

- There are many examples of the increased recreational and tourism use of rural land with positive economic consequences.
- Tourism is an increasingly important diversification activity underpinning the land-based sector and rural communities; thus, a mutual dependence on tourism represents an important link between the land-based economy and rural communities.
- However, in some areas there is a mistrust of tourism, and its promotion by outside interests, as a source of quality jobs and tourism can be a source of conflict within communities.
- Open access appears to have had only a limited social and economic impact locally.
- In some areas dog walking is of increased significance, with dog walkers becoming often more assertive of their rights.
- ROW issues can cause conflict (albeit fairly superficial) between land managers and local residents.

Nature Conservation

- Management activity tends to involve local people in a voluntary capacity, although they are likely to be from a neighbouring town rather than from within the parish.
- Some but not all land-managers perceive a (potential) conflict between increased public access and wildlife needs.
- Many local residents see a significant conflict between modern farming methods and the needs of nature conservation.
- Despite the increased value of the countryside in terms of nature conservation, this appears to have little local economic interaction (although there is likely to be some additionality through tourism and agri-environment schemes).

Equine industries

- These activities are growing in the countryside, but in a largely ad-hoc fashion.
- Often managed on a 'DIY basis', they seem to generate relatively little direct local employment, except through liveries and other equine businesses.
- However, it is likely that indirect employment is generated in restoring properties and through the servicing of the equine activity, an activity that often complements industries associated with the land-based sector such as feed merchants.
- The integration into the local community of those involved seems to vary within the case studies. In some areas, a separate equine network develops.

4.5 Some general conclusions

The selection of the five case study communities according to their different combinations of LBIs (which in turn have variable involvement in production, protection and consumption activity) and to different rates of in-migration and commuting, led to the examination of contrasting rural communities in different parts of upland and lowland England. The selection procedures also ensured variations in

terms of unemployment, deprivation and age structure across the five case study areas. And, while the selection of the research method - a quasi-ethnographic approach using wholly qualitative techniques - allowed an in-depth appreciation of the perceptions and concerns of a wide range of residents and LBI stakeholders in these five communities, it has not permitted any serious quantification of the phenomena in question.

These two factors – the deliberate selection of a small number of highly differentiated communities for detailed study and a method that placed priority on understanding perceptions and the underlying processes at work - mean that care must be taken in any attempt to generalise widely from the evidence presented here. Nevertheless, **three overarching conclusions** appear valid: First, farming and forestry have in recent years had a generally declining impact on the local labour market. (But, to an extent that we have not attempted to quantify, this decline may well have been offset by a growth of jobs linked to conservation, equine activity and, especially, to tourism and recreation). Second, in terms of their significance in a local governance context, LBI personnel have generally exhibited declining importance, although this partly reflects their overall significance in the demographic structure of contemporary rural communities. Third, the picture varies considerably from place to place, reflecting a host of factors including the nature of the local LBIs, local social structures and norms, and the influence of key individuals.

Moving on to the key channels of impact under scrutiny, as far as **local employment** is concerned, the research has shown that, while jobs in farming, mining and forestry are clearly declining, LBIs retain importance as employers in some communities and new employment has been created through farm diversification and the growth of 'consumption activities' such as equine activity and other types of recreation. The nature and scale of such diversification are important in the context of local employment impact. The increased provision of tourism and recreation facilities, the restoration of redundant buildings, the creation of small business units in farm locations and the adding of value to local raw materials have all served to offset, to some degree, the typical decline of land-based employment. However, the research has not been able to demonstrate whether the net employment effect of these developments is positive or negative in the case study communities.

With regard to the **local sale of produce** by the various LBIs, a variable picture again emerges. Nowhere are such sales a dominant element of the local economy, but many examples were found of modest sales of farm produce, often linked – as in Clun and South Harting - to a growing tourism industry and to the general level of vibrancy in the community; some places more than others are developing a preference for quality local produce. The type of land-based production also affects the likelihood of local marketing, with some types of produce being easier to market locally than others. There was very little purchasing of local raw materials by land managers (especially farmers), usually because the inputs required were not available locally,

Turning to the changing **role of LBI owners and managers in village life**, representation on the parish council does seem to remain important in the fairly stable, but dispersed, parish of Horton where the majority of inhabitants have some LBI connection, but it is declining in parishes where there is a wider mix of inhabitants (e.g. Clun, Harting) and/or increasing conflict (e.g. East Hatley, Rookhope). Nowhere is there the kind of overwhelming dominance of local politics by LBIs that there has reportedly been in the past. The reasons for such declining involvement are various; they include a sheer decline in the numbers of owners and managers of LBIs living locally, the reduced time available to such people as more

and more labour is shed, and the growing role played by newcomers with little or no direct connection with the land and a strong preservationist ethic – a state of affairs that appears to have alienated many hitherto politically active farmers.

That said, we encountered many examples of farmers and other LBI personnel making substantial contributions to social, cultural and educational activity in and around their parish, generally in an informal capacity. But, while many 'do their bit' in a generous way, few, it seems, are prepared to take a lead in organising community events, as may well have been the case in the past.

In terms of **mutual expectations**, and the related issues of either integration or alienation of LBIs and local residents, it appears that the more integrated and vibrant communities experience less conflict and alienation. Thus, despite the expected complaints about crop spraying, noisy farm machinery and the state of bridleways, there is a high degree of social integration and cohesion in Harting, Clun, Eastgate and the special case of the estate village of Hatley St George. However, in less integrated communities like East Hatley and, to a lesser extent, Horton and Rookhope, many LBI managers do feel some alienation, even if the reasons for this are different. Thus in Rookhope conflict, distrust and a resentment of external influences reflect the decline of a formerly vibrant community based on mining and quarrying, and is often most keenly felt by older people with hitherto close links to the land whether through farming or mining. In East Hatley, it relates more to the in-migration of wealthy, middle class people who are not willing to accept the old ways of the estate village of Hatley St George and its former dominance of parish activities.

Focusing specifically on the apparent **expectations that local residents place on the LBIs** operating in their vicinity, several points may be made:

- Many expectations relate to countryside access and a concern that traditional privileges in that regard be respected (for example regarding access on foot, with or without dogs, in traditionally favoured locations).
- Other expectations concern a wish that the residents' peace, quiet and freedom from excessive farm traffic, smells and noise be respected, coupled with a dominant anti-development ethic (which is often shared by the LBI managers). Such views tend to be more strongly held or expressed by relative newcomers with only limited knowledge of modern LBIs.
- Those in local businesses (for example, running B&Bs, pubs and tourism facilities) expect the LBIs to continue to manage the area's landscape and associated wildlife in a way that is sympathetic to the needs of tourism, itself a source of mutual dependence by land-managers and rural communities.
- Finally, we have found little evidence of local residents regretting the declining involvement of LBI personnel in local governance – but there is a suggestion that local people do expect local land managers to be helpful in the delivery of local social, cultural and educational activities.

Overall, we suggest that any 'fault-line' between LBIs and their local communities is often less real or significant than are divisions within those 'communities' – most notably those between newcomers and established residents long exposed to the needs and activities of the LBIs. As one respondent put it, "misunderstandings between locals and newcomers are perhaps more significant than relationships between the community and the land-based sectors". Further, while there has been a decline in the influence of several LBIs as employers and community leaders, this decline has been rather less – and certainly more geographically variable - than first thought. And there are suggestions that LBI - local community relationships may be

reinvigorated to the extent that wider forces of demand and supply encourage more local selling and buying of agricultural produce.

Despite some clear patterns and processes that have emerged from the study, caution needs to be exercised in making generalisations about the various contributions of LBIs to rural communities in England. They have a varied impact, depending on the unique circumstances of each local rural community, and it would certainly seem that social integration is better achieved, and alienation minimised, in some communities rather than others. Although levels of community vibrancy and wealth obviously contribute to this situation, the true reasons run deeper and can reflect historical legacies as well as the personalities of certain key individuals.

Considering the changing impact of LBIs on their local communities more broadly, we can identify four factors discussed in this report that would benefit from **further study**. First, the nature and local variability of increasing farm and other rural diversification may well determine the picture of local impact over future years. This could also be extended to cover the change in land use that rural areas are experiencing and the need to understand how the increasing elements of LBIs will impact on the management of the countryside. Second, as one aspect of the 'consumption countryside,' the socio-economic impacts of equine activity can introduce a new social network resulting in fragmented links with local communities and other LBIs. Third, the drivers of local production and consumption need to be better understood; findings from this study would suggest that there has been producer-driven local purchasing in areas trying to develop local tourism and consumer-driven local purchasing in more affluent areas, but this requires quantification and empirical testing. Finally, the increased role of environmental protection across LBIs, its underpinning of the consumption aspects of the rural economy and its relation to local sense of identity need to be more fully understood.

5. Policy issues

In order to help identify policy issues associated with the research findings presented in this report, a dissemination event was held on January 16th 2007 involving a number of stakeholders who took part in the email survey during Phase 1 of the study.

Following a presentation of the research findings, the research team went on to link these to two policy agendas, namely:

- Localism– relating broadly to the 'double devolution agenda' whereby powers and responsibilities are pushed down from national to local and very local (i.e. parish and community group) levels. Important questions in this regard are:

    - In matters relating to LBI-community interactions, is there a need to encourage very local decision making and the transfer of some powers to local people?
    - And how do we stimulate inclusive dialogue in local communities? People appear only to come together when there is a major local issue to discuss, but how can a more inclusive culture of co-operation be fostered?

- The importance of local economic linkages and networks; relating broadly to the 'reconnecting producers and consumers' agenda. Within this growing agenda, which is concerned with promoting the development of local supply chain linkages and income retention within local economies, we need to question:

    - Whether we should be making local economies more self-sufficient and conducive to growth, and if so how?
    - And how can we ensure that social impacts of this are positive?

In a subsequent discussion, stakeholders identified a number of issues relevant to policy development in this area, and below we attempt to crystallise these as an agenda for discussion within CRC, and beyond. These issues and associated suggestions which policy advisers can consider fall into four main areas: Dialogue and Interaction; Participation; Education and Information; and Local Economies and Employment.

A Dialogue and Interaction

The issues:

1. Misunderstandings often arise between people, groups and projects due a lack of mutual awareness. Conflicts between LBIs and rural communities often arise due to such misunderstanding.
2. A lot of misunderstandings are due to a lack of communication. Can policy be developed to improve communication and dialogue between groups at the local level?
3. What are the pre-conditions for effective interaction; is there anything that can be done to foster or reinforce this pre-condition?
4. In community development terms, the prospect of something useful happening from the product of one's efforts can often stimulate greater local effort; LEADER type initiatives are a good example and there may be examples of good practice worth drawing on.

5. It is important to recognise, and foster, the relationship between formal and informal elements in the community; small rural communities often have dominant characters and very few potential group representatives.
6. There is often a general wish for a 'good' community life, but people have a diverse range of goals and needs which require communication, prioritisation and management. Local contexts and personalities of key individuals make the application of generic policies difficult.
7. There need to be mechanisms for hearing the opinions of those who do not have sufficient time to participate in community life. Farmers and other land managers often fall into this category.
8. There was concern in some of the case studies about major environmental issues such as climate change and energy consumption and some contributions suggested that there might be scope for encouraging very locally-based discussion about such matters.
9. Specific LBI-related issues should not be treated as separate; dialogue between groups on integrated issues is crucial. Such dialogue should help foster mutual understanding of LBI and rural communities, but also an understanding and appreciation of the future of LBIs and the benefit they provide to the community and its economy.
10. Local shops and post offices, like pubs, churches and schools, can be very important with respect to social interactions in a community. This needs to be more widely recognised.

Policy suggestions

1. Develop material that will encourage and enrich very local seminars on issues such as energy consumption, bio-fuels and responding to climate change in rural communities. Issues such as bio-fuels are becoming an increasingly important policy (and media) agenda, but they may be a source of considerable conflict, as well as opportunity, in rural communities.
2. Promote the formation of very local working groups with a 'community chest' providing small pump-priming grants to develop projects which bring LBIs and local residents together. Community development is often a by-product of attempts to make specific things happen in the community.
3. Widen the debate on rural service provision to encompass issues of social integration and interaction. This could be incorporated into a new wave of Parish Plans.
4. Extract potential elements of good practice relevant to community-LBI links from successful LEADER programmes and projects, as well as other schemes such as the land-based and project-based schemes operated by Defra. (Such good practice could be part of the 'material' referred to in suggestion 1 above).

B Participation

The issues

1. The increasing numbers of wealthy incomers need to be encouraged to participate and invest in the local community; their skills are crucial.
2. There is also a need to better use the skills, knowledge and incomes of land owners and managers in the community process.
3. One or two dynamic people are needed to act as catalysts and many communities need input from land-based personnel.
4. Local Access Forums can be useful as a medium for facilitating discussion between land managers and users as they can produce visible outputs. But

they need a good chair as well as being seen to achieve something. Further, the Local Authority geographical scale may be too large for some where interaction is needed at the local or very local level.

5. Policy makers need indicators of social interaction between land-based industries and rural communities to help monitor long-term trends and to examine and monitor spatial variations in land-based-community interaction and vibrancy.

Policy suggestions

1. Foster the setting up of, for example, Village Trusts, or Community Land Trusts, where people can invest in their local communities (e.g. for facilities, social housing initiatives, amenity land), and participate in local activities. Such initiatives will have to come essentially from within communities rather than being funded by central/regional government.
2. Issue guidance to ensure that Parish Plans are extended to embrace wider rural areas, and their environmental issues and actors, and do not just focus on local villages. Community plans need to extend both geographically and in terms of the issues they aim to encompass. They also need to be built upon informed input on wider rural/environmental issues.
3. Promote a very local level link to Local Access Fora through both representation and interest.
4. Develop indicators which may be of use in monitoring the degree of LBI-community interaction in given localities across different spatial scales. (See Annexe 8 for an initial attempt at this, including a discussion of possible indicators and secondary data sources).

C Education and Information

The issues

1. There is a need for more education and awareness about food and farming issues, as well as agri-environment programmes and LBIs more generally, in rural communities.
2. The studied communities generally showed a high level of interest in forestry and other local communities may appreciate a greater level of information regarding forestry practices and woodland management – perhaps through local newsletters etc. This could extend to embrace other LBIs, including farming.
3. Rural dwellers need to be better informed about their local area, and its produce, particularly as the local food agenda develops.

Policy suggestions

1. Promote and encourage participation among local communities and visitors in the Year of Food and Farming Education through national, regional, local and very local advertising. Ensure that this initiative fully encompasses all of the opportunities provided by LBIs.
2. Encourage the wider use of parish magazines as a vehicle for advertising local produce and land management by LBIs, and information likely to be of interest to local communities.

D Local Economies and Employment

The issues

1. The extent to which local rural economies can be fostered is highly contextual and in many areas likely to be finite; rural economies cannot change their geography and their location near, or far from, urban areas and other large settlements.
2. Supermarket deliveries may make it difficult to foster local buying and selling.
3. LBIs have an important role to play in developing and maintaining the local skills base. They often draw upon traditional rural skills, e.g. walling, hedge-laying as well as construction and renovation skills and materials.
4. A balance needs to be struck between the need for more self-contained or 'localised' economies and communities, and that for individual businesses which operate in a globalised economy. Businesses need to be able to grow and that sometimes requires their relocation to more accessible or economically dynamic areas or the re-development of the existing site; both of these can be complex and sensitive issues of negotiation within the planning system.

Policy suggestions

1. Incorporate into the advice given to people setting up businesses in rural areas specific guidance on how to 'localise' business activities.
2. Encourage/facilitate businesses to advertise goods and services in parish magazines to increase local sales.
3. Set up local working groups to examine ways in which local communities can support and encourage the local economy.

The above issues and associated policy suggestions reflect the complexity of issues encompassed by the research findings. They also pay heed to the need for locally derived and integrated policies which respect the differences between local areas and the unique contexts that surround them. Indeed, the variation revealed by the research indicates the potential difficulties of implementing national policies that would meet the needs of very different communities. In this way, the geographical level at which they should be addressed requires further consideration by policy makers. Nevertheless, although by no means conclusive, these suggestions on how policy may be taken forward provide a useful addition to the debate on the social contribution of land-based industries to rural communities.

In concluding, we would like to highlight the following:

- The need for devolution to the local (but not necessarily parish) level.
- The advantage of LEADER style 'community chests' and similar 'pots of money' being made available to land-managers and the community. These may also help integrate more distant managers such as foresters and wildlife trusts.
- The need for education about land-based industries, and their future development, as well as support and advice for land managers prepared to offer site visits.
- The potential benefits of economic and policy support to encourage local buying and selling. For example, this could be a consideration in the vexed area of whether or not to encourage/permit superstore developments in rural areas.

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The Social Contribution of Land-based Industries to Rural Communities

Annexe to the Final Report

Prepared for the Commission for Rural Communities

by the

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March 2007

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Annexe 1: Summary of results from the email survey of key informants

To help clarify the issues within this framework, and in turn hypothesised interactions and impacts, an email survey of key informants was undertaken during Phase 1 of the research. This principal aim of the survey was to help generating a checklist of issues to explore the case study research in-depth case studies; it also aimed to highlight relevant literature (particularly 'grey' literature) that the research team may otherwise miss, and to generate interest and engagement in the study to help meet the needs of end-users.

The survey contained eight open questions designed to illicit information pertaining to the conceptual issues related to the social interactions between land-based industries and rural communities, and to the criteria likely to be useful in differentiating areas for study of these issues. With regard the latter the following were identified:

- degree of proximity / accessibility to the main urban conurbations.
- the nature of the local rural economy – e.g. the type of agriculture practised, the amenity value of the area, the importance of tourism.
- recent demographic change, picking up localities with recent and substantial in-migration and those with a more stable population base.
- the degree and type of formal protection accorded to the land.
- 'settlement core' (assuming some sort of 'settlement core and hinterland' geographical structure).
- size of population, local community vibrancy and evidence of existing community / core integration

The survey was, however, most useful in generating a checklist of issues to be explored in our in-depth case studies. These broadly related to the hypothesised impact of land based industries on local communities; and to the expectations placed by local communities on the local land based industries. These hypothesised impacts were most usefully expressed as questions.

Impact of land based industries on local communities

1 What is the current and projected community impact of these industries via the employment that they generate? How far are local people employed? What sort of jobs? Do they offer good career opportunities to young people? Are jobs broadly in decline (notably in agriculture) adequately compensated for by those in other land-based industries (e.g. in land management or rural tourism)?

2 How far is a strong (and strengthening?) ethic of land and countryside protection forcing out lower income people, especially through the constraint on the supply of affordable housing that that implies?

3 How far do the local land-based industries seek to retail their produce in local markets? The sale of food, wood as a resource etc to local people (e.g. via farm shops) may be a channel of local community impact of increasing importance.

4 There is also the purchasing by land managers of goods and services in local markets – alluded to by one or two respondents. One suggested that such purchasing not only aids local prosperity and employment; it also keeps alive services that are thereby retained for the whole community.

5. What are the main local community consequences of the continuing (accelerating?) diversification of agricultural and some other land-based businesses – to include positive consequences, notably putting money into the local economy and generating employment, and negative consequences such as traffic generation?

Expectations placed by local communities on the local land based industries

1. In essence the main expectation[1] is that local land-based industries do indeed deliver local benefits – that the immediate locality is not seen as an irrelevance. But it was stressed that in this respect local communities may often fail to 'speak with one voice'.

2. This appears especially true where attitudes to development (in the broadest sense) are concerned. There is a suggestion that there is a dichotomy between:

- a 'pro-development' faction, often but not exclusively comprising lower income and long established people. Broadly their expectation may be that local land managers are well disposed towards new housing development, diversification, launching new businesses and fostering tourism. This group would tend to welcome the generation of more business for their shops, pubs and bed and breakfasts etc and expect local land managers to help generate such business; and
- an 'anti-development' faction who, in contrast, want more protection of local amenity and less of the sort of development that would be at variance with their view of what the countryside should be like. These may tend to be better-off recent in-migrants.

3. Then there is the expectation of improved (or at least retained) access to the countryside. This could involve the improvement of rights of way and the respecting by land managers of traditional informal access to local woodland etc.

4. There is the wish that the local land managers produce commodities and resources that are capable of local value added – such as foodstuffs, wood / timber and landscape.

5. There is a wish for environmentally friendly industrial practices, for example regarding pesticide spraying and, as one respondent put it 'invisibility in terms of traffic, noise and environmental damage'. Linked to this is a desire for good environmental stewardship – one respondent stressed this in relation to woodland.

6. Finally there were suggestions that local communities increasingly look to local agriculture and horticulture for healthy food.

[1] The ambiguous word 'expectation' is here taken to mean what is hoped for, rather than what is anticipated.

Annexe 2: District selection matrix

	Land use production		
Community	**High production presence/ Low consumption & protection**		**High production presence/ High consumption & protection**
Low in-migration and low commuting	***Staffordshire Moorlands***	Carlisle Scarborough Berwick-upon-Tweed	Great Yarmouth ***Wear Valley*** Isle of Wight Penwith New Forest
Medium in-migration and commuting	South Derbyshire Briantree Maldon Breckland	**Areas of medium production presence/medium consumption & protection** Test Valley Harrogate ***South Shropshire***	Shepway Babergh Ribble Valley South Norfolk Teesdale
High in-migration and commuting	Warwick Hart ***South Cambridgeshire*** South Northamptonshire Harborough	Guildford Vale of White Horse Taunton Dean	Hertsmere Cherwell South Oxfordshire ***Chichester***
	High economic production/ Low consumption & protection		**High economic production/ High consumption & protection**
	Land use consumption & protection		

The first variable is based around census data indicating the level of employment in agriculture, hunting and forestry. The upper quartile represents the districts with a high level of employment (the top row in Table 3.1), whereas the lower quartile represents the districts with low levels of employment in this Census category (the bottom row in Table 3.1). The second variable from the June Agricultural Census looks at the change in agricultural land holding area between 1995 and 2003. This is represented as a percentage figure with the higher quartile figures representing those districts with the greatest decrease in agricultural land holding area (the top row in Table 3.1). The lower quartile represents the least amount of change or small increase in agricultural land holding area (the bottom row in Table 3.1). The assumption here is that, in

areas where the decrease in agricultural land holding area is greatest and where agricultural employment is high, the productive economic aspect of agriculture is threatened as land is more likely to be purchased for other uses, possibly by other LBIs. Where agricultural employment is already low and change is small, the land is economically productive and farmers are more able to keep hold of land that they manage intensively with few staff.

In terms of the matrix, the selections move from 'high production presence' to 'high economic production', with the former covering areas where agriculture is important to the district in terms of employment and land area but is in itself not especially intensive or specialised, thus suggesting low economic significance in a national sense. This end of the spectrum is represented by the case studies in the Staffordshire Moorlands and Wear Valley. The phrase 'high economic production' is used to describe the other end of the spectrum, where agriculture is not important within the district in terms of employment and overall economics but the land is very productive and agricultural businesses are advanced and technically specialised. This end of the spectrum is represented by case studies in South Cambridgeshire and Chichester.

Annexe 3: Case study area localities according to selection criteria

Case Study **Criteria**	**South Shropshire: Clun**	**Staffordshire Moorlands: Rudyard**	**Wear Valley: Rookhope and Eastgate**	**South Cambridgeshire: *East Hatley and Hatley St George***	**Chichester: South Harting and East Harting**
Agriculture	Important but not especially productive	Important locally but struggling in current climate	Upland agriculture, farmers market in Stanhope.	Productive agricultural land	Productive agricultural land to the north
Forestry	Yes, large areas. Public and private ownership.	Some, small areas around reservoir	Little or none	Some	A large block on the scarp
Equine industry	Not known	Two stables/riding centres located in parish	Not known	Yes, heavy local presence.	Present locally
Nature Conservation	No SSSIs within parish, one just outside	No SSSIs	Large SSSI on Stanhope Common above Rookhope and Eastgate	LNR in East Hatley	Several SSSIs and Harting Down LNR Bird reserve.
Recreation	Close to Offa's Dyke path and 2 other named trails. Areas of open access woodland.	Reservoir has water sports and fishing. Also country park. Small area of open access.	Large areas of open access, some with limitations/ exclusions. Camp site in Eastgate. Walking centre in Rookhope	Open access in Potton Wood to the west. Large number of footpaths in the area.	South Downs Way runs through parish. Open access in large areas to the south on the Scarp. National Trust property.
Sparsity	Sparse	Less sparse	Sparse	Less sparse	Less sparse
Spread of urban influence	Remote from urban influence. 10km from Knighton and close to Welsh border	Located 2km from Leek and 10km from Stoke. 10km to edge of Peak District National Park	Remote from urban influence. 40 km from Durham	10km from Bedford and Cambridge	20 km from Chichester and the coast.
Spread of community type	Population of parish 1065, centred around Clun	Rudyard is main settlement, parish population is 778. Large number of dispersed farming settlements	Two communities, Eastgate and Rookhope. Both around 200, Eastgate on A689.	Population of 205	Parish population of over 1,000. South Harting largest settlement of 750.
Links to designations	All in AONB	None	Mostly AONB, except south of Eastgate in valley bottom.	None	Currently AONB
Land ownership (large estates, family farms)	Some 'family' farms and one or two estates	Small farms, data suggests lots of 'new' small holders.	Small hill farms, some tenants. Some large estates	Large commercial farms. One large private estate.	Some commercial farms, high nature conservation value
Community facilities Church, Post Office, Pub etc.	Clun has post office, 4 pubs, churches and 1 or 2 hotels/B&Bs. Castle remains and Doctors surgery	Rudyard has post office, plus pubs, churches and hotels/B&Bs. Country park nearby	Relatively few community facilities	Two pre-doomsday churches. Very informative parish website under construction.	At least one pub and a church

Annexe 4: Fieldwork checklist

Community issues

Interactions concerning social change and levels of awareness thereof

Interactions relating to decisions, influence and power

Interactions of participation and commitment

Interactions concerning nuisance, marginalisation and identity

Interactions with the wider area (communities, LBIs, non-LBIs)

Interactions around 'what is valued' in a community and LBI sense

Other community issues & interactions

Production issues

Employment (of and by) based interactions

Purchasing (from and in) based interactions

Interactions concerning the ethics of land Management in the LBI sector

Change within LBI sector, interactions concerning development or non-development

Interactions concerning wider economic linkages

Other Production based issues & interactions

Protection/consumption issues

Provision of services (to and for) interactions

Environmental practices and access (for and to) interactions

Interactions of conflict and protest as well as agreement

Interactions concerning 'what is valued' in a land-based sense

Other Protection/consumption issues

Annexe 5: Data sources used in the Clun case study

Websites
www.magic.gov.uk
www.clun.org.uk
www.yell.com
www.natureonthemap.org.uk
www.getamap.ordnancesurvey.co.uk
www.openaccess.gov.uk
www.countryside.gov.uk
www.shropshiretourism
www.bigbarn.co.uk

Documents
Parish Council minutes for past 2 years
The Towns of South Shropshire – Clun
South Shropshire Journal, current and past copies
The Parish of Clun, Bettws y Crwyn and Newcastle magazine
Walking in Shropshire A Niche Market Report December 2005
A Tourism Strategy for South Shropshire July 2004
Clun Chronicle, current and back copies
Shropshire Hills AONB Newsletter, Spring 2006
Discover South Shropshire
Blue Hills Remembered project
Shropshire Hills Events Calendar 2006
A Brief History of Clun by F Baker

Meetings/activities attended
Badminton Club
Bowls Club
Open Spaces Society meeting regarding local Glebe land
Tanzanian evening at Church with meal and presentation
Sunday morning church service
Walk on Access land with B & B providers
Father's Day afternoon tea gathering with ex Parish Council Clerk
Walk with rambling group
AGM of voluntary run Clun Chronicle (monthly newsletter)
Parish Council meeting

List of respondents
District Councillor
Farmer and NFU rep
Chair of Parish Council
Ex S. Shrops AONB officer
Parish Paths Partnership co-ordinator
Wardens of Clunton Coppice wildlife reserve
Vicar of Clun Church
Equine tourism provider
Ex Offas Dyke National Trail officer
Farmer now diversified to shop and Chair of Clun Show Farmer
PTA Chair
Local wood supplier and agricultural engineer
Farmer
Egg producer
Shropshire Council for Rural Communities

Chamber of Commerce and publican
Forest Enterprise officer
S. Shropshire Tourism officer
Forester managing Sowdley Woods on behalf of private owners (Sainsburys)
Proprietor of horse B&B and agricultural merchant
Local forestry owner/manager and parish councillor
Woodcarver
Clun museum curator and trustees
Parish councillor, farmer's widow, B & B proprietor
Honey producer
Local postmistress
Local newsagents: B&B proprietor
B & B proprietor and tree warden
Rambler's organiser and chair of Clun Chronicle
Young farmer
Two Local butchers
Proprietor of local cafe
Chair of Memorial Hall Committee (also mother of young children)
Organiser of Clun Wildlife Group: (telephone conversation)
Retained fire chief

In addition numerous informal conversations took place with representatives of the land based industries and the local community.

Annexe 6: Short project briefing

The social contribution of land-based industries to rural communities

The Countryside and Community Research Unit (CCRU) at the University of Gloucestershire is undertaking some research for the Commission for Rural Communities (CRC), which involves case studies in five communities across England. The fieldwork is being carried between June and September 2006 and the project runs until March 2007.

Background and rationale

It is clear that there is a great deal of change within both our rural communities and the land-based industries and this is well documented. However, the impacts and expectations that one has on the other are less clear. It is hoped that an assessment of this it will help inform policy making as well as academic understanding in this area.

Project aim

The study aims to investigate the interactions between the local community and land-based industries in and around the case study area. For the purposes of this research 'land-based industries' includes agriculture, horticulture, forestry, equine businesses, nature conservation and recreation.

The case study areas

Five case study areas have been chosen to reflect various patterns of land-based and community activity across rural England. The five areas are:

- Clun, South Shropshire
- Rudyard, Staffordshire Moorlands
- Rookhope and Eastgate, Wear valley
- East Hatley and Hatley St George, South Cambridgeshire
- South Harting and East Harting, Chichester

The fieldwork

Throughout June and September the researchers will be staying in the case study areas and talking with local people about their experiences of, and relationship to, the local community and various land-based industries. The intention is to better understand the nature of this relationship and, crucially, how it responds to change.

Contacts and further information

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact the project manager, Dr Paul Courtney, on 01242 531040, email pcourtney@glos.ac.uk. Paul will be pleased to answer any questions you may have about the research.

Annexe 7: Detailed findings from the five case studies

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7.3 East Hatley and Hatley St George 50
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7.5 Rookhope and Eastgate 79

7.1 Clun and Chapel Lawn

7.1.1 Introduction

Clun and Chapel Lawn parish in South Shropshire is a sparsely populated area close to the border with Wales. The area is characterised by upland hills from which there are panoramic views, while the steep sided hills to the east are covered with mainly coniferous woodland. The Parish covers an area of approximately 60 square km with a population of 1,065. The main settlement is the small town of Clun, although there are several other hamlets within the Parish and many isolated farmsteads. The Parish is located in South Shropshire approximately 10km north of Knighton and adjacent to the Welsh border, while to the East the town of Ludlow is approximately 26 km distant. See Figure 3.1 (main report) for the general location within England.

The entire Parish is situated within the Shropshire Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB), but there are no other land designations within the study area. The area contains many tumuli (mounds over ancient graves) and the remains of Clun Castle (managed by English Heritage). The narrow 14th century listed packhorse bridge is still used to carry the A488 over the River Clun.

The presentation of findings begins with some descriptive information about the case study area, outlined in Box 7.1, before providing a descriptive overview of the land based industries and rural communities of the area. It then goes on to describe the findings in detail, which are structured around the main themes pertaining to the relevant socio-economic interactions in the Clun case study area. These themes encompass local-incomer interactions; the changing influence and involvement of farmers in the community; the management of forestry and its ties to the local area; the role and significance of recreation in the community; the dynamics of sales, purchasing and employment in the land-based sector; the extent to which there is conflict and protest in the area and the degree to which the community and the land is valued by those who live and work in the Clun area.

Box 7.1 Descriptive information about the Clun case study area

Resident Population: 1065 (283173)(*)
No. of Households: 491 (117301)
Area: approx. 60.8km2
Percentage over age 75: 10.6% (8.5%)
Average Age: 46.26 (40.69)
Household Ethnicity (white): 98.8% (98.8%)
Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank#***: 15912 (2nd quartile)
Unemployment (economically active): 2.5% (3.6%)
Long term unemployed/never worked (16-74): 2.1% (1.3%)
Persons with limiting long term illness: 19.7% (17.9%)
Self employed with no employees: 32.3%* (10.5%)
Self employed with employees: 9.3%* (6.6%)
Employment in Agriculture/Hunting/Forestry*:18.0% (5.5%)

Holding size groups:

<5 ha	37.6%	(43.4%)(*)
5 <20 ha	15.6%	(18.7%)
20 < 50 ha	12.3%	(12.4%)
50 <100 ha	12.7%	(11.9%)
>=100 ha	21.8%	(13.6%)

Land use/cover:	%Land	
crops and fallow area	17.9%	(34.4%)(*)
temporary grass area	10.0%	(11.3%)
permanent grass area	62.8%	(44.1%)
rough grazing area	3.8%	(2.2%)
woodland area	2.8%	(2.7%)
set-aside area	1.7%	(3.7%)
all other land area	0.9%	(1.6%)
Total Woodland Area (2002)	9.2%	

Average house price 2006**: £245555 (£197955) (*)
House price change** 1996-2000: 41.2% (45.7%)
Proportion of second homes/holiday residences: 7.1% (0.9%)

(*)County figures in brackets
Figures based on Parish unless otherwise stated:
* Figures based upon Ward
** Figures based on Postcode Sector
***Figures based on Lower Super Output Area (LSOA)

Index of Multiple Deprivation: 1 Is the most deprived LSOA and 32482 is the least deprived LSOA. Quartile ranges : 1st (1-8120), 2nd (8121-16241), 3rd (16242-24361), 4th (24362-32482)

Overview of relevant land base industries

- **Agriculture** is a dominant land use but is not especially productive and generates very little direct employment. Most of the farms are family owned and managed by the farmer with occasional help from contractors and family members.
- **Forestry** - compared to the rest of England there is a high proportion of tree cover, which is under public and private ownership. This is especially true of the east of the Parish. For example, Sowdley Wood is owned by Sainsburys[2] and there are two areas of Forestry Commission owned woodland that are partially in the Parish.
- **Equine** - there is very little evidence of equine industry in the area, with just one B&B provider who stables horses and another who specialises in equine tourism business.
- No **horticultural** activity of any significance is noted.
- **Recreation** - there is an extensive rights of way network which includes the *Offa's Dyke National Trail* in the west of the Parish. *Offa's Dyke National Trail* is a 177 mile long distance walking route which runs adjacent to the Welsh border from Prestatyn in North Wales to Chepstow in the South. Other recreational routes include the *Shropshire Way* and *Jack Mytton's Way,* which traverse the Parish. Areas of open access land have recently been designated, although much of the woodland area was already available for public access.
- **Nature conservation**, the Shropshire Wildlife Trust is active in the area with primary school children engaged in a weekly programme, Forest School, which aims to raise environmental awareness. There is a Site of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI), Clunton Coppice, outside but adjacent to the eastern parish boundary. Coppicing within native woodland is being encouraged by the AONB, while in the valley coppicing of alders on the riverbanks is creating a useful source of locally harvested firewood. Traditionally this wood was used to make clogs.

Overview of the local community

Clun was once a close knit farming community where many people were related and the majority of residents knew each other. However, this has changed as individuals have moved in who are unconnected with the area and farming generally. For the most part these are retirees, which helps explain why one fifth (20%) of the population in the Parish is retired. The average age of the local population is 45.6 years which, along with the retirement ratio, is above the national average.

House prices have risen sharply in recent years, meaning that younger people tend to move away from the area or over the border to Wales, where houses are cheaper. Property prices still remain close to the mean for England and Wales, but over the last 15 years the many extensions and renovations that have taken place to the high proportion of detached properties in the area have resulted in significant increases in value. Although some affordable housing has been constructed, a lack of such accommodation is a restraining factor to the provision of local employment. At least one employer has moved out of the area because he was unable to source labour locally.

[2] Sowdley Wood is actually owned by a blind trust in Sainsbury's name.

There are notably fewer people in full-time employment than the national average, although the level of self-employment is much higher, meaning that unemployment is below the national average. Some industrial units are available in Clun and units suitable for sole proprietors have been developed from agricultural buildings in the hamlet of Bicton.

Clun is well served with venues for community activities. There are two halls, a playing field and playground, as well as numerous public-seating areas within the parish. In addition, there are 2 churches, a primary school, a youth hostel, a doctor's surgery and a post office. There are numerous bed and breakfast establishments as well as 2 coffee shops and 2 pubs. This small community also boosts 11 shops including 2 butchers, a general store, an ironmongers, a garage with library, 2 gift shops and a fruit shop.

The other main community of significant size within the parish is Chapel Lawn, which has a church and a village hall.

Although a Parish Plan has not been prepared in Clun, one completed in a neighbouring village has highlighted remoteness and communication, both within the parish and with the wider area, as important issues. In general, it seems that farmers have been 'well integrated' with the Parish Plan process in South Shropshire and have occasionally taken the lead in developing the plan.

7.1.2 Main findings from the Clun case study

This section presents the findings from the ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in the Clun case study area. It is structured around the main themes which help to describe and explain the interactions between the land-based industries and rural community in the area. These themes necessarily over-lap and inter-relate and, as such, the findings should be considered holistically throughout the piece. Quotes from a number of informants are used to add colour and depth to the discussion, and to illustrate salient points relating to the core research questions.

Incomer- local Interactions

As with many areas across England, increased mobility has changed the character of Clun over the last 20 years or so. Thus there is a perceived division between incomers and locals overlaying the division between land managers and community members which is the main subject of this study. This theme is concerned with the perceived impacts of incomers to the local community and the attitudes of incomers towards change and integration within the local community.

While some locals (particularly land-managers) resented the incomers, the majority seemed to be accepting and to appreciate the contribution that incomers made to the community by renovating derelict properties, including agricultural properties such as unused barns, and initiating and running clubs and societies. One farmer said that forty years ago Clun was described as run-down, but it "has come up again and much of that has been due to people coming in. In many ways the people moving in have brought a new lease of life". To quote some other farmers:

> *"It's like the houses round here well they were all going derelict 30 – 40 years ago and suddenly there's come this surge and people have renovated them and made them into lovely properties, smartened it up..... I think it is a good thing"* (farmer)

> *"Incomers bring a breath of fresh air and have spent a lot on houses."* (farmer)

However, this was not a universal view:

> *"Quite a lot of people that move in, they are trying to make it like where they came from, which to me is totally wrong (laugh)."* (farmer)

There was criticism of incomers for initiating too much change but also for being resistant to change.

> *"There is a division regarding incomers, many of whom don't want change but locals know things need to move on."* (Shopkeeper)

In general, there were three sets of concerns with regard to incomers:

- rising house prices (See Box 7.1), pricing local people, particularly the young, out of the market and forcing them to live elsewhere.
- second homes (See Box 7.1), which some felt were "killing the community".
- a feeling of alienation and loss of community amongst some farmers and locals.

This last point was in sharp contrast to the perceptions of most newcomers who, in general, saw Clun as a friendly community – indeed, this was one of the reasons why many of them had settled in the town. However, there were some incomers who did not feel welcomed.

> *"I landed in a tightly knit farming community and have not found them friendly, it has been very very difficult … they will not roll with the times ... they (farmers) don't like it and if they (incomers) come from London they assume you know nothing and are stinking rich ... I've never been able to integrate and they didn't welcome me."* (horse owner)

Changing influence and involvement of farmers

The influence and involvement of farmers in the local community proved an important theme in the Clun case study, encompassing participation in formal community activities, perceived levels of influence and respect of farmers within the community and the role of farmers in less formal community activities and societies. Findings draw on the perception of both the farming and non-farming community.

Farmers perceived their influence in the community as declining. Asked whether he felt part of the community or whether he would wish to be involved in local organisations, one farmer said:

> *"I'd have to say no … my father was heavily involved in the local community, he was chairman of the parish council, spent much of his time on the district councils, but no, partly I think through frustration because the parish council has no power it is only, in my view, a 'talking box' now. Also I would be on there with people – well there are few locals left but there aren't any locals that sit on the parish council. I understand they have a job to do but I think the influence is minimal now."*

Although his perception that there were no locals on the parish council was wrong and there were in fact two farmers (now both diversified into other activities) and a

forester on the parish council, his more general point was backed up by a retired-council clerk, who said that in 1988 the Council had consisted mostly of farmers or traders with an interest in planning matters. It seems that a council that was once dominated by farmers may now be more representative of the population of the parish.

Another farmer, who was also an NFU representative, felt that in general there were *"often too many other interest groups and the voice of the farmer is drowned."* However, farmers were still seen by some as influential. A shopkeeper hoping for Clun to become a Fair Trade Town explained the opposition as follows:

> *"There's too many farmers in Clun – you'd think they'd understand."*

Farmers felt that they were no longer respected in the way that they used to be.

> *"I feel that it has changed to a point that someone like myself **could** have an input into the community but it is no longer relevant now or wouldn't be of any value perhaps … I don't think the agricultural community is thought of in the same respect as what my father was, he was regarded, ... I think people respected him for being a local man and farmer whereas I don't think the locals now do given the way the media portray us now, would have the same respect anyway"* (farmer, speaking very sadly).
>
> To quote another farmer:
>
> *"I think that part of it could be jealousy too, in that we own all this land and we are seen to be subsidised heavily by them as tax payers but … well they resent us."* (farmer)

This perceived lack of respect was not reflected in a lack of tolerance of the inconveniences of living in an agricultural area. Farm and forestry traffic in the narrow lanes and streets was accepted by most people, in contrast to complaints about 'foreign' lorries that come through the town.

> *"People accept and welcome tractors on the road as part of the rural tradition"* (shopkeeper)

However a farmer's son identified "some problems with those who don't understand farming".

As mentioned above, some farmers felt marginalised, in part because they no longer knew everybody in the community:

> *"the farmers in particular now feel very isolated …. Well, there are 2 reasons, the first reason is that now they don't employ people so [2nd reason] they don't have time, which means they are not available to take on other tasks that they used to take on such as church wardens and other community roles and these roles are now being taken over by people who have moved in, so the farmers do feel, from my experience, very much marginalised. They come into Clun and they don't know people. They once knew everyone they saw in the street and now they come in and I think they very much feel they are the outsiders".* (community member)

In general, farmers tended to socialise separately from the rest of the community. Although some farmers met in the local pub, they tended to meet with other farmers

rather than with people from different backgrounds. The agricultural contractors, which provided an informal meeting place for farmers, had closed down and the ironmongers no longer provided so much of a meeting place because some specific agricultural products were no longer required. Instead, farmers tended to meet and socialise in the neighbouring towns that had livestock markets.

Although farmers' participation in the community was seen as declining, many farmers and, in particular their wives, did participate in the community. For example, farmers were involved in the retained fire service (although involvement was restricted to those who could reach the fire station within 5 minutes, so those from outlying farms would be ineligible). The retained fire service involved men (the only woman had recently left after a long period of service) from a variety of backgrounds and due to the other tasks and village activities it was involved in such as stewarding the Green Man festival, putting up the Christmas lights and cleaning the church windows, was described as 'an alternative social club'.

Farmers' children attended the local school, and a recent incomer, now very active in the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) said that about one third of those involved were from land-based industries. Farmers had recently helped dig out a new sandpit for the school, preparing grounds for events, removing cars from the mud and removing dangerous equipment from the village playground. However, it is not clear how many of the local farmers are involved in this kind of activity. Farmers also drank in one of the local pubs and allowed their land to be used for community activities such as barbeques. Indeed, the chair of the annual Clun Carnival and Show was a farmer. However, some farmers could be reluctant to get involved in community events for a number of reasons, including pressure of time as many now run their farms single-handedly.

The Young Farmers Club seemed to be an important focus for the 13 to 26 age-group. Although the branch covered a wider area than the parish of Clun and Chapel Lawn, weekly meetings took place in one of the Clun pubs. Membership was not confined to those from farming backgrounds and activities varied from ploughing competitions to skittles nights and raising money for charity. It was pointed out that those reaching the older age limit were often reluctant to leave the Young Farmers, perhaps indicating a shortage of activities and meeting places for the over 26 age group. It was felt that the rest of the community looked at the Young Farmers with suspicion, but that this was primarily because of their youth rather than their farming connections.

Farmers were generally amenable to the local community organising events on their land. For example, a choral evening is normally held annually on a farm and is described as "a good evening out."

> *"We have an annual bonfire party and fireworks here on our land in aid of local funds, and often get asked for draw prizes and that sort of thing."* (farmer)

Forest management – local ties and the shift towards multi-functionality

This theme examines the contribution and relevance of forest management activities to community-land-based interactions and is divided into two broad sections. The first considers the extent to which forest managers, and management is undertaken locally; and the second documents the move from production to conservation and recreation in the forest sector and the implications of this shift for social interaction.

Local or remote?

Most of the forested land in and around the parish was managed by people who did not live in the parish and hence were not involved in community activities. However, one local forest owner/manager was closely involved in the community, being a parish councillor and special constable as well as drinking in a local pub. However, most local forests were controlled from outside the area and the influence of the foresters was confined to management of the site.

Thus forestry provided links outside the immediate area. For example, Forest Enterprise woodlands were managed from Ludlow but used by local people for recreation – mostly walking but some horse riding. In fact Clun's three rambling groups regularly walked outside (as well as inside) the parish, making use of footpaths and forest tracks. Also, Forest Enterprise worked with local councils and the AONB to provide a resource for tourism as well as for local people.

In addition, the local school sent reception and infant classes to 'Forest School'. Once a week, children are bussed to Walcot Hall, two miles outside the parish boundary, where they experience outdoor life, collecting leaves, looking at wildlife, making dens, collecting wood and toasting marshmallows. 'Forest School' was a Shropshire wide initiative co-ordinated jointly by the County Council, the AONB and Shropshire Wildlife Trust. However, the local scheme was initiated by a teacher at Clun School in co-operation with a parent who was also a land-owner. The objectives are to raise self-, and environmental awareness. It is described as being very successful.

Forestry employs few local people directly. A local woodland owner no longer harvests because the price of timber is too low. He still manages his woodland but works as a meter reader. Parts of the larger woods are harvested but employ fewer people than in the past.

From production to conservation and recreation

Forestry managers were very aware of their responsibilities to provide a resource for recreation and wildlife as well as for timber production. One local forest was owned by a blind trust (linked to Lord Sainsbury) that encouraged the management of the forest for conservation and recreation. The forest was divided into two parts. The upper part was mainly conifers and used for production, although it was "thinned for natural regeneration" (forest manager) rather than felled in huge areas. The lower part was mainly broadleaf and was managed for wildlife. In particular, it provided habitat for roe deer and pied fly catchers. Both parts were open to, and used by, local people, who did not appear to differentiate between the two parts. Some came to look at the wildlife or as part of a longer walk but most "just want to walk their dogs" (forest manager). When asked if he would like to see more public use, he said that he wouldn't, as people come for the peace and quiet.

The Forestry Commission forests were also managed for production, conservation and recreation, although the emphasis varied from one area of woodland to another. One wooded area, Bury Ditches, was managed for the wood white butterfly and also had key raptor species nesting there. Half of it was being returned to broadleaf woodland. A car park, picnic site and way marked trails were provided.

The other two Forestry Commission woodlands in the area were less developed for recreation. Production was being phased out in Radnor Wood, which was slowly reverting to broadleaf. Radnor Wood was used by local walkers as it was closer to

Clun than Bury Ditches. Black Hill had more emphasis on production but also had public access and it was used for motor rallying. The manager had very few complaints from the public – 'two in the last five years' regarding Bury Ditches - and the feedback he did get was very useful in managing the forests. However, he pointed out that "people can be shocked by change", such as the felling of a group of trees to open up a view, but get used to it after a while, and then don't want to lose the view when the trees grow again! There did not appear to be much involvement of local people in forest management, but to make major changes, a Forest Design Plan would be needed and would reportedly be available for public consultation.

There were also three woods in the area that were owned and managed by the Shropshire Wildlife Trust. These all had public access, although in two of the woods it was limited by the extremely steep slopes. A voluntary warden felt strongly that the woods were for wildlife and that public access should not be encouraged, although this was not a view shared by the Wildlife Trust itself which welcomed and encouraged public use.

Forestry had also changed with the move towards social forestry and away from timber production as the sole aim. The manager of the Forestry Commission sites welcomed this change as it gave the opportunity to work with other organisations such as local authorities and the AONB. He commented that the new management methods were a challenge – but it appeared to be a challenge that he relished. In fact, both major foresters were proud of the way that their woodland was managed.

Forestry managers did not seem to provide services in the same way that farmers did. However they did provide for conservation and public access. They appeared to have good relations with the local community to the extent that interactions did occur.

> *"I would say we've got a good relationship with the public. […] We do rely on people to keep us informed."* (forest manager)

The Shropshire Wildlife Trust organised conservation working parties in their woodlands. Clunton Coppice is the nearest of these to Clun, being just outside the parish boundary. In this wood, working groups do jobs such as pulling sycamore seedlings and installing bat and mouse boxes. Originally, working groups came from Shrewsbury, where the Shropshire Wildlife Trust is based, but they were later organised on a more local basis. The farmer whose land adjoins Clunton Coppice was also said to be '"very amenable" and to "appreciate wildlife" (Clunton Coppice warden).

Recreation shaping Clun

A recent report by Shropshire Tourism Research Unit states that accommodation businesses obtaining 61% - 100% of their trade from walkers are "spread out relatively evenly across South Shropshire and within the AONB with a small cluster appearing around Clun." (Shropshire Tourism Research Unit (2005) Walking in Shropshire: A Niche Market Report). This theme illustrates the degree to which interactions are associated with the provision of countryside recreation and rural tourism in the Clun area. In so doing it highlights the level of inter-dependence between tourism, the local community and the need for sympathetic land management.

Although the District Council has been trying to promote tourism in the area, it is aware of the danger that too many tourists may destroy the character that attracted people to the area in the first place. Recently, there has been a move to promote

equine tourism by developing trails and a list of B&B establishments catering for horses. One such establishment existed in the centre of Clun, although it did not form the main source of income for its owner, who also worked as an agricultural supplier. This business demonstrated the dependence of some non-land-based businesses on the co-operation of neighbouring land managers, as people will not bring horses to areas where they cannot ride off-road. The development of longer distance trails, for horse riders or walkers, also involves the co-operation of land managers over a wider area. In the case of Offa's Dyke, farmers were thought to be helpful. Forest managers also seemed to be open to co-operation with local councils and the AONB over the provision of facilities for tourists and local people. However, one equine tourism operator thought that the County and District Councils "*need a much better vision to open the countryside to encourage people to come and spend money*."

Although the Offa's Dyke National Trail passes within a few miles of Clun, the parish was thought to be very much on the margins of influence of the Trail. However, according to an ex-trail-officer, both farmers and incomers did see the path as a potential earner, and increasingly Bed and Breakfast (B&B) establishments provided transport from the Trail.

Apart from a small industrial estate, the majority of employment appeared to be either tourism-related or in servicing the local community, a large percentage of whom were retired. Some farmers had diversified into tourism – bed and breakfast and/or camp site provision. Sometimes this was as a sideline in addition to farming, but some farmers rented out most of their land and concentrated on other activities. There were also several bed and breakfast establishments in the town, run by members of the community.

In addition, a number of local service businesses, especially cafes and pubs, seemed to be tourism dependent. One of the two cafes closed for several months in the winter because there were not many tourists. There was also considerable concern that the temporary closure of Clun bridge would reduce custom. As the majority of tourists appeared to be walkers, the tourism industry was heavily dependent on sympathetic land management, both to maintain the landscape and to provide access, and hence on farmers and foresters. The manager of the Forestry Commission woodlands was aware of the need to promote tourism in the area and was working to improve interpretation in the forests, including Braille notices.

Thus, their mutual dependence on tourism linked the economies of the land managers and the community.

Farming and the Local Economy: employment, sales and purchasing

Social networks are often stimulated or driven by economic linkages or networks and the degree to which such linkages are local is likely to have implications for the level and nature of social interaction between land based industries and local communities. This theme explores the potential for economically driven interactions through considering the dynamics of three main forms of economic linkages in the farming sector: employment, sales and purchasing.

Employment

Most farmers now managed their farms alone, apart from seasonal and contract labour.

"I had a full time chap when I was there yeah but things have changed, I remember the farms round here .. well Bicton up here which is the biggest farm up here, they used to employ twelve men and now they only have one" (farmer now retired)

There appeared to be very little full-time employment in farming. The local egg farm, for example, was a family concern – parents, son and daughter plus a regular part timer and a local teenager who comes for 2 hours in the evenings to collect eggs.

One farmer decided to diversify when "the rules and regulations became a nightmare." He ran the shop and his farm for 12 months but with livestock this was hard and he now leases out all of the land (2 blocks of 150 and 175 acres) to 5 or 6 different farmers. He has no trouble finding tenants. A small caravan site which has been in operation on the farm for about 20 years is managed by his wife. The widow of a farmer also lets out most of her land, offering bed and breakfast in the farmhouse and running a campsite in a riverside field. She was also involved in a large number of village activities and was said to attend three meetings a night!

Regarding tourism development, farmers see that it creates work even if they are not involved, so it is mostly supported. Many farmers run B&Bs and teenagers find some employment in the local pub.

"They are looking for any opportunity because there is little money to earn from sheep and far more in tourism and subsidies for doing things like laying hedges" (ex AONB officer)

Although there was little direct employment in land-based industries, the local economy was not independent of the land-based industries as a large amount of employment was indirect. Sheep were sheared by contract gangs, one of which was local (although not based within the parish) and carried out other activities such as fencing at other times of year. There was work in transport connected with farming and forestry and one interviewee was an agricultural supplier. To quote one farmer:

"All my past men which have been any good have gone to driving jobs, delivery vans and that type of thing with shorter hours and higher pay." (farmer)

Sales and purchasing

Most farm and forestry produce appeared to be sold out of the area, although there were local abattoirs and sawmills and a farmers' market in Ludlow. In fact, even when livestock is sold at a local market, the farmer often has no control or knowledge of its eventual destination. One farmer did not want to get involved in marketing his products.

"I hate everything to do with marketing and selling – I don't want to go to the market and I don't want to go to the abattoir. If farming entailed not selling anything I would be happy."

However, another farmer considered that they contribute quite a lot to the community since they generally buy and sell locally. And it is possible to buy local produce in Clun. One of the butchers sold exclusively local meat i.e. meat produced in Shropshire – some of it produced within the parish and slaughtered in the neighbouring parish of Bishops Castle. He had close relationships with his suppliers, one of whom – a beef farmer - regularly sends customers to him. He said that his customers appreciate this as it is good quality meat and it is easy to complain if there

are any problems. Although many of his customers are local, people also stock up with meat from him while they are on holiday or passing through.

> *"The butcher does well because he sells local meat and for those people used to shopping in a supermarket … well they like it, it is a novelty".* (ex Offa's Dyke officer)

The fact that a community of little more than a thousand can support two butchers shows their popularity.

The egg producer sells wherever there is an outlet willing to pay the right price. In addition to supplying eggs to many local shops, pubs and hotels, including all those in the village of Clun, a van sales operates in nearby Church Stretton once a week. It seems that customers appreciate the fact that they are purchasing eggs produced locally.

> *"People comment that they are taking our eggs back to London because they don't get them like that there. I think it is because they are so fresh."* (egg producer)

A local non-land based business purchases locally coppiced wood from farmers and resells it as firewood. Locally produced honey is also available in Clun and locally-made cakes are sold in the greengrocer and cafes. In the case of the greengrocer, these were made by a farmer's wife.

There is a feeling of solidarity amongst producers in and around Clun and they are reluctant to encroach on each other's markets. For example, one honey producer, an elderly lady, sells through the WI in Ludlow and in the Café in Clun and from her door. She doesn't sell in other local shops as she doesn't want to impinge on the other local honey producer. Also, the firewood supplier, while hoping to expand his business, was adamant that he did not want to displace other local suppliers.

There is also a feeling amongst many residents that they should support local businesses, although it was pointed out that a Tesco home delivery van is quite often seen in Clun, and many used supermarkets in neighbouring towns. It was suggested (by a farmer's son) that farmers and their families tend to buy their groceries in neighbouring towns whilst visiting the livestock markets.

Some non-land-based businesses try to purchase locally where possible for a variety of reasons. For example, one of the pubs uses local meat, a master wood carver uses local wood when he can to save on transportation costs, and a bed and breakfast owner tries to purchase locally to support the local economy. An important factor is that outlets need to be local in order to keep transport costs to a minimum.

A separate question is the sourcing of inputs by land-based businesses. Generally, inputs are not available locally and are sourced according to price and convenience, although livestock may be bought from local markets.

Lack of conflict and protest

This theme highlights the largely harmonious relationship that exists between the land-based industries and local community of Clun with regard everyday land management activities.

Relations between land managers and the local community seemed to be mostly harmonious. However, there were occasional conflicts concerning access, and some farmers felt that some incomers did not understand the ways in which they (farmers) had to manage the environment.

However, an ex-AONB officer thought that land managers and the local community share environmental concerns and *"are mostly 'singing from the same hymn sheet'"*. In this sense there is little difference between the land managers and the land users.

With regard to access, there was a very active and assertive Parish Paths Partnership (P3), which was generally thought to do a good job of maintaining access but did sometimes get on the wrong side of farmers.

> *"I don't mind co-operating with them [ramblers] it is just when they become aggressive and start stating it is their right."* (farmer)

When there were disputes, some community members might back the farmer, typified by one local shopkeeper who described ramblers as inflexible and the 'P3 man' as tactless.

In general, walkers were thought to be responsible by both farmers and foresters.

> *"It is not like we are near a town or anything like that. Walkers coming out here are serious walkers and so on the whole they are here to enjoy the walk and they look after it so I'm all in favour of seeing people out in the countryside…… farmers I have spoken to near towns are not so open minded."* (farmer)

> *"We encourage walkers. We encourage riders"* (forester)

There had been some conflicts concerning the use of rights of way by horses and motorised vehicles. In one case, a farmer explained why he "turns a blind eye" to horse riders using a footpath on his land. It seemed sensible since there had been a proposal to re-position the bridleway, which would link two sections of the Jack Mytton Way for horse riders:

> *"no we had to have a public enquiry, oceans of people in the Ramblers objecting and so the Jack Mytton Way has never been joined up (for horse users)."* (farmer)

In theory, this farmer could obstruct the way for horse riders but despite the aggravation caused at the time of the enquiry, he appears content to allow access. It is the attitude of the objectors that has irritated him.

A forestry manager had some problems with off-road vehicles using a path along the edge of his forest. Because it was designated as a byway open to all traffic (BOAT), he could not put up barriers so he stopped maintaining it but found that this attracted more vehicles. When he had the track gravelled and maintained to a higher standard the use by off road vehicles was much reduced. He also had problems with deer poaching from the track. As the number of deer was dropping, he eventually did put up barriers. The deer poachers were not thought to be local.

The recent designation of areas as Open Access Land has also caused some friction between the indigenous population and specific interest groups made up predominantly of incomers. Other points of occasional conflict are mud and hedge

cuttings on the road and flooding when ditches are not maintained. There was also a small amount of opposition to the hunt, which was described as “well supported” (district councillor), although few people mentioned it.

Valuing the community and land

The final theme considers the extent to which the local inhabitants of Clun value the community and the land and way in which this can shape relations within and between community groups.

Valuing the community

Everyone, both those involved in land-based businesses and other community members, seemed to be very attached to the area. And there did not appear to be any obvious differences over what characteristics were valued. Typically, people valued the landscape, the wildlife, the sense of community and the facilities.

> *“I sometimes think we will move somewhere else but then when we go away …..well as you come back over Clun bridge it’s lovely, you are back home.”* (retired farmer)

Some incomers also valued the feeling of safety afforded by the area. To quote one incomer:

> *“I go up there (Bury Ditches) a lot with the boys, I feel very safe … initially when we moved from Birmingham even walking down Waterloo [a quiet lane] I used to look behind, always conscious of where my bag was .... but now I find city life very overwhelming.”* (incomer)

However, according to the wardens of Clunton Coppice, some local people found the woodland foreboding and tended to avoid it.

Many community members originally came to Clun on holiday and some appear to have had holiday homes in the area before finally moving in. One elderly lady had come as a young bride and ‘fallen in love with the place’.

Even young people were reluctant to move away, although they were often forced to do so by the shortage of affordable housing and job prospects. For those who wanted to stay in the area, flexibility was needed.

> *“This is where I grew up, where I want to live, where I want to be but finding something to do as a graduate, you have to pick and choose from what is available”.* (agricultural engineer and log supplier)

This desire to stay in the area included the grown-up children of farming families, although they seemed to see little prospect in farming. The same farmer’s son who bemoaned the loss of community had tried living in Cardiff and hated it. He now lived at home and worked for the Welsh Assembly in Welshpool. His brother worked elsewhere but came home at weekends. They were both closely involved in the Young Farmers.

Local festivals were also valued, especially the Clun Show:

"Old festivals and symbols need to be promoted, especially in small communities and communities must find a way unique to them to attract people." (ex-Offa's Dyke Officer)

"The locals really like the show, you know it has been going on for so long [130 years]. It is really put on for the locals" (farmer)

However, the annual Green Man Festival was far more controversial. It was thought by many not to be a local tradition but to have been introduced by an 'incomer'. Because of its popularity with tourists, it also caused much inconvenience due to traffic congestion etc.

"We have the Green Man Festival as well which doesn't go down well with the locals, it was started about 12 years ago I suppose and we have such an influx of people, 3,000 to 4,000 come to Clun, no I mean they try and say it has been going on for generations in Clun but it hasn't actually." (farmer)

Valuing the land

Of those that had moved to Clun in recent years, all those interviewed had chosen the area in order to enhance their quality of life, to experience wildlife and to have opportunity to use the surrounding countryside for recreation.

"You hear people saying how lucky they are to live here."

"We came here for the beauty, the landscape and somewhere to walk the dogs and we have no regrets."

"I wanted to be able to get on my horse and ride from my door."

However, one elderly inhabitant said "they come here for the beauty but when they get here they don't see it because they are so superior." And one farmer asserted that only the indigenous population really understand and appreciate the landscape,

"they do walk but go in a big bunch and call themselves ramblers or dress in funny kit….. there is a rambling club but they are all "suburban people".

7.1.3 Summary of the Clun case study

Despite having undergone substantial social and demographic changes in accordance with much of rural England, Clun can be described as a relatively vibrant and inclusive community, which has managed to retain at least some of its traditional values. The influence and participation of land-based industries in local community activities has declined significantly, in part reflecting the influx, values and attitudes of incomers who now make up a large proportion of the community. Other reasons include a lack of time to participate and the fact that livestock markets continue to be an important focal point for farmers to meet and socialise.

A lack of understanding between local farmers and incomers does nevertheless have adverse effects on wider land-based community interactions; however despite a feeling of alienation and loss of community amongst some farmers and locals, land managers are represented on the parish council and continue to be active in community events. Furthermore, farmers continue to be regarded as influential by both locals and incomers.

Forest managers clearly embrace social forestry and some interesting examples of partnership working can be found in the area, which signifies the awareness to promote tourism and interpretation in forests. However, beyond interaction with local school groups, there is little evidence of forest managers working directly with the local community. This in part reflects the fact that the majority of local forests are controlled from outside the local area, itself a potentially important symbol of contemporary land management.

The majority of local residents clearly value landscape and wildlife, and are sympathetic to modern landscape practices; farm traffic and similar inconveniences are generally accepted as being part of rural life. As one might expect, some issues of conflict do exist, including the use of off-road vehicles and poaching and there appears to have been some personal clashes between farmers and local community groups. However, on the whole conflicts of interest between the community and land-based industries are minimal. Local residents also place great value on a sense of community, which to a degree is enhanced, but certainly not underpinned, by the interest and involvement of those in the land-based sector. Misunderstandings between locals and incomers are perhaps more significant than relations between the community and land-based sector.

No examination of social interactions is complete without reference to the economic processes which, to a certain extent, underpin the social. Although the land-based sector provides little direct employment, there are important links through the use of local contractors. Similarly, there is some evidence of local sourcing underpinned by close relationships and networks with suppliers. Nevertheless, this remains of secondary importance to the fact that the tourism industry is heavily dependent on sympathetic land management. Likewise, tourism is an increasingly important diversification activity underpinning the land-based sector; thus, a mutual dependence on tourism represents an important link between the land-based economy and the local community of Clun.

7.2 South Harting and East Harting

7.2.1 Introduction

The Parish of Harting covers some 31 sq km with a population of 1,407 (2001 census). It comprises the main settlement of South Harting together with the three small hamlets of West and East Harting and Nyewood in the north of the parish. Harting is situated on the West Sussex/Hampshire border, about 20 km north west of Chichester and 6 km east of Petersfield which is the nearest town (population 13,300). It is dominated to the south by the South Downs which rise steeply from the main settlement.

There are several large areas of land with landscape designations and the whole parish lies within an AONB. Two large SSSIs are located at Harting Downs and West Harting Down and there is a smaller area nearer South Harting at the Warren. Parts of the parish lie within a conservation area and there are 70 listed buildings. Areas of Open Access Land have recently been designated at West Heath Common, Hemner Hill and near Tower Hill, but with regard to the larger areas of Harting Downs and West Harting Down access has already been permitted in these areas for some time. Part of Harting Downs is also a Local Nature Reserve. To the south, the South Downs Way National Trail (161 km bridleway and footpath between Eastbourne and Winchester) passes within a kilometre of the main settlement.

The earliest dwellings are some fifteenth century houses in the main street, although the church dates from the thirteenth century. The parish contains many examples of building materials and styles up to the present day. Several houses have thatched roofs and some former barns have now been converted for residential use. There is a large number of ex council houses, most of which are now in private ownership although some are managed by a Housing Association. In addition, some newer housing development took place approximately 30 years ago.

As for industrial development, some light industrial units are situated at Nyewood and there are others on a farm nearer the centre of South Harting. Two other industrial businesses were found - a greenhouse manufacturer and an electronics company. The Uppark estate, much of which was donated to the National Trust in 1954, is situated in the southern part of the parish. The house and gardens are open to the public on certain days. In earlier times, the original owner was a village benefactor and provided considerable employment. Today, some of the estate is farmed remotely and some is leased to a local farmer for sheep grazing.

Box 7.2 Descriptive information about the Harting case study area

Resident Population: 1407 (753614) (*)
No. of Households: 614 (320915)
Area: approx. 32.2km2
Percentage over age 75: 10.6% (10.5%)
Average Age: 44.16 (41.4)
Household Ethnicity (white): 99.2% (96.6%)
Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank#***: 21690 (3rd quartile)
Unemployment (economically active 16-74): 1.7% (2.78%)
Long term unemployed/never worked (16-74): 1.4% (0.8%)
Persons with limiting long term illness: 33.4% (16.8%)
Self employed with no employees: 19.5%* (10.0%)
Self employed with employees: 9.2%* (4.69%)
Employment in Agriculture/Hunting/Forestry*:5.5% (2.01%)

Holding size groups:

<5 ha	32.0%	(40.3%)(*)
5 <20 ha	24.8%	(23.6%)
20 < 50 ha	14.4%	(14.0%)
50 <100 ha	7.2%	(8.7%)
>=100 ha	21.6%	(13.4%)

Land use/cover:	%Land	
crops and fallow area	42.0%	(36.2%)(*)
temporary grass area	3.4%	(7.5%)
permanent grass area	34.5%	(36.4%)
rough grazing area	1.6%	(2.6%)
woodland area	8.8%	(8.2%)
set-aside area	8.0%	(6.2%)
all other land area	1.7%	(2.7%)
Total Woodland Area (2002)	24.1%	

Average house price 2006**: £486411 (£234279) (*)
House price change** 1996-2000: 35.6% (69.0%)
Proportion of second homes/holiday residences: 3.4% (1.0%)

(*)County figures in brackets
Figures based on Parish unless otherwise stated:
* Figures based upon Ward
** Figures based on Postcode Sector
***Figures based on Lower Super Output Area (LSOA)

Index of Multiple Deprivation: 1 Is the most deprived LSOA and 32482 is the least deprived LSOA. Quartile ranges : 1st (1-8120), 2nd (8121-16241), 3rd (16242-24361), 4th (24362-32482)

Overview of the land-based industries

- **Agriculture** Harting parish once had many mixed farms, but these have now been consolidated and are farmed by three or four farmers. A large area of agricultural land is leased from a non-resident landowner. No dairy herds currently exist and arable crops predominate, with some sheep and beef cattle. Two farmers have commoners' rights to graze animals on Harting Down.
- **Forestry** About a quarter of the parish is woodland with substantial areas of mixed woodland and conifers, of which 85% is in managed plantations. A large area to the south west of the parish is owned and managed by Forest Enterprise; there are several privately owned woodlands in the area, many having had very little management while others are used for shooting.
- **Equine industry** One farmer stables six horses belonging to owners living in the parish. A livery stable is located just outside the north-eastern boundary and an equine tourism business is found within the parish. However, whilst the owners of this business live in Harting, their horses are generally kept at a farm 16 km away. At times, when they are hosting guests, the horses stay in the paddock adjoining the house whilst the guests have bed and breakfast with the owners. There are no riding schools within the parish. Since the South Downs Way is one of the few National Trails which is a bridleway in its entirety, this is a popular route for horse riders. Polo ponies are stabled at one farm, with the proximity to Cowdray Park being a major influence.
- **Horticulture** No horticulture was noted within the parish, although an area of approximately 20 hectares to the north is leased by a renowned tree nursery and used as nursery beds for tree stock. However, immediately over the northern boundary is a farm shop with 10 hectares of 'Pick Your Own'. This outlet has strong connections with the local economy within the parish and has therefore been included in this study.
- **Recreation** The parish has over 30km of footpaths which are generally well maintained and used, particularly by dog walkers. The Hampshire Border path is found in the west and the South Downs Way National Trail runs along the Downs, with a large parking area at Harting Down. This is a very popular location for the start of walks and for picnics and has outstanding views of the surrounding area. This area is owned by the National Trust which has issued licences for gliding and model gliding activities in certain restricted areas. Two angling clubs exist and several opportunities for fishing have been created by excavations from the now redundant brickworks. Some horses were seen but not as many as anticipated. There are several pheasant shoots operating in the smaller areas of woodland. The lack of a safe cycle way and footpath between Nyewood and South Harting was mentioned by several respondents; it is understood that some negotiation has taken place with landowners, but without a positive outcome.
- **Nature Conservation** With the various land designations outlined above, there is considerable focus on management for nature conservation. The National Trust and British Trust for Conservation Volunteers each periodically arrange work parties comprising people who live outside the area. In 1995, Sussex Wildlife Trust gave advice and assistance to a local group undertaking a 5-year flora survey. A group of local people, the Friends of Harting Down, works with the National Trust on Harting Down and more detail can be found below.
- **A Quarry** To the north of the parish is a large sand quarry covering 97 hectares. This employs three men full-time. The area is tucked away and totally shielded from the public highway.

Overview of the community

Most people live in the main centre of South Harting. Nyewood is also home to residents and some light industry. The hamlets of East and West Harting are less well populated.

There is a very wide social spectrum in the parish and this is reflected in its dwellings with a huge variety of types, ages, structure and values formed into distinct clusters. The community has been described as 'a retired military dormitory' and is also populated by many wealthy 'city gentlemen' who live in grand houses and commute to work. Others include retired professionals living in comfortable detached dwellings.

A large proportion of the former council houses are now in private ownership, while a few are rented and managed by a housing association. There are also farmhouses, some maintained to a very high standard, and former farm worker cottages, most of which have been sold as private dwellings or second homes. A few tied cottages remain and are used by agricultural workers.

There is a variety of community buildings and public areas in particular:

Church; - Anglican and Congregational in South Harting where the former Methodist church (given by a farming family) is now a private residence.
A *Primary school* with some 74 children.
Halls; A British Legion Hall, a Community Hall, and the Henry Warren Hall at Nyewood in which a post office is held on 2 mornings a week.
Stores; A post office and an extremely well stocked general store; a carpet shop and a hairdresser.
Pubs; two in the centre of the village.
Open areas; various playing fields and play areas.
Notice Boards; - several, relating to the parish, National Trust property, church affairs and the business of the village hall, plus an interpretation panel at Harting Down car park
Allotments; about ten in number.
Bus services; regular services to Petersfield, Chichester and Midhurst.
Harting Community Bus; Used on a daily basis for journeys to Petersfield and Chichester and by community groups and for private hire.

In addition there is a variety of clubs and groups, including:

- the Harting Lunch Club (once a month),
- the Harting Old Club (a friendly society)
- Harting Festivities (an annual street fete)
- Harting Horticultural Society
- Harting Society (described by one respondent as 'an elitist' group)
- Harting Market; held once monthly for local people to sell surplus produce or anything that they have made (described as 'very successful').

A **parish plan** was first undertaken, by an estate manager, in the 1970s although the organiser said "we didn't really know what we were doing we collected all this information and didn't know how to portray it." A **Parish Design Statement** was prepared by a group of 12 volunteers in 1998. The committee was chaired by an academic who co-ordinated the production of a comprehensive and well-written document. Of the group of 12, only two had (tenuous) land-based connections and the original draft omitted any mention of agriculture, so a local estate manager offered to undertake a detailed field survey and to write a land use section.

However, some of the land-based industries were described as 'being suspicious' of the process.

Though the preparation of the parish design statement was supported by the parish, district and county councils, Sussex Rural Community Council and the Countryside Commission, as well as the people of Harting Parish, the District Council has not adopted it and information obtained during the fieldwork suggested that 'they no longer adopted parish plans'. This has created an air of despondency and disappointment among those who worked hard to pull together this information.

As for **employment**, within the whole South Downs area (which includes Harting) 24% of residents are self employed and 15% work from home. 46% of the population work in public, administrative, financial and business services compared to just 4.6% in the land-based industries.

Uppark is reported to have been the largest employer during the 19th century, but a survey in 2000 suggested that there were about 70 businesses in the parish. These include builders, electricians, car mechanics, electronics firm, mobile phone company, TV transmission systems, porcelain and crystal glass importers and exporters, a micro-brewery, sand quarry, furniture restoration and greenhouse manufacturer.

7.2.2 Main Findings from the Harting case study

Social Change and Governance

Not surprisingly, there has been considerable change in farming and land use in Harting over the past 50 years. A retired estate manager summed up these changes when describing the 400-acre mixed farm where he started work 50 years ago and where all the corn was cut with a binder and threshed in the conventional way. There were two working horses, 50 sheep, a dairy herd of 30 cows, 30 beef cattle, 100 pigs as well as arable land. Harvesting was described as

"very much a community event, I used to go out and find everybody to help and we had a harvest tea in the field. Work was tedious but this was just a lovely period of rural life, it was lovely for our children to be brought up on the farm. ……three of us men used a 2 furrow plough and old tractors, no cab or anything, out all weathers – we'd do a few strips then stop and have a fag, a chat and warm up. Now the farmer uses a 5/6 furrow plough, in his cab with the radio on, but it is lonely and he hardly has to touch the land nowadays…… we had a feeling of being with the land, but now it is all profit…… in fact there are not many people working on the land who really appreciate it now." (Retired estate manager)

A working estate manager confirmed the view that profit has become all-important by reporting that an accountant now uses his 'nice little office' since there is more money to be made by letting it. And when asked about 'services' that might be provided by the estate for the local community, he suggested that with regard to that specific estate nothing would be done on a voluntary basis. In a similar vein, with regard to land and dwellings, he said "tenancies give rights, you can't shift them, so you have to be careful."

Fifty years ago, the influence of the Uppark estate was clearly substantial with one respondent saying:

"well when I first came what Uppark said, everyone jumped to it, but they were very very supportive of the local community, the old boy he was really lord of the manor and always had Christmas parties for the young people. Since the older generation have died much tradition has been swept away, although we encourage them to come down (estate is up the hill) and take part". (Retired estate manager)

Younger farm people do not tend to stay in the parish either because there is not sufficient income generated on the farm for children to continue in the family business whilst parents are still working or because they see it as a good life but with little money. One case was noted where the farm worker was made redundant when the farmer's son had completed his agriculture degree. Several respondents reported having lived in the parish for 2 or 3 generations, but this is likely to die out in the near future. The number of commuting residents is increasing; they can travel to London daily and prefer the children to be brought up in the countryside.

Despite the wide social spectrum within the parish, there is considerable interaction between residents. For example, at the monthly lunch club everyone attends even though it is organised by wealthy retirees "*they (ex council house residents) keep themselves to themselves, separate tables you know"* (community member). Another resident said *"it's so funny you get the people like A (wealthy retiree) waiting on the people from Culvers (ex council houses) but at least they are very happy to do it and all enjoy a good lunch for £2 and have a good social event."* Referring to the community minibus, it was reported that the retired middle class are the voluntary drivers but that it is used most frequently by the residents from the ex council houses.

Long time residents are thought to dominate the local community and those from the land-based industries feel strongly that *"there must be an agricultural voice on the parish council otherwise newer incomers would launder the countryside to the way they want it but farming must go on."* (Farmer) He went on to suggest that parish politics were more hierarchical in his grandfather's time, with a clear landlord/tenant structure. Although employees had their own mind, they tended to suppress their feelings; in fact, they had to support the parish council. In contrast, people today were described as *'very vocal'* .

It was further noted that the involvement of farmers in council affairs today is often incompatible with their current way of working. Many farmers comprise the farm's sole workforce and therefore cannot attend numerous meetings. In response to this, an NFU representative said it had changed its own working methods to include more electronic communication and far fewer face-to-face meetings. The NFU also encourages members to represent the voice of farming on parish, district and county councils since these are thought to be influential in local politics.

Attitudes to the parish council varied - from one estate manager who feels *"there is a tendency to keep the parish council at 'arms length' if you get too involved people are always asking favours…… it doesn't pay to get too friendly."* (estate manager/gamekeeper), to another who said *"I haven't got the fortitude or the intellectual capabilities to go on the parish council although I suppose one should, perhaps one day*" (tenant farmer). A farmer and his son were both on the parish council until recently when *"sadly the new rules about declaration of interest were introduced and two farmers resigned from the parish council. Mr A was a young and really enthusiastic one; it is a disaster in my view. They were the people who could help with footpaths etc but now we have to talk to them out of parish council meetings"* (Former estate manager and parish council member for 40 years).

Thus the land-based industries are in some measure represented on the parish council, but with regard to other community activities it was noted that it is others who take the leading roles. As for the general contribution to community life made by the land-based industries, one respondent said "*where farmers actually live on the farm there is a general disposition – which they do very well – where the farm is managed remotely there is precious little and this is one of the downsides of farms being swallowed up."* (a non-LBI respondent) This distinction not only applies to farms but also to woodlands and land given to the National Trust.

One respondent (non LBI*)* thought that people living in rural communities feel threatened by government policy and that "*it seems like we are governed for towns and not for rural areas."* A farmer felt *that "People connected with churches are most in tune with farmers and seem to recognise that there is a problem; they have a better grasp than politicians…….. and Defra just regards agriculture as an irritation whilst wildlife gets priority, not that I'm against wildlife."*

With regard to the primary school, it seems that it is the norm for most local children to attend until the age of transfer (which unusually is around 10 years of age); however, the majority of farmers' children and many others are then sent to private schools. Many retired professionals have also lived in the parish for a number of years and are often described as 'the conservative party at tea', given their objections to various changes within the parish, whilst a church representative said he sometimes "*felt held to ransom by the populace."* Farmers were said to feel threatened *"by pressure groups who tend to go direct to government and were very vocal with plenty of clout."* (Councillor). On the other hand, these same people are often thought to be instrumental in 'getting things done' even if one reported "*a few local people get a bit annoyed, as we seem to be the people running things*."

Housing is another area revealing change in LBI/community relationships. There is some tied housing and whether or not this is retained depends very much on the attitude of the landowner. In one case, it was felt that residents would be moved out on retirement if this allowed the house to be used for financial gain. However, in another case the respondent has two dwellings occupied by very elderly ex-farm workers; while he "*could make more money if they weren't there after 50 years service you can't push them out – you just don't - they are friends."* When it was suggested that these elderly workers are lucky to have such a considerate landlord, the respondent's attitude was "*oh no, it is the other way round, <u>we</u> are lucky to have them*."

In addition, there is some rented social housing in the parish but many ex council houses have been purchased by their owners. Whilst this was considered to have been a good opportunity for many land-based workers, it is often difficult for them to pay the community charge and other bills due to the low wages they tend to receive. Also, once these dwellings are taken out of the social housing stock they are gone forever and it was noted that future generations of local workers will find it hard to compete for this housing stock on the open market, especially in such a desirable residential area.

While Harting is in general terms an affluent parish, a high proportion of older families have been able to stay in the community due to the presence of the larger former council estate. An eighty year old said that when she and her six siblings got married it was the norm to apply for housing in the village and some are still in the same houses today.

LBI involvement in wider governance circles

With regard to the South Downs Joint Committee (SDJC), formed in 2005 to provide integrated countryside management for the whole of the South Downs, very close relationships have developed between land managers and the local ranger who was described (by the SDJC Area Manager) as a *'well respected member of the local community'*. The SDJC has installed stiles and gates beyond its statutory duty and helps farmers both physically and financially with any special sites, providing they are to the public benefit. The Committee has a voluntary ranger service, but it was thought that no one from the parish is involved; most volunteers come from Chichester and the coastal plains. A similar voluntary warden service is also operated by the South Downs Way National Trail, with each warden covering a 8 km stretch of the route; however, it was not established whether a parish resident took on these responsibilities. The SDJC is soon to launch an experimental South Downs Young Ranger Scheme and, whilst it is accepted that it is important to engage with people, the ultimate test will be whether the efforts put in are worth the resulting benefits.

The voice of the farmer is definitely heard on the SDJC, with two farmers on the Board as well as farmers amongst the (former)Countryside Agency appointed representatives. Regular meetings are held with landowners and approximately 40 will be expected to attend a forthcoming meeting in Petersfield to discuss the Management Plan. It is also thought to be essential to have good representation from landowners on Local Access Forums.

With regard to planning applications, the District Council is said to be more lenient to farmers than in the past, particularly with regard to conversion to holiday accommodation of which there is said to be a shortage. Forest Enterprise consulted with parish, district and county councils in the production of a recent Design Plan and a good relationship is said to exist. However, regarding legal problems concerning rights of way, West Sussex County Council was described by two separate respondents as 'absolutely hopeless' and ineffective. And relationships with the National Trust have recently been soured due the emergence of two issues which have affected many residents (see below for more detail).

A mobile police station is set up in the parish once a month and the National Trust warden said "*we are very fortunate with the police officer operating 'Pathwatch; he used to farm and he is 'spot on' and communicates very well*." This remark referred in particular to the illegal use of motorbikes on rights of way, a point reiterated by the South Downs Way officer.

Land-based industries and the wider community

As stated earlier, while there is a wide social spectrum living in the parish, the impression is that they live in relative harmony. Incomers are regarded as 'doing their bit for the village' or integrating fully because they want to live 'the country dream'; however, it is acknowledged that some prefer to live a quiet life because they commute to London on a daily basis. A farmer said that he tended to socialise with other farmers because it goes through the generations; "*our grandsons are best mates with the grandsons of our life- long friends…. You talk shop all the time …. go out and look at each other's crops."* A horse breeder and a gamekeeper also said they preferred to socialise with others in the same occupation. But one respondent thought that farmers now integrate much more into the social fabric of the community, since their business is now more like any other business, and there are

less of them so they therefore have a wider circle of friends. An overriding factor is the personality of the individual and some are regarded as 'rather aloof'.

Harting was described by a horse breeder as a very old fashioned parish and she commented that "*when I rented at West Harting I was still considered to be part of the community and even though they knew I worked seven days a week they still had the courtesy to invite me to coffee mornings."*

With regard to young people, the son of a farmer was 'wholeheartedly supported' by the local community when he offered to do jobs to raise £4,000 for a foreign expedition. However, support for young people's projects is not always forthcoming and objections were received regarding proposals to improve facilities for the youth in the parish. A farmer in the South Downs (not in the parish) had hoped to attract more youngsters to enjoy the countryside by developing 'grass boarding', but again this was refused. Nevertheless, youngsters using their bikes on the South Downs reported no antagonism with other users.

A church representative suggested *"there is a strong sense of local community amongst the land-based industries. This is significant from the church point of view; they demand 3 harvest festivals at each of the churches in the parish and 2 separate harvest suppers. It is pivotal that it is about the land and the harvest is taken much more seriously in a rural community than where I was in an urban environment…… there is also much more affinity with the parish church, people want to be buried in the graveyard. Despite the fact that they don't often worship on a regular basis there is still the feeling 'that it is our church' …… the sense of ownership of places goes much deeper than in urban environments."*

Changes in land–use

The most notable reported changes in land use include the switch from dairy to beef, sheep and arable farming; the decline in the harvesting of hazel and chestnut for use on farms; and the purchase of land by non-farming people. Such land is often used for horses and one respondent stated she had been more than happy to pay £25,000 per acre for a paddock to adjoin her property. The equine business is 'thriving', despite the fact that one livery owner thought that planners were 'anti-horse'.

Regarding changes in land use, one respondent said "*my grandfather would wonder where agriculture was going, in his day you had to grow all you possibly could for the nation, you planted to the edges of the fields but now you get paid for leaving this…. And well the insanity of set-aside……We are moving into an era where there are more non- agricultural landowners and more lifestyle owners and much horsey culture coming here."* (farmer) Asked how he felt about this, he replied "*The imported finance is saving rural properties from going into decline but there are typical conflicts of interest.*" For example, a nearby farm, formerly in single ownership, sold off the farm cottages as private residences in the 1970s, only for the incomers to complain about traffic from the remaining farming enterprise.

One estate manager explained that the policy now is to move away from farming to amenity uses; therefore, they are slowly converting from a large farm to a small estate with hedges, estate road, sporting activities. " *It's all about land values and the mini estate for the city gent is worth more than growing crops, farming is now an incidental part of what goes on*."

An NFU representative explained the tendency to sideline the land-based industries, especially farming, because the contribution it makes to the economy is small and it

is a small-scale employer; these are the two measures that are used to justify the importance of an industry. Nevertheless, well over half of the land in the south of the county is farmland and many businesses have diversified. For example, tourism is a by-product of farming, with diversification projects having a positive effect on the local community and employment in associated industries. However, tourism does not seem to have a high profile in the parish.

There were no adverse comments from any respondents (either LBI or not) concerning the conversion of agricultural buildings for small industrial units. Neither were there negative comments concerning the change of use of a tithe barn to host weddings, the storage of vintage cars in old barns or the greenhouse construction business on land formerly used by an animal feed manufacturer. However, where diversification was going to displace an existing business there was some opposition; for example, permission had recently been granted for a change of use from stables with a basic dwelling to holiday accommodation. These buildings are currently leased to the proprietor of a livery business. She said *"eventually I will get pushed out… the rent is useful (for the landlords) to pay the bills whilst they put in place the necessary paperwork for the conversions… the landlord thinks he will make far more from holiday lets than from me….. the villagers and the Parish Council were very supportive when the planning application was put in and I heard it said 'what will happen to X and her horses'. They were upset when it was granted."*

That respondent is looking for other premises, but this is difficult because the planners seem to be suspicious of allowing temporary dwellings (e.g. mobile homes) because it is seen as the first step to building a permanent property that is soon sold at great profit. However, the respondent stated that "*my needs are very basic, I just need somewhere to eat, sleep and shower. I am not about to make money out of it, the horses are my business and my hobby and I need to live nearby. When I saw a place (stables, yard and land) that I could just afford to buy it had no accommodation so I enquired about using a mobile home because I can't afford £700 - £800 per month for a 2 bed property or to purchase anything. But the answer was 'no', they treat everyone with the same attitude*."

What will be the largest building development in the parish in recent years is currently under consideration. This is in the very centre of the main settlement and, whilst there is some concern, particularly with regard to design and parking, it is generally accepted and thought to be a good thing. The statutory 30 per cent of the development will be 'affordable' housing, but there is concern that whereas once homes were created for local people this will probably not be the case. The developers were described as *"more than fair and very professional"* (councillor). However, a young farmer said "*if I had my way I'd leave it as it is (*a dilapidated old forge, dwelling and untended land) *– I think it is rather nice to have something falling down among the neat, tidy and increasingly urban village but I suppose something has to happen."* This development has become viable because the diocese agreed to sell a strip of land and a church representative said "*it was important that the diocese did sell it so they (developers) could do a worthwhile development… the parochial church council were in unanimous agreement."* There is potential for further development, but this will depend on the diocese releasing another small strip of land.

Some Conservation Issues

A group of residents, led by a local amateur botanist, has recently undertaken a survey of the flora of Harting. The group met weekly in the spring and summer for 5 years and many local people assisted in the collection of data. Landowners co-

operated by allowing access to the land for this purpose. The survey was undertaken 100 years after a similar survey and it was thought interesting to make comparisons. Financial support was received from Rural Action for Environment and advice and guidance from Sussex Wildlife Trust. An attractive and informative book was produced.

Varying reports were given regarding a local conservation group and it was concluded that at present it is not very cohesive. Harting Down was donated to the National Trust in 1980 and *"when the Trust took control the villagers felt they ought to have a say in the way they were doing it and be their eyes and ears"* (former estate manager); thus the Friends of Harting Down was formed. However, the NT reported that a group at first met twice a year with commoners, the Trust and land agents. This was later re-named and opened up because it was thought that local people might wish to become involved. A representative was sought from all user groups with the idea of holding meetings, events, guided walks and work parties "*all to get the message across that management took time and money and to engender some ownership feelings…… they are a good bunch of people and have taken on the role of communication links between the local community and the Trust, although I think it is considered to be an elitist group and I'd like to involve people from the social housing*" (National Trust warden). Yet another respondent reported that a small group of individuals had undertaken a lot of scrub clearance about 4 years ago but thought that the group, supposedly *'hatched up by the NT to get free labour'*, was now defunct.

The situation became clearer when two other separate individuals reported, "*he (respondent referred to above) came out with the group but always went off and did his own thing*" (life long resident). A representative from the SDJC commented that people from local work parties often have their own agenda and in this case may cause the National Trust some problems. He concluded by saying "*trying to develop local groups is immensely difficult unless there is a specific issue."* In addition, conservation-based work parties are also organised by the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers and the National Trust Conservation Working Holidays and these bring people from outside the area to undertake work in the parish. However, the researcher asked many respondents about conservation groups and the vast majority had no knowledge of them.

A life-long resident with some land started a community orchard; again, there was some misunderstanding regarding the exact purpose, although the original intention was probably to preserve different varieties of apple. Five years ago, 25 trees were purchased and planted by local residents with support from Common Ground and the parish and district councils. A tree-planting day was held and since then an Apple Day has been celebrated. However, the landowner worries what will happen when he dies because the parish council, whilst willing to take it over, cannot do so unless legal arrangements have been put in place. There is also confusion about who can pick the apples, the landowner saying he 'loses a lot', a member of the parish council saying he likes to go along and pick an apple and another member of the community saying that the landowner likes the idea of the community picking apples *'but only if he approves of the individual concerned.'*

Some Issues of Access

The Ramblers Association (RA) appears to have a reasonably harmonious relationship with farmers and those interviewed said they liked ramblers because they always keep to the right of way and are very considerate. The RA representative said that some people do not control their dogs and, understandably,

farmers get upset; *"we do speak very firmly if people don't control their dogs on our walks and some leaders refuse them."* He also said that farmers are very accommodating and will often give informal access to local people. However, casual walkers, particularly those exercising dogs, were often considered "*to be a nuisance going all over the place, if they asked it would be quite nice but some are so arrogant they take the law into their own hands*" (farmer).

Several areas of Open Access land have been designated within the parish, but the new legislation has created misunderstandings. One farmer said, *"a few locals think it all belongs to them and they think the Right to Roam gives people a right to go anywhere…. They see a gap or a track and they go*", while another said "*people with dogs are a blasted nuisance….. and this Right to Roam….. well there's a lot of misapprehension, I saw a bloke heading straight across the field the other day and I asked him if he was looking for the footpath 'no, (he said) you can go anywhere you like now mate'…… this is the factory floor and the whole thing (legislation) wants clearing up a little bit*." Some horse riders also misinterpreted the legislation and thought that they could ride horses anywhere on Open Access land.

Nevertheless, land managers try to give access wherever possible. For example, a Forest Enterprise respondent said he tried to open up access for horses as this spreads the impact of damage and compaction. He is also happy to give one-day permissions for motorcycling events in West Harting Down since the site is remote and does not cause noise disturbance for locals. Some damage is caused through erosion, but this is minimised by varying the route each year. With regard to mountain biking, he said *"I'm very, very happy for them to cycle provided they don't dig pits…… it is a fabulous resource in public ownership so there is no fear of them being turned off. Getting people in there is a prime objective."* Permission is also granted for husky racing and training and the respondent thought it would be good for the local community to hold fun days and barbecues, but this did not appear to happen. He said *"If a local resource such as this is used it gives the local community a sense of pride."*

However, for safety reasons access and timber harvesting are never mixed and Forest Enterprise applies for closure under the CROW regulations. Full details of these closures are posted on the website and on notices at all entrances since it was thought that keeping people informed alleviates problems. Regarding forest management, felling does provoke criticism but at West Harting Down this would not be very visible. Deer do not cause a problem for Forest Enterprise, but there is an obligation to control them for the sake of the neighbouring farmers.

The National Trust has granted annual licences for hang gliding and a model glider club in restricted areas of Harting Down. However, they will not consider Para gliders due to the possibility of frightening the horses. This has annoyed one respondent (horse rider) who feels that the NT do not understand horses. "*I sometimes feel restricted by the movement of cattle on National Trust land and one day when they came towards me I rode at them and shouted and waved my hands."* Following an incident regarding horses and the lack of wide gates, it is understood that the NT has now asked this respondent to *'do a test run where some new gates have been installed'.*

The South Downs Way (SDW) National Trail office has considerable interaction with local communities and the officer reported that relationships are good. The re-designation of BOATS (byways open to all traffic) and RUPPS (roads used as public paths) has been good for SDW since it actively discourages motorised vehicles. This very much goes against the ethos of the AONB and the policy which encourages

people to use the SDW without vehicles. Indeed, the SDW and the SDJC are said to have very poor relationships with the rights of way team at West Sussex County Council. This is in part due to the fact that the day-to-day management of the network lies with the SDJC while legal responsibilities remain with the county council. This concurs with comments reported earlier. The legal side of the rights of way network can also cause major problems when landowners have objections. This can become so expensive that it was said *'the county just gives in'.*

Many respondents thought that the rights of way are very well maintained, but an SDJC respondent said "*the high standard just seems to make them expect more*!"

The local economy

Employment of Local People

The general shift from stock to arable farming has inevitably meant that less labour is required (for example, one respondent's father used to employ 14 men on 400 acres but his son now employs 3 men on 4,000 acres). Despite this, there is still a certain amount of employment in the land-based industries; for example, on farms, in a 'pick your own' business, with an organic meat producer, on the NT property, and in private gardens. A redundant farm worker now employed full time as a gardener said "*a lot of the former farm workers have gone as gardeners now …. You are known locally and get a good reputation and could really be working as much as you like*." However it was suggested that wages are not high.

There are good opportunities for seasonal work with the National Trust, who take on about 20 students, and at the 'pick your own' which employs 12 students at peak times. Neither recruits East European workers, although many apply, because they have a steady flow of local students and jobs are frequently passed down through the family as each youngster progresses through their education. In some cases, it is not possible to employ local people because the administration and management occur at a distance, but local contractors will always be considered as a priority. Both the National Trust and Forest Enterprise adopt this policy.

Local selling and purchasing

One aspect of the LBI/community economic relationship involves the village store where the proprietor explained that the Harting Village Shop Association had decided he would be the right person to run the shop. They *"liked the idea that we hadn't done it before and that we were local – we could bring new blood to the venture – it was looking sad before but we didn't know what we were doing to start with"* (shop proprietor). He said that some local farmers are *'quite well off'* and support him well but that '*all contribute in their own way'*. What really made it click for him was when a customer came in and said 'it's so nice here now you have really nice things' so "*I started out to find really nice things to stock and that is when I came across local suppliers"* (shop proprietor).

Three of these local suppliers were interviewed. One has an organic meat business with stock being raised on several large farms in the area; it is slaughtered at a Sussex abattoir, packed on the farm and distributed to 8 – 12 local retailers (including Harting Stores). Other local outlets for their produce include the several thriving Farmers' Markets in the area, and sausages and burgers are also sold from a van at local festivals. Another farmer sells his local lamb direct to customers and the question was asked of both whether this creates tensions with local retailers. One claimed there is no competition locally and they are therefore not displacing anyone,

whilst the other, with a much smaller operation, suggested slight tensions between the 'organic' and 'local' aspects of the two respective businesses. The farmer with the smaller (local lamb) business quite openly stated that it was all due to his wife, who is also a teacher, makes preserves to sell, helps with butchery and packing, and looks after the stall at the Farmers' Market, as well as being very involved in community activities and raising three children. Needless to say, *"the amount of time and effort spent on publicity is non- existent"* (farmer). Both this respondent and the other supplier interviewed thought that freshness and localness are appreciated by customers.

The proprietor of the third business (a PYO and farm shop) said it is their policy to sell local produce, but in order to obtain a variety of products it is sometimes necessary to go further afield, especially at Christmas. She also sells other people's surplus produce (as does the store in Harting) but will not stock anything that is directly available in a supermarket. The quality needs to be good (as with the store where the proprietor instructs his staff to throw produce out if it looks poor) and "*we try to train our customers about seasonality*."

In addition, potatoes and asparagus are grown on neighbouring farms, one of which supplies straw for the strawberries. A nearby open-air museum has a working mill and produces biscuits for the farm shop. This arrangement was described as "*more than a supplier, more a link with historic things."*

As well as selling direct from the farm shop, outlets also include a local pub which concentrates on local produce, local caterers, several village stores (including the one in Harting) and various local Farmers' Markets. Hampshire's Farmers' Markets were said to be highly regulated and this is much appreciated by stallholders. But the Chichester Farmers' Market was described by one trader as "*not having the mentality right, they think it is just a nice thing to do but fail to appreciate we have to make a living, we are not just playing*." Stalls at these markets have to be booked and prepaid in the October ahead of the selling year and this was thought to be tough. Other customers come to the PYO and certain people are thought to be very aware of where food comes from; these included young families with children and older people who had time to pick produce.

As well as the outlets described above, Harting Market provides an arena for social and economic interactions. It was launched about a year ago by a local smallholder. The idea is not to make a profit but to give people who make, bake or have surplus produce the chance to sell. Coffee is served and it provides a good social event, with many residents suggesting it is very successful and that they would not want to miss the monthly markets. Inevitably, some profit is made and this is given to the community for purchase of some equipment.

Both the local lamb and produce from the farm shop are sold at Harting Market. The proprietor of the village store was asked if there is any conflict with this, but he said that the market founder had approached him and he had no problem with it; in fact he regarded it as a good opportunity for social interaction. He was also asked whether he was taking away direct trade from the PYO/farm shop by selling their produce in the store, but he felt that his sales are in fact good for the PYO / farm shop business as it raises the latter's profile and if people wanted bulk goods they went direct or he would collect it for them. Thus, apart from the slight tension mentioned earlier, there appears to be a very good relationship in all these local economic linkages.

Another local product sold at Farmers' Markets and in some local stores is beer from the micro-brewery at Nyewood. Their philosophy is that "*we shouldn't have to travel more than a horse and cart can go in a day"* to deliver the beer.

Some economic linkage with tourism activity was noted whereby some, perhaps not very serious, bed and breakfast providers passed on guests to others. They also recommend these guests to the local pubs for evening meals and to the village store for other supplies. The South Downs Way National Trail Officer said that a Trail leaflet had been part funded by a farmer (not in the parish) because he saw it as a good way to promote his organic business. There is a good rights of way network and it was thought that walkers do bring some economic benefit to shops, pubs and B & Bs.

There are several large areas of woodland in the parish. Timber from the largest wood is sold via the Internet but, since transporting timber is very expensive, it often happens that the purchasers are fairly local. Re-cycling has had an impact on the demand for timber and one farmer reported that he hopes soon to be selling it as biomass fuel. Another small tree nursery owner sold some of his stock in batches of 20 or 30 trees to estates in the UK and in France, although if someone local wanted a tree they would often come to him. When a representative from the SDJC was asked about purchasing locally, he said *"Yes definitely, localness is more important than price, we use local food for our events and always get all our timber from a local source (for stiles, bridges, gates etc.) I wouldn't look further afield".*

The provision of informal services to the local community

The parish's LBIs provide two types of service to the local community. Some are for profit, including the farmer who opens up his farm at lambing time as one of his 'non-farming economic activities'. But others are clearly provided on an altruistic or 'good neighbour' basis. Several examples of the latter were noted, each broadly linked to education or leisure.

Although there are no dedicated education facilities at the National Trust property, both the property manager and the warden responsible for the land have links with the school and arrange visits at no charge. As for Forest Enterprise, it has very extensive education facilities at Queen Elizabeth Country Park, a few kilometres out of the parish, and for this reason no service is provided at West Harting Downs. Several education opportunities are also provided by the PYO/farm shop where the wife often gives a talk whilst her husband provides a practical demonstration (for example of pruning). This business has strong links with the local school and individual classes often come for visits. In addition, they are happy to receive visits from many other community groups. The proprietor said *"I think it is really important to know how to pick and where and how food grows….. I make worksheets and tie in with whatever the class are doing at the time……. we never turn anybody away, but the time we put in depends on our work load, we try to direct them to quieter times so we can give them time and I really enjoy that*". No charge is made but the business is investigating Farm Visit accreditation schemes.

Many families, especially with young children, go to the PYO/farm shop for an afternoon out "*it's nice and safe for them to run around, they can't come to harm or damage anything and it's good for them to be conscious of what they eat*." (farm shop proprietor) The proprietor also said "*we get lots of local support, it feels more than just a shop, lots of people use it as a meeting place*."

A respondent described how land where children used to play in the centre of the parish has been used to build the community hall and school. Given the loss of this play area, one farmer has "*been very keen to help young people, he tried to get suitable land* (for a play area*) …. he really helped because he knew everyone in the area but we did not succeed"* (resident with youth connections). Another farm is visited by the school at lambing time and this farmer operates his barbecue at the school fete and at Harting Festivities and was said by numerous respondents to always be willing to help out if anyone is stuck.

The National Trust also takes part in Harting Festivities by having a stall and donating a raffle prize. The church has been allowed to use facilities on National Trust land, for events, again free of charge. Both representatives of the Trust acknowledged that people like to be kept informed and they frequently write articles in the Parish News.

The micro-brewery manager said he had provided yeast to the Open Air museum. No charge was made; he was just happy to encourage everyone to have a go at brewing. Every December the brewery organises a day walk around local pubs to celebrate the launch of their Christmas beer. The scouts run a barbecue and one third of the profits are given to charity.

Finally, an excellent example of a land-based industry interacting with the local community was noted when the researcher told the rector, to whom she had been talking, that she was going to see a farmer, Mr. X. The rector said "*could you take him this bottle of wine, I've been meaning to drop it in to him for some time, he lent me a lamb to use for a 'prop' in a service a while ago and I was so grateful*."

The Community's Expectations of LBIs

With regard to the local community expectations of the land-based industries, several people said that there are no expectations other than the maintenance of the amenity value of the land, which would provoke a strong reaction. This was backed up by a NFU representative who said, *"there's a lot of misunderstanding, people don't understand what farmers need to do to make a living. They think that profit should be placed at the bottom and farmers should place more emphasis on environment and amenity considerations ….. the key driver has to be profit but they shy away from this word and prefer to call it 'sustainability'".*

A horse rider's only comment regarding land management related to the state of bridleways, some of which had been damaged by the ever-increasing size and weight of farm machinery. In addition, she said that even if a bridleway is in good order irrigation systems and other equipment can frighten horses. The woodlands are used extensively for shooting and, whilst some harvesting is undertaken, it was reported that '*timber is the by-product'*. Some coppicing is undertaken for firewood, most of which is used on the estate although a little is sold locally.

There was thought to be a lack of understanding regarding land management practices. One respondent said he had laid a hedge but was accused of destroying it, whilst another said he had received adverse comments regarding coppicing and grazing. It was thought that there are those who moan in every parish (and it is often the people who have lived there the least amount of time), but that complaints regarding disturbance caused by spraying and harvest operations are controlled by providing people with information regarding the dates and times when the work will be undertaken. Recent complaints regarding the speed of tractors had been addressed by the parish council and taken on board by offenders.

One respondent reported that the local community is always interested in what is going on: *"it's talked over in the pub if we are up to something, but that's no bad thing, the boss is into lots of hedge planting and that sort of thing…… but we always get the feeling the local community are watching us"* (estate manager).

Whilst all organisations try to work with the local community through consultation in management plans, a NT warden commented that "*it is an affluent part of the world and people are not afraid at all to give opinions on whatever we do. ….I do feel from the word go that management work is viewed with suspicion so I try to do it in phases, nothing too dramatic so it is not so obvious but then they think that nothing is happening!"*

The SDJC representative said that generally there are good relationships with farmers, but that openness and honesty are key factors and that "*we must work with them rather than superseding them."* During the last 10 years, he has also noticed more sympathy for farmers from local communities and an acknowledgement that they are 'the custodians of the countryside'.

Land-based workers also have expectations of the local community regarding the 'dumping of cars' on front gardens instead of keeping them tidy and the lack of attention given to a large area of privately owned and unmanaged land in the centre of the village where it was thought the owner did not care. Farmers were often thought to get bad press and it was pointed out that even the local newsletter inaccurately reported a local land-based issue. However the 'pick your own/farm shop' proprietor said she advertises regularly and has excellent relationships with the local press which often gives free editorial and will always come to take photographs if they are featuring local produce.

Interactions involving protest and conflict

As with all communities, there are conflicting opinions but it is generally felt that length of residence and social class cause the greatest divides within the parish. Dogs are at the centre of several of the most controversial issues and, linked to this, the interactions between the NT, the land-based industries and the local community are often fraught.

Examples of poor communication

Generally, if people are fully informed in advance about land management issues they often accept the situation. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the car parking charges imposed by the NT at Harting Down were introduced at regional level before the local warden could explain the situation and organise free passes for local people. Considerable bad feeling developed because the area is used on a very regular basis, particularly by dog walkers (some respondents reported going at least twice every day). This has caused distress on all sides, particularly as the NT warden acknowledges that *"the local community are our eyes and ears and they support us*" although she also admits, *"people don't like change and if they are in the habit they think they have a right."*

A second example concerns the provision of a supply of water to a dewpond on the Downs, which would not fill naturally. This also caused tension between the NT and all parties. Again it was unfortunate that, due to funding issues and regional policy, the work was undertaken before the local community could be prepared for what was going to happen (a scar up the hillside which has now grown over).

Conflict concerning sheep

The other major issue concerns grazing on Harting Down. In the early 1990s, three commoners had a common flock of Scottish Black Face sheep which was described (by the warden) as '*fantastic*'. However, due to economic pressures the common flock was sold and, because of bio-security measures, individual commoners did not want to mix their flocks. Other arrangements were made but more recently, under the Single Farm Payment, it is again uneconomic for commoners to graze on the Downs. Nevertheless, the National Trust needs a grazing flock since scrub clearance by mechanical means costs £6,000 per year and is not a desirable management technique.

One commoner agreed to have a residential flock and to give shearing demonstrations and open events at lambing time to provide a link with the history of farming in the area. The National Trust negotiated a fee for this service. However, it was decided that in order to target key areas and to allow dogs to run off the lead, the sheep should be 'folded'. An electric fence was erected by the NT, with responsibility for charging and operating it resting with the commoner. Sheep were introduced and signs erected informing dog walkers that in certain areas dogs could be let off leads. Within days, the sheep had escaped and '*were popping up everywhere'*. "*People went up there with expectations and quite understandably they were upset*" (NT warden).

Possible explanations were that the fences were not charged, dry weather reduced the conductivity, the sheep were frightened or that the choice of breed was unsuitable. Whatever the cause, there has been a huge local reaction and this coincided with the fieldwork period. Coming within months of the car park charge uproar, relationships are simmering between (and within) the local community, farmers, commoners and the NT. The NT warden said "*the Friends (*referred to earlier*) have been wonderful and explained the issue in the Parish News*". However the commoner concerned told the researcher that the report was misleading and inaccurate! The warden has requested that the Friends' representative speaks with the commoner, but this has been refused on the basis that '*we are friends'*.

Some of the farmers feel the local community is not sympathetic "*People have complained about sheep on the footpath but farmers at one time managed things in our own way, well we had a few differences but now farmers are second in command – townies have taken over…. To them it is the sheep that is in trouble not their dogs and graziers now have to conform to what the people want"* (farmer). Another farmer said "*Livestock farmers have to accept that the local community is very urban and whereas at one time local people had dogs for work, now there are many more people walking dogs for recreation …….. one has to understand that farmers are not now central to the local community as they once were*" (farmer). The NT warden, speaking about the users of the Downs said "*people view ourselves and other people as they would a shop keeper…we have rights*."

Wildlife

Relationships with the NT were highlighted again by a landowner who commented that people need food and at one time a shrub would have been removed to plant food but that now wildlife takes priority "*the NT are the worst, they are slightly arrogant and they think they know best but this is not always true…. There was a fuss when they introduced the car parking charge but it doesn't hurt them to know that there is a bit of anti feeling……..the government are not helping either, farming*

seems to be a dirty word, they think farmers are not needed, they are just the park keepers."

Two respondents commented on the absence of wildlife including butterflies on the Downs, due to a period without grazing, and the loss of bats and swallows. "*I haven't seen a bat in two years whereas once I was always ducking at dusk…. If all these old buildings get converted to dwellings or industrial units what will happen to the wildlife?"* (horse owner)

Walkers and horse riders

There are the usual countryside user conflicts regarding walkers, horses and mountain bikes, but it was pointed out that there is also a different ethos in that walkers and horse riders are present because they like the countryside and tranquillity, whereas bikers like an activity that just happens to be in the countryside.

Most horse riders were described as middle class affluent women who wanted their own way and didn't like being told 'no'. Some farmers feel that the local community is anti the land industries and more specifically farmers and that little things like footpaths, bridleways and dogs become major issues, particularly with newcomers. A horse owner, a recent incomer, gave her view that she feels farmers have lots of land and she wants to be able to ride around the fields; she is therefore upset when her request is refused and in fact went on to say "*you can't walk anywhere without being growled at*" (perhaps it should be pointed out that the tracks in question were not bridleways). Regarding the local community's attitude to her business, she feels there is much snobbery and people would probably be happier if she was not there.

Local eyesores

Since the entire parish is within an AONB, the parish council and the local community are particularly keen that fly tipping and messy yards should be controlled. There are two properties with some land within the parish where agricultural contracting businesses are operated. They both look extremely untidy and there is a dispute as to whether the correct permissions have been given. The owner of one is adamant that he is right and the district council is unsupportive (of the parish council's complaint) since the activity has been going on for more than ten years. The owner said that this is a source of great annoyance and conflict with the local community '*and especially the better off*'.

7.2.3 Summary of the South Harting and East Harting study area

Dominated by the village of South Harting, the case study has shown the parish of Harting to be a vibrant, cohesive and integrated rural community. The relationship between longer-term residents and incomers is a generally positive one and both join together to help run and participate in the numerous economic and social activities that characterise the area. Significantly, major agricultural restructuring has not led to division and alienation that are features of so many rural areas. Although the influence of the Uppack estate has declined, modern agricultural activity is complemented by developments in other land-based industries relating to forestry, equine, recreation and conservation.

South Harting contains a wide social spectrum of residents, from wealthy city gents and professional people to the self-employed and indigenous population. There is also a large variety of housing types and these are complemented by a number of community buildings, public areas and services. A key feature of cohesion and interaction relates to the number of groups found in the village, ranging from the

Harting lunch club and Harting old club to Harting society, Harting monthly market and annual fete. Although not taking a lead in community activities, the LBIs are involved in many events and the social life of the village. For example, some LBIs are happy to offer voluntary leisure/education activities to the school and at other events such as the organisation of a barbecue at the fete. While long-term residents are thought to dominate the local community, the incomers 'do their bit for the village' and generally integrate because they want to live the country dream. As a consequence, conflict tends to be reduced, even if it does sometimes exist – as witnessed in objections to proposals to improve facilities for the youth in the parish.

There is little involvement of LBIs on the parish council and a farmer and son recently resigned because of the need to 'declare interests'. A Parish Design Statement was prepared by a committee of 12, but only two had any LBI connections. Nevertheless, farmers are represented on the wider South Downs Joint Committee, formed in 2005 to provide integrated countryside management for the whole of the South Downs. Harting parish is characterised by strong local economic and social linkages. Although employment has reduced in agriculture, there are opportunities for full-time and seasonal employment with the National Trust, a PYO business, an organic meat producer, in small industrial units and in large private gardens. Significantly, many of these businesses attempt to sell their produce locally, through the pubs and local stores and at farmers' markets, festivals, Harting market and the monthly lunch club; these economic activities are firmly established as an important social dimension of community life. However, while cohesion and interaction characterise community life, there is very little tourist activity in the parish.

There appears to be relative harmony between residents and the LBIs. The latter provide recreation and access facilities for the residents and, apart from normal complaints about the speed of tractors, crop spraying, the dumping of cars and straying dogs, there are few examples of poor communications. One exception was the introduction of car parking charges by the National Trust at Harting Down before the local warden could organise free passes for local people. Other noted conflicts related to sheep grazing on Harting Downs, walkers and horse riders, and the proposal to build new houses (including the statutory 30% affordable) in the centre of the village.

In terms of recreation and conservation, several areas of open access land have been designated within the parish. Occasionally, this has led to some misunderstanding among walkers and horse riders, but relationships are generally good, as demonstrated by the considerable interaction between the South Downs Way National Trail Officer and the local community. Local conservation groups are not so prominent, but a life-long resident did start a community orchard scheme and this is celebrated by an annual Apple Day.

7.3 East Hatley and Hatley St George

7.3.1 Introduction

The parish of Hatley is situated in South Cambridgeshire close to the borders with Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. It has a population of just over 200, in two villages: East Hatley and Hatley St George. Each village has about 40 houses. They share a parish council and a village hall, but each has its own road signs with a stretch of 'no-man's land' between them. See Figure 3.1 (main report) for the general location within England. The Parish of Hatley covers an area of approximately 9.5 square km. It is part of the ecclesiastical parish of Gamlingay, a larger village with a good range of services. Hatley is close to the border with Bedfordshire and is about 15 km from Sandy, where a number of residents work for the RSPB.

The surrounding land is mainly arable farmland, about half of which belongs to Hatley Park Estate, with scattered remnants of ancient woodland, many of which are SSSIs. One of these woods is within the parish boundaries and is described by the Wildlife Trust as 'one of the richest boulder-clay woodlands in Cambridgeshire'. There are a number of small airfields in the immediate vicinity of the parish and a small amount of equine-related activity, some of which makes use of the network of bridle paths crossing the farmland.

The presentation of findings begins with some descriptive information about the case study area, outlined in Box 7.3, before providing a descriptive overview of the land based industries and rural communities of the area. It then goes on to analyse the findings in detail, structured around the main themes pertaining to the relevant socio-economic interactions in the Hatley case study area. These themes encompass control, participation and commitment within the two communities; perceptions of rurality; land management and conflict; diversification; recreation and access; economic linkages and environmental stewardship and interpretation.

Box 7.3 Descriptive information about the Hatley case study area

Resident Population: 205 (552658) (*)
No. of Households: 77 (753614)
Area: approx. 9.6km2
Percentage over age 75: 4.4% (7.0%)
Average Age: 38.56 (38.3)
Household Ethnicity (white): 100% (95.9%)
Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank#***: 21567 (3rd quartile)
Unemployment (economically active 16-74): 2.1% (3.0%)
Long term unemployed/never worked (16-74): 0% (0.9%)
Persons with limiting long term illness: 14.6% (14.6%)
Self employed with no employees: 12.5%* (8.5%)
Self employed with employees: 5.2%* (4.3%)
Employment in Agriculture/Hunting/Forestry*:4.0% (2.6%)

Holding size groups:

<5 ha	32.0%	(36.0%)(*)
5 <20 ha	20.7%	(16.3%)
20 < 50 ha	11.0%	(12.2%)
50 <100 ha	3.7%	(12.7%)
>=100 ha	31.7%	(22.7%)

Land use/cover:	%Land	
crops and fallow area	75.7%	(78.1%)(*)
temporary grass area	0.5%	(1.2%)
permanent grass area	9.0%	(8.0%)
rough grazing area	0.7%	(0.6%)
woodland area	4.9%	(1.6%)
set-aside area	7.1%	(8.4%)
all other land area	2.2%	(2.1%)
Total Woodland Area (2002)	2.5%	

Average house price 2006**: £291268 (£209510) (*)
House price change** 1996-2000: 25.1% (58.7%)
Proportion of second homes/holiday residences: 3.9% (0.3%)

(*)County figures in brackets
Figures based on Parish unless otherwise stated:
* Figures based upon Ward
** Figures based on Postcode Sector
***Figures based on Lower Super Output Area (LSOA)

Index of Multiple Deprivation: 1 Is the most deprived LSOA and 32482 is the least deprived LSOA. Quartile ranges : 1st (1-8120), 2nd (8121-16241), 3rd (16242-24361), 4th (24362-32482)

Overview of relevant land-based industries

- **Agriculture** The land is mainly arable farmland, growing wheat, barley and oil-seed rape. The majority of the parish is owned and farmed by the Hatley Park Estate and much of the Estate's parkland is let out as 'keep' and is grazed by beef cattle in summer and sheep in winter. The soil is heavy clay. However, there is one other farm within the parish and two neighbouring farmers who farm land within the parish. In addition, a number of the houses have very large gardens in which they grow vegetables and keep chickens and (in one case) goats. There is some evidence of farm diversification in the area, the estate having converted one farmyard into small business units, and two neighbouring farms having a small airfield and another renting land to a gliding club.
- **Forestry** There is one Forestry Commission Woodland, Potton Wood, in the vicinity, and a number of remnants of ancient woodland exist in the immediate area. The one reasonable-sized woodland within the parish, Buff Wood, is an SSSI and is owned by Hatley Park Estate.
- **Equine** The Estate once had a lively racehorse stud, which is now run as livery stables for racehorses to rest and recuperate, as well as to foal. At the time of visiting, there were only eight horses and a foal, although there can be up to 30 in the winter. There is one other small equine business in the parish.
- **Recreation** A network of well-maintained and well-signposted bridleways criss-cross the farmland, attracting riders from outside the parish. Apart from nearby Wimpole Hall, there is a very little tourist activity, although there is a long-distance footpath, the Clophill Way, passing close to the parish. All of the woodlands, except Buff Wood, have open access for walkers but not for horse riders. Buff Wood has a permit system, stipulated by the owner as a condition of the Wildlife Trust's management, although permits are easy to obtain and most residents seem to have them.
- **Nature conservation** Most of the ancient woodlands are SSSIs and are owned and managed by the Wildlife Trust of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire and Peterborough. Buff Wood is also an SSSI and is managed by the Wildlife Trust. Buff Wood and Hayley Wood, the latter being located just outside the parish, are about 5,000 years old and are notable for the Oxlip and other rare plants.

Overview of the local communities

Residents are very aware of the identity of 'their' village and there is not much joint activity between the two communities. The two villages have very different characters. Hatley St George is an estate village owned (apart from 5 houses) by the Hatley Park Estate; however, many of the estate houses are now rented out, albeit to tenants who have been vetted by the estate. There are also a few houses in Hatley Park itself. Hatley St George has a small post office and shop, a village green and cricket pitch, and children's playground. Being part of the ecclesiastical parish of Gamlingay, the church in Hatley St George is used just twice a month.

By contrast, East Hatley is essentially a commuter settlement comprising mainly large privately owned houses, either side of a single road, which becomes a bridleway. There are also three council-owned bungalows. East Hatley also has a church that is disused, although the churchyard is still in use as a graveyard. The church itself is a listed building and has recently been restored by the District Council. East Hatley has no public meeting places.

7.3.2 Main findings from the Hatley case study

This section presents the findings from the ethnographic fieldwork undertaken in the Hatley case study area. It is structured around the main themes which help to describe and explain the interactions between the land-based industries and two rural communities in the area. These themes necessarily over-lap and inter-relate and, as such, the findings should be considered holistically. Quotes from a number of informants are used to add colour and depth to the discussion, and to illustrate salient points relating to the core research questions.

The two communities under study, East Hatley and Hatley St George, are fundamentally quite different, which itself has important ramifications for, and adds a further dimension to, the nature of the interactions under study. As the two villages fall within the same parish, and thus share a number of services and civic structures, they are not dealt with separately; as with the other case studies, themes are structured around the issues which help explain and describe community-land based interactions. The first theme sets out the origins of these differences, which are rooted in land ownership and adaptation to social change in an era of agricultural decline.

Two communities – two societies

Historically, both villages consisted almost entirely of agricultural labourers and their families – Hatley St George being an estate village and East Hatley consisting of housing for labourers from three local farms. However, processes of social change resulting from agricultural restructuring have impacted differently on the two communities.

East Hatley has now almost entirely lost its agriculturally-related population, although two retired farmers remain in the village. The agricultural cottages have been sold off and in-filled (and in some cases knocked down and replaced). Apart from three social housing bungalows, the village is entirely owner occupied, and the population now consists largely of families headed by commuters with a few retirees. There are few natural points of social contact and the majority of events are formally organised. However, the children tend to play together in the road, although there was no evidence of this during the fieldwork. Neither of the two retired farmers living in the village feel that they are integrated into village life and both commented on the changes that had taken place over the last 50 years. One remarked how, as a child, he had played with the other children and knew everyone in the village. His parents (also farmers) were on the parish council and his father played for the local cricket team. He then went away to boarding school and when he came back more houses had been built and he no longer knew everybody. The other retired farmer used to be a parish councillor and his wife used to be clerk. They were ‘surprised and shaken’ by the change in the community and missed the ‘old ways’ - ‘going out and having a chat. You never see anybody now.’ He described newcomers as ‘vindictive’, alleging that they are jealous because they associate farming with profit.

Hatley St George has also seen changes, but these have been less fundamental. Apart from five houses, it is still owned by the Hatley Park Estate, which uses about a third of the houses for workers (current and retired) and their families. The other estate houses are rented out, some privately and some through the council. Prospective tenants are interviewed with a view to maintaining a ‘balanced community’ (estate owner) and ensuring that tenants understand what it means to live in the country. Thus, the population of Hatley St George has a very different outlook to that of East Hatley, and relations with the estate, which farms the land

around the village, appear to be harmonious. However, the large proportion of privately rented houses has resulted in a transient population, as people rent for about six months before buying elsewhere, posing problems for village integration.

The differences in perspective between the two villages make it difficult for them to integrate and there are a number of points of contention, one of which relates to the shared village hall and the closure of the social club. This is returned to later.

Power and control

This theme examines power relations in the two villages, including changes in the composition of the parish council.

The Hatley Estate owns most of Hatley St George, and hence (in a philanthropic way) controls a lot of what goes on there. However, landowners are sometimes constrained by the planning system. One retired farmer was unable to get permission to build on his land and there have been several cases where residents of East Hatley have used the planning system to prevent landowners from starting particular businesses. Social pressure also shapes land-uses. One resident, who was looking for redundant barns for his business, would not consider the ones within the village because he knew there would be objections to the traffic that would be caused.

The parish council has just five members as it is such a small community. Traditionally, there has always been a mixture of farmers and non-farmers on the council. However, a small change in the composition of the council has resulted in a significant change in its control; this might be described as a change from 'farmer-domination' to 'incomer-domination'. The occupant of the big house was automatically chair of Hatley St George Parish Meeting and when the parish council was formed it seemed to be taken for granted that the major landowners would be members, although the chair was an estate worker's widow. Additionally, at one point, it was clerked by the wife of one of the farmers on the council.

More recently, a group of East Hatley residents decided that the council was dominated by farming interests and tried to take it over. East Hatley now has three members including the chair, none of whom has any farming connections; the other two are the estate owner and one of his workers. The clerk is the District and County Councillor for the area and lives in East Hatley. Until recently, his partner was a council member. The estate owner has been on the council throughout, but is reluctant to be chair; at present he is vice chair.

The Parish Council has a number of issues with landowners. For example, there has been a disagreement between the Estate and the parish council about the ownership of the village green. Eventually the parish council agreed to lease a corner of it from the estate in order to get a grant for a new children's playground. Other disagreements are discussed below.

Participation and Commitment

As well as civic structures to nurture engagement, the degree to which local residents participate in community activities, and particularly the involvement of land-managers and retired land-managers in these activities, is also indicative of likely interactions between local actors.

Seven residents of East Hatley comprise the 'Village's Committee' – an unofficial group of villagers who organise two sets of events: some for the residents of East

Hatley, especially children, and some to raise funds for the village hall. The latter events are open to and advertised in neighbouring villages. The Committee has no official standing and is not related to the parish council, although it has been asked by the parish council to raise money for the hall.

In addition, one member of the community, a botanist, organises woodland walks through Buff Wood several times a year. It seems that about half of the village residents take part in these events. However, it is notable that neither the two retired farmers nor the residents of the social housing tend to participate:

> *'It's even more closed now. You are excluded if you are not on the internet.'* (retired farmer)

The Village's Committee also produces a village directory for circulation within the village with contacts for all the residents. They were reportedly planning to visit all the houses in the village to find out who wishes to be included in the next edition. The Hatley website was also set up by East Hatley residents and one of the organisers felt that setting it up had helped the organisers get to know people. In addition, a small group of women has got together to go running.

However, there seems to be very little informal interaction in East Hatley with few people around at most times:

> '*You don't see anyone about. It's a dormitory.'* (retired farmer)
>
> *'There's not much community to join in'* (East Hatley resident)
>
> *'It's not a real village community'* (East Hatley resident)

And a retired farmer asserted that: *'the new people will only go to things that they organise'.*

In contrast, Hatley St George was regarded as a friendly village:

> *'Everyone looks out for everyone else*.' (Hatley St George resident)
>
> *'Everyone knows what you are doing but if you are ill everyone turns out to help*.' (Hatley St George resident)

This last comment was backed up by a resident whose husband (a retired estate worker) had recently been in hospital. Two other residents (one from each village) had been very helpful in giving her lifts to visit him. However, this mutual support does not appear to translate into support for the local shop which, according to the shopkeeper, had two regular customers and 'three or four who drop in occasionally'. The shop evidently only survives because it is subsidised by the estate.

In general, there is not much organised social activity except for that centred around the cricket team. This is captained by a worker on the estate and made up of residents of Hatley St George and neighbouring villages, although no one from East Hatley takes part.

In spite of its partially transient population, Hatley St George appears to be an inclusive community where those who work on the land mix with those who do not. Although the high turnover of residents in Hatley St George, due to the nature of the housing, means that there are inevitably people who are not known to the more

permanent inhabitants, there does not seem to be any obvious divisions between members of the agricultural community and those with no agricultural connections. For example, the occupants of a group of four houses at one end of Hatley St George meet for barbeques and drinks, as well as walking their dogs together. The residents are one estate worker, a couple who run the village post office but also work elsewhere, a self-employed fencer and odd job man and his family, and a woman who works for the local council.

There is a long-standing division between the two villages, thought by some to be getting worse, although a few residents manage to transcend it. It was described by one resident as 'a class thing'.

> '*Three or four people in East Hatley snub Hatley St George. The rest are OK*' (Hatley St George resident)

About 30 years ago the estate built a village hall, providing a good example of co-operation between landowners for the benefit of the community, as it was built by one landowner on land provided by another. The village hall was run as a social club and it worked well for 25 years, being used by a mixture of people about half of whom were estate workers. However, it then became a drinking men's club. One (now retired) farmer used to be the chairman. People from East Hatley didn't like the smell of smoke and drink and consequently did not support it. It was closed because it wasn't financially viable. At the time of the research, the village hall was run by the Parish Council and events are organised by the Village's Committee. It seems to be underused with few regular events.

The estate provides housing for its employees, retired employees and widows of employees. It also provides a number of services to the wider community, including maintaining the church, churchyard and village green, subsidising the village post office and shop, and clearing litter from the roadside. Other farmers do not seem to provide services to the community, but a retired farmer mows part of the churchyard in East Hatley.

The estate owner is known by people in both villages, although he spends half the week on the estate and half in London 'working to support it'. One resident of Hatley St George knows the local farmers well because of his interest in hunting. The hunt meets on the estate twice a year and other connected events take place in between. However, there is very little community involvement, although two people from East Hatley had previously taken part.

Perceptions of rurality

Rurality is valued by all those interviewed, but the different ways in which rurality was interpreted help to shed light upon the interactions between the community and land users.

Houses in East Hatley are almost all privately owned and residents had made a positive decision to live in the village. The factors cited by people as attracting them to the village include the network of bridleways, the woods, quiet and safety. The bridleways are particularly attractive to people with horses as they can be accessed directly from East Hatley. In addition, at least two families moved to the village because of a particular house and the attached land. One of these was because the house has a paddock for a horse, and the other because the house could be divided into two for an extended family and also has a very large garden.

Not all residents have the same attitudes and, for example, not all make use of the bridleways. However, in general, to the residents of East Hatley, 'rurality' means space and footpaths to walk or ride on, quiet, safety and wildlife. This contrasts with the view of land-users who, while also valuing rurality, see the land essentially as a means of making a living.

Residents are seen by some land users as a homogeneous group who expect the country to be 'a leafy town' (retired farmer) and were described by one resident as 'essentially urban people' and by a farmer's wife as being 'against agriculture'. They were criticised for growing 'grass and flowers' rather than vegetables (retired farmer) – although some did grow vegetables, for 'moaning all the time – they're from towns' (Hatley St George resident), and for not sending their children to local schools. However, most seem to go to one of the neighbouring schools, whereas some farmers sent their children to boarding schools. A retired farmer identified 'a different attitude to the country now – the old attitude was "live and let live"'. This "live and let live" attitude is apparent among some residents of East Hatley and all interviewed residents of Hatley St George, some of whom were quite critical of East Hatley residents:

> *'If you live in the country you have to accept what they do in the country.' (HSG resident)*
>
> *'If you don't like it [farm vehicles] why move to the country?' (HSG resident)*
>
> It's '*the difference between country people and people from the town who don't understand country life*' (HSG resident)

Superimposed on these differing attitudes to rurality is a class divide between the two villages, with Hatley St George being described by a local councillor as 'working-class rural', whereas East Hatley is predominantly wealthy middle-class. A relative of a social housing resident described the residents of East Hatley as 'a load of old snobs'. This class divide is apparent in the story of the social club, discussed below. The divide between the two villages is also apparent in attitudes towards development, with residents of East Hatley generally opposing new development, whereas a resident of Hatley St George pointed out that he wanted his sons to grow up and live in the country but questioned 'how are they going to afford houses?'

One of the few points of convergence between the two communities is the desire expressed by a number of people to keep Hatley to themselves. For example, there is reluctance to make the village sound too enticing on the website in case it should become a 'honey pot'.

Land management and conflict

This theme considers the degree to which conflict arises over land use and management issues and reveals a number of sources of conflict mentioned and discussed by respondents during the fieldwork. These are divided into four broad areas: farming practices, diversification, recreation and access, and other sources of conflict, including management of the local churchyard.

Farms adjacent to Hatley St George have been getting larger in recent years as some farmers have given up and others have bought more land. The most recent of these changes date back to the 1980/90s but they have had far-reaching effects on relations between land-users and the community. By the time of the research, apart from the estate, only one farmer lived in the parish and his farm straddled the parish

boundary. He was said to look to the neighbouring village of Croydon where both he and his wife originated. Also his children went to private schools. Consequently, few people in East Hatley know the family. Other land is farmed by farmers who live in neighbouring parishes and do not have any social contact with the community. However, the estate owner is well known in both villages.

Farming practices

There is a much greater tendency to complain about land-based activities in East Hatley compared to Hatley St George, although the actual level of nuisance experienced by the two villages is very much the same. However, it must be said that this tendency does not extend to all the residents of East Hatley.

Farm traffic is one of the main causes of complaint, particularly at harvest time. Some East Hatley residents feel that the tractors go too fast for the narrow road and that it is especially dangerous for children. Cars parked in the road help to slow traffic down, but the tractor drivers find it difficult to get past them. However, one resident who used to own a horse said that tractor drivers were always very considerate when she was riding and stopped their tractors and turned off the engine while she went past. By contrast, Hatley St George residents tend to accept farm traffic, even though during harvest it occurs until 10 or 11pm. This is helped by the fact that the Estate is careful to let people know when the activity is likely to start. Those who accept it regard it as 'part of country life'.

There are also occasional complaints about crop spraying (in particular when aerial spraying was allowed) and harvest dust. However, the household in East Hatley that is reportedly most affected by harvest dust accepts it as a temporary nuisance and is grateful for the farmer's advance warning so that they can close the windows. One resident, who had complained about spraying when it had landed on him in his garden, was subsequently informed about when spraying would take place and was happy with this compromise.

Diversification

Although most of the land is still farmland, there has been some diversification into business units and small airfields. It might be thought that the acceptance of farm traffic and other nuisance is a reflection of a different attitude to, or understanding of, farming and this is probably true to an extent. However, the same split in attitudes is apparent in response to aircraft noise. There are three small airfields close to the parish. One is a gliding club and there have been complaints about the noise of the tow planes. Another airfield is owned and used by a champion stunt pilot. Attitudes to his practising are revealing. Some, particularly those in Hatley St George, regard it as a free air show but others complain about the noise:

> *'I think of the aeroplanes (stunt pilot practising) as a free air show – it's only a couple of hours'* (HSG resident)
>
> *'Those who complain are those who go on holiday by plane'.* (retired farmer)

Aircraft noise has generally improved and one glider pilot said that tug pilots are instructed to avoid areas where people complain.

There are some business units in Hatley St George. Partly new build and partly a converted piggery and water tower, they are perceived to blend in well. There was little opposition to their introduction, although there has been one complaint from a

neighbouring house about the noise of the air conditioning and some worries about traffic. One resident said that the benefits have been less than people expected. They are used mainly by people from outside the parish and have very little interaction with the local community, although at least one worker uses the village shop.

A recent change in the area was the conversion of more land to conservation. A number of conservation schemes are taking place on the Hatley Park Estate, including tree planting and wetland creation. The Wildlife Trust is working with land-owners to link the woodlands in the area to enhance biodiversity. To this end, they have bought a section of previously agricultural land adjacent to Gamlingay Wood, which will be allowed to revert to woodland. In addition, Potton Wood, a Forestry Commission woodland just outside the parish, is being converted from production to conservation. Attitudes to conservation are discussed below.

Recreation and access

There appear to be few complaints about equine activity. Although one rider said that she had had complaints about dung, in general people like to see horses around. The stud has very little interaction with the village as it is tucked away on the estate, although there is a public bridleway passing through. The manager feels that that it is beneficial for the horses to get used to people going past, although he is careful to keep temperamental horses away from the bridleway.

The estate has few problems with the residents apart from the *'odd do with trespassers'*. And in general, access appears to be generally harmonious. There is relatively little stock and so there are few problems with dogs, although there was some worry about loose dogs disturbing nesting birds. Footpaths and bridleways are generally in good condition and well-signposted, but non-public parts are policed to prevent access, both for privacy and to protect wildlife. Several people said that, if you stray from the rights of way on the estate, someone 'jumps out' and tells you off. While there is no access land in the parish, some landowners believe that trespassing is getting worse due to the mistaken belief that the legislation applies.

A previous landowner was thought to be anti-access, although the present one is acknowledged to be better. A retired farmer said that there are 'rather a lot of bridleways' and complained that horse riders wanted the bridleways opened up but didn't use them, that ramblers (from out-of-parish rambling clubs) wouldn't put their dogs on leads and that town people expected to go anywhere:

> '*It doesn't occur to someone that the land is owned'.* (retired farmer)

His perceptions were partially backed-up by a resident:

> *'The only problems are with ramblers from the city who expect everything to be open' (East Hatley resident)*

Although bridleways and footpaths are generally in good condition and well signposted, especially on the estate, there were a few complaints. One resident had complained about the surface of one bridleway and there were also complaints when they were ploughed up and not reinstated quickly. However, it is accepted that the farmer responded quickly when complaints were made.

> *'There was a bit of a hassle with [x], although he responded when asked.' (East Hatley resident)*

Farmers thought these complaints were not justified and tended to blame them on the urban nature of the residents.

> *'A woman in East Hatley always complains when the bridleway is ploughed without giving [us] time to reinstate it' (farmer's wife)*

The farmer had offered to reroute the path around the field so it didn't have to be ploughed, but 'she didn't want that' (farmer's wife). An ex-farmer was very disparaging about a resident who had suggested that a footpath be covered with tarmac. The only footpath to have been blocked goes through the gardens of several houses in East Hatley and apparently had been unknown to the residents when they bought the houses. Consequently, ramblers ended up in the garden of one house and were unable to get any further.

Residents seem happy with the permit system for access to Buff Wood, and most of them appear to have permits. At least one regarded it as a good way of allowing access to those who lived locally and restricting people from elsewhere. There is some concern about dogs off leads in the wood disturbing ground-nesting birds, but one resident thought they would drive out deer and hence protect the rare plants that the deer might otherwise damage. Although physical access to Buff Wood is relatively easy for the able-bodied, it is not possible to get a pushchair or a wheelchair through. This seems to be accepted without question, although on the occasion when the researcher was present it meant a longer walk around the outside of the wood in the hot sun rather than a shorter one in the shade.

Other sources of conflict

There are differences of opinion within East Hatley about the future of St Dennis Church. The disused church was a Grade 2* listed building that had been in a dilapidated condition and was designated as a nature reserve with bats and other wildlife living in it. However, the District Council, who owns the building, decided to renovate it. At the time of the research, the renovation had just been completed with the result that the wildlife no longer had access. Most residents seem to have supported the renovation, although there was some dissent. There was a similar disagreement about the maintenance of the churchyard, which is a designated nature reserve as well as being an active graveyard. Whilst some people wanted the grass to be kept short and the graveyard to be kept 'tidy', others wanted cutting restricted to twice a year to give wild flowers a chance to bloom and seed. This point is returned to later in the context of environmental stewardship.

Turning to conflicts over the use of land for development, there appear to be a number of examples of attempts by incomers to introduce businesses to East Hatley which had been turned down for planning permission after protest from residents. In particular, there were worries that a particular purchaser had links to travellers. In this case, one of the landowners agreed with the residents, although both retired farmers in the village thought that the residents were over-reacting.

> *'The villagers got very agitated'* (retired farmer)

The residents clubbed together to buy the land, although they were outbid at the auction. One resident feels that this might have been a good thing as the residents would have been unable to agree on what to do with the land if they had bought it. Distrust of travellers, who were said to steal quad bikes and diesel, is one of the few attitudes to unite farmers and residents.

Economic linkages and employment

As in other study areas, economic ties can help shape the nature and extent of social interactions. In the Hatley area, economic linkages appear to be weak, although the importance of the Hatley estate to local employment should not be overlooked.

Both the community and land-users have many connections with the wider area. Almost all agricultural produce appears to be sold to, and the majority of inputs appeared to be sourced from, outside the area. In fact, very little local buying and selling within the land-based sector was identified. This is largely due to the nature of the agriculture - intensive arable. There are a few economic links to agriculture in the neighbouring area. For example, the Hatley village shop sells eggs from a neighbouring village and bread from a baker in a neighbouring small town; until recently, there had also been a 'Pick Your Own' fruit farm just outside the parish, which had been used by local people.

Turning to employment in the land-based sector, both villages once housed agricultural workers almost exclusively. At the time of the research, East Hatley no longer had any agriculture or forestry-related employment, although three residents are employed by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) in Sandy. Of the three farms whose farm cottages once made up the village, only one is still a farm, the others having had their land incorporated into other farms. A retired farmer who farmed one of the now non-existent farms used to employ six men, but before he gave up in 1988 that was reduced to just himself with help from his son. The son of a village resident remembers helping this farmer with the harvest. The remaining farm did not employ anyone from the parish, apart from the farmer himself. Local agricultural labour has been replaced at busy times by contractors. Thus, the workers driving farm implements through East Hatley are not known to the residents. This increases the sense of alienation from the farming process and thus the chance of conflict.

By contrast, the Estate still employs local people, although the number of employees has reduced considerably. Although it once employed almost the whole village, this has been reduced to seven full-time workers, all of whom live in the parish, and one part-time worker who lives elsewhere. There are also two retirees who do some work on the estate and three students were about to be taken on for the harvest. The stud alone had once employed fifteen but this had been reduced to two, although extra help is taken on in the winter when there are more horses.

The lack of economic linkages between East Hatley and those who manage the local land, combined with the lack of social linkages, has led to an alienation between land managers and community members and hence a lack of informal mechanisms to settle disputes between them. In contrast, Hatley St George has strong economic and social links and hence disputes are not that apparent.

Environmental stewardship and interpretation

This final theme examines the attitudes towards conservation by both land managers and other rural actors. It also details some local environmental initiatives, which in turn help to indicate the degree of cooperation and agreement between the rural community and land-based sector with regard to conservation and biodiversity.

The Wildlife Trust provides interpretation boards in and leaflets about most of its woodlands. However, Buff Wood, the only woodland in the parish, does not have either, although it is does have a section in the Trust's 'Reserves Guide'. The Trust

also organises occasional public events and makes the woodlands available to local schools, although again this does not apply to Buff Wood. Forest Enterprise also organises occasional walks and talks in association with a local wildlife group.

There are possibilities of a conflict between recreation and conservation. However, a Trust officer described woods as 'fairly robust habitats' and pointed out that, although there were more breeding woodcock (due to the lack of walkers) during the outbreak of Foot and Mouth Disease, walkers with dogs may frighten away muntjack deer which damage plants. But, at least one landowner did see some conflict and it is one of the reasons cited for restricting public access to woodland and farmland.

Although some of the residents work, or had worked, for the RSPB at nearby Sandy and there was said to be a lot of environmental awareness in the parish, there seems to be little direct involvement in environmental matters. The Wildlife Trust organises working parties in its woods and encourages volunteer wardens. However, Buff Wood has neither a volunteer warden nor working parties, although there has been no recent advertisement for a warden. The Wildlife Trust is also beginning to organise Ecology Groups in some of its woods, but Buff Wood had not been included at the time of the research.

However, there are some individual environmental initiatives. As mentioned above, one villager led occasional wildlife walks through Buff Wood. Also, a family with a large garden had worked with the Wildlife Trust to plant trees in their garden and another family is trying to establish a wildlife meadow. In addition, one landowner had been chair of the Wildlife Trust and was still connected with them. He has planted trees and hedges and is creating wetlands by blocking drains (the soil is clay and does not drain naturally). He does not farm organically but the edges of the fields are managed for wildlife. He is also renovating a pair of derelict cottages using linseed paints and wood treatment and upgrading the insulation in the cottages he let. He was working with voluntary organisations, including the Wildlife Trust, to link up habitats. This scheme will involve the community and has an educational element, with interpretation sites and tree planting activities for children. However, he identified a problem with 'hard-nosed farmers' who were not interested in taking part in the scheme.

In the longer term, this landowner is hoping to introduce rainwater harvesting and reed beds, and to encourage people to grow their own vegetables. In ten years time, he would like to be growing food and selling it locally and supplying woodchips and hence employing more people. His vision is of 'a living countryside' managed for both people and wildlife. He thought that local people were not really aware of his environmental initiatives. However, some certainly were.

> *'The boss is very keen on nature conservation, so we all are'* (farm worker)

However, another resident pointed out that, although the countryside looks green, there is very little wildlife in most of it because of the farming methods used, although he admitted that the estate is better than most farms.

> *'Farming is intensive arable so there is very little wildlife in the fields.' (East Hatley resident)*

This resident also criticised the management of the National Trust owned Wimpole Hall (about 5km outside the parish) because they intensified the farming of the land to fund the restoration of the building. However, he concedes that they were trying to make their land management more wildlife friendly.

There are also conflicting attitudes to production which are worth highlighting.

> *People moving in 'take land for granted' whereas farmers regard it as a resource* (ex-resident of East Hatley)

Whilst the above statement is an oversimplification, it is true that those connected with agriculture tend to look at land differently to those who are not. To farmers, land is first and foremost a resource for production, although it may also be seen as a resource for wildlife and for recreation. However, this is no longer necessarily true of foresters, who are moving towards a conservation and recreation view of forestry. For example, the local Forestry Department, who manages the neighbouring Potton Wood, 'looks at woods not for how much timber but for the benefit of the woodland' (Forest Enterprise officer) and has an SSSI management plan for Potton Wood. They didn't plant but allowed nature to take its course, phasing out conifers and producing stakes and firewood rather than large-scale timber.

Differences in attitude to land are also apparent in attitudes to 'vermin'. Landowners and land workers, including conservationists, tend to regard certain species as pests or vermin. Predictably, these species include rabbits and foxes as well as deer and badgers (although there were few cattle), and one land worker's wife even included hedgehogs. However, another (retired) land worker said that he had to kill rabbits and other pests but liked to see birds and mammals. One landowner explained that they tried to kill deer out of sight of the public (usually in the early morning), but there are sometimes complaints if a dead deer is found by an early walker. And one incomer was said to be really upset about the killing of (grey) squirrels.

7.3.3 Summary of the Hatley case study

It is clear from this review that processes of social change resulting from agricultural restructuring have impacted quite differently on the two communities in Hatley parish. East Hatley is now primarily a commuter settlement that has lost its agriculturally-related population. The agricultural cottages have been sold off and, apart from three social housing bungalows, the village is entirely owner-occupied. There are few points of social contact and the two retired farmers living there do not feel integrated into village life. In contrast, Hatley St George, apart from five houses, is owned by the Hatley Park Estate and thus retains an important agricultural presence. About one-third of the estate's houses are still used for current and retired workers, with the rest being rented out; significantly, prospective tenants are interviewed with a desire to maintain a 'balance community'. While East Hatley comprises mainly middle-class commuters, Hatley St George is a more inclusive community with much social activity centred around the cricket club.

In terms of power and participation, the parish council has just five members. While the estate owner and one of his workers are on the council, the other three members (including the chair) have no farming connections and are from East Hatley. Thus there has been a change in the control of the parish council, away from 'farmer-domination' to 'incomer-domination'. Indeed, some residents of East Hatley have also formed the unofficial 'village's committee' in order to organise events for East Hatley and to raise money for the village hall in Hatley St George. However, there remains relatively little integration between the two communities, even though the estate owner is known by people in both villages and the estate provides a number of services to the wider community, including maintaining the church, churchyard and village green, subsidising the village post office and shop, and clearing litter from the roadside.

Many of the incoming people to East Hatley were attracted by the large houses and network of bridleways. For them, rurality means space, footpaths, quiet, safety and wildlife; not surprisingly, they are opposed to new development and complain about agricultural practices. In contrast, the residents of Hatley St George are more understanding of country ways, but are worried about how their children will be able to afford houses in the village. There are few issues about access and recreation in the parish and most residents are provided with permits for access to Buff Wood. In East Hatley, there has been some conflict over the local churchyard, between those who want the graveyard to be kept tidy and those who want grass cutting restricted to twice a year to give wild flowers a chance to bloom and seed.

Economic linkages within the local communities are quite weak and there is relatively little local buying and selling within the land-based sector. This reflects the intensive nature of the arable farming and the lack of local employment apart from the Hatley Park Estate. There has been limited diversification, into business units and hang gliding, but these have generated little extra employment. The increasing lack of economic linkages between especially East Hatley and those who manage the local land, combined with the lack of social linkages, has inevitably led to some alienation between land managers and community members. This is not so apparent in Hatley St George.

Finally, there seems to be little conflict between recreation and conservation. The Wildlife Trust organises public events and makes the woodlands available to schools, but there is relatively little direct involvement in environmental matters by local residents. To farmers, the land is there to produce food, although it may also be used for recreation and wildlife. Likewise, landowners tend to see rabbits, foxes and badgers as vermin. Such attitudes might lead to conflict within the wider community, but residents appear not to be that aware of environmental initiatives.

7.4 Horton and Rudyard

7.4.1 Introduction

The Parish of Horton with Gratton and Rudyard covers an area of approximately 2165ha (21 sq. km) with a population of 778. There are three hamlets of Horton, Gratton and Rudyard interspersed with numerous farms and associated buildings. The parish is located within Staffordshire Moorlands District Council approximately 10 km north of Stoke on Trent and 2 km west of Leek. The eastern boundary of the parish is within 3 km of the Peak District National Park. Despite being relatively close to urban conurbations the parish has two quite different and distinct atmospheres; one agricultural and clearly land-based and the other on tourism centred around the lake and this reflects the main industries in the parish.

The cramped settlement of Horton is a Conservation Area but there are no other landscape designations. This nestles on the hilltop (198m) with the land falling steeply to the east towards Rudyard (169m) and to the west to Horton Brook which runs in a north–south direction through the parish and into Rudyard Lake. The land then rises less steeply to the western boundary near Biddulph Moor.

The presentation of findings begins with some descriptive information about the case study area, outlined in Box 7.4, before providing a descriptive overview of the land based industries and rural communities of the area. The main findings are structured around the central themes concerning the socio-economic interactions in the Horton and Rudyard case study area. These themes encompass participation, inclusion and cooperation; agriculture and social change; synergies between and attitudes of the community and land-based sectors; attitudes to land management; economic linkages and service provision associated with land-based industries; development; employment and the impact equine industries.

Box 7.4 Descriptive information about the Horton and Rudyard case study area

Resident Population: 778 (806744) (*)
No. of Households: 279 (328234)
Area: approx. 8.2km2
Percentage over age 75: 8.1% (7.0%)
Average Age: 43.52 (39.33)
Household Ethnicity (white): 99.6% (97.6%)
Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank#***: 20348 (3rd Quartile)
Unemployment (economically active): 1.7% (4.0%)
Long term unemployed/never worked (16-74): 2.7% (1.4%)
Persons with limiting long term illness: 19.8% (18.3%)
Self employed with no employees: 18.6%* (7.5%)
Self employed with employees: 15.9%* (4.8%)
Employment in Agriculture/Hunting/Forestry*:11.4% (1.7%)

Holding size groups:

<5 ha	52.7%	(43.4%)(*)
5 <20 ha	25.3%	(21.5%)
20 < 50 ha	14.8%	(16.3%)
50 <100 ha	5.4%	(11.0%)
>=100 ha	1.8%	(7.8%)

Land use/cover:	%Land	
crops and fallow	0.9%	(28.3%)(*)
temporary grass	7.2%	(10.1%)
permanent grass	86.0%	(51.1%)
rough grazing	2.4%	(3.0%)
woodland	2.9%	(2.0%)
set-aside	0%	(3.1%)
all other land	0.6%	(2.1%)
Total Woodland Area (2002)	14.5%	

Average house price 2006**: £145253 (£168858) (*)
House price change** 1996-2000: 27.9% (24.4%)
Proportion of second homes/holiday residences: 5.7% (0.2%)

(*)County figures in brackets
Figures based on Parish unless otherwise stated:
* Figures based upon Ward
** Figures based on Postcode Sector
***Figures based on Lower Super Output Area (LSOA)

Index of Multiple Deprivation: 1 Is the most deprived LSOA and 32482 is the least deprived LSOA. Quartile ranges : 1st (1-8120), 2nd (8121-16241), 3rd (16242-24361), 4th (24362-32482)

Overview of relevant land based industries

Agriculture in the area is historically based around dairy farming with some sheep, pigs and hens. While dairy production remains an important there are fewer farmers are involved with milk production, one respondent comments how in 1964 there were 29 dairy farms in his locality when now there are only two but those two were far more productive. Some of the farmers who had gone out of dairy now rear female calves as dairy replacements and this is often associated with beef production of the bull calves. There are a few 'hobby farms', which are sometimes associated with keeping horses for pleasure.

No commercial **forestry** operations are noted in the area. One small woodland owner holds commercial shoots on his land, largely for pheasants but some duck and partridge are also shot.

A very low key and small-scale **quarry** operation was discovered in the centre of the parish at Hollins.

Equine activities have increased as many people keep horses for pleasure on small plots of land sold off by neighbouring farmers. There is one equine business just outside the parish and there are several within a 5 mile radius of the parish boundary.

No **horticultural** activity of any significance is noted.

Recreation activity centres on and around Rudyard Lake. There is increasing activity both on and around the lake with a new sailing club and visitor and activity centre. The Staffordshire Way also runs through the parish and the old railway line on the eastern shore of the lake has been converted into a Greenway on which a narrow gauge railway operates on the old railway line at certain times of the year. The only golf course in the parish closed in 1926.

Nature conservation, there are nature walks around the lake and areas are kept quiet to benefit wildlife. Whilst many wildlife species are recorded in the parish both on and off the lake no evidence was noted of nature conservation activities and there are no designations.

Overview of the communities

The population of the parish is extremely scattered with some clusters around the three hamlets of Horton, Rudyard and Gratton. Many people living in the parish are connected with LBIs in some way whether it be farming their own land, undertaking contract work, driving milk tankers, providing services or supplies for the agricultural and equine industry, managing recreation facilities on the lake or simply being related to a person involved in the above activities. The majority have lived in the parish for generations and even most 'newcomers' have been resident for at least 15 years and have moved in from a neighbouring urban area. The unemployment rate is well below the national average, while the average age and number of retired people is above the national average.

One striking feature is the lack of community facilities in the area, those seen include two chapels, a primary school, church, and village hall. Moreover, none of these are within easy walking distance of each other resulting in the lack of what most people would identify as a centre to the parish. The Anglican Church is in Horton and there

is a Methodist chapel in both Rudyard and Gratton. A large and very well equipped village hall is located in Horton while the primary school is on the outskirts of Rudyard. There are no pubs within the study area, the former pub in Horton having been converted to a private dwelling 10 years ago. The Rudyard Hotel occupies a prominent position beside the lake and is popular for conferences and weddings. There are no shops or post office, the proximity to Leek probably being a reason for their demise. The Memorial Hall in Rudyard is in a state of complete disrepair and not used. There appear to be no public playing fields or playgrounds and few public benches. Those benches seen are not in places where people would pass on foot or wish to linger. The majority of lanes are one car width and so not suitable for safe walking and the footpath network appears small and not especially well maintained. This description suggests that there are few opportunities for casual social interaction within the parish. There are few public notice boards, and those seen are poorly located and badly maintained, again reducing the potential of good exchange of information.

There are about eight 1950's ex-council houses in Rudyard close to some terraced housing but most other dwellings tended to be detached and well spaced out, located around existing or former farmsteads. Any affordable housing currently under consideration is being targeted at the nearby towns of Leek, Biddulph and Cheadle. A Community Development Plan which included a Village Appraisal was printed in 1998 and this was followed with Horton with Gratton and Rudyard Action Plan in December 2000. From this it is noted that out of the nine achievements from the original plan, four of these relate in some way to Rudyard Lake. Whether or not these reflect the Appraisal results cannot be determined from the literature available. SRB5 Funding, through the Single Regeneration Budget, has now ceased but a Horton Action Group meeting on a quarterly basis still exists. Conflicting reports were received from two community development workers as to whether or not the land based industries were well represented in any of these groups. Further research revealed that half of the original group were representing LBI's, but that in subsequent groups some members are 'seldom seen' and that LBI's are not well represented.

7.4.2 Main findings from the Horton and Rudyard case study

Participation and commitment

The fact that the parish covers a large area with no natural centre appears to have a big impact on the cohesiveness of social interactions. Inhabitants are often 'tucked away' down narrow lanes and even the three small settlements *"don't mesh together because there is no centre"* (community development worker). The demise of the pub is often mentioned with regret but only one respondent said they would use it regularly. The 'local community' was described by a church representative as being *"everywhere but nowhere ... but still a close knit community and in an unofficial ad hoc way everyone helps each other."*

The lack of well serviced notice boards means that local events and activities are not well publicised and as a result participation is hampered. For example, a parish walk discussed at the parish council meeting that is open to all would "*probably not be advertised*" (parish councillor). One respondent on taking an interest in a community committee was surprised when told it was still in existence and had held its quarterly meeting the night before while another said *"it took me a long time before I found out about the toddler group and I had been asking around"* (hobby farmer). Therefore some activities could be likened to a 'closed' private club dominated by a small group or even by an individual. This is not always the case, the commitment of a particular

farmer to the hall is strongly acknowledged by many respondents, who point out that he is not possessive of his position. In the same way a respondent (non LBI) committing considerable energy and enthusiasm to the school is quite happy when others came forward to take the lead.

Although many respondents are of the opinion that farmers no longer had the time to be involved in local politics and committees, detailed investigation proved this to be incorrect. Within the parish a number of instances are to be found where farmers give significant amounts of time and energy to parish committees and activities. On one hand this is not surprising as the number with direct connections to agriculture is higher here compared to the other case studies. Nevertheless the variety of involvement is interesting. One farmer has been instrumental in obtaining grants for community benefit while farmers were in attendance when young offenders came from a nearby town on a weekly basis to undertake community service and at the village hall and the church. Regarding the parish council one farmer feels that "*by and large if you take the folks with you, you can do it*" (farmer, ex councillor).

There is a feeling that those less involved with the land (i.e. the less traditional families in the parish) *"don't have time to identify with the local community but contribute economically but not personally... we try to value [all] the farmers in the church …. but it tends to be the older families and farmers who come"* (Methodist Church representative). This is backed up by an Anglican Church representative who reported very generous support for fund raising events but very little time given to worship in the church. Several respondents commented on the size of funeral gatherings because *"if a farmer from an old family dies they all come together as a community" (*farmer). Despite the high level of commitment by farmers, residents who had not been born in the parish did not automatically feel excluded. They indicate that they have been approached to join the parish council or open fetes and as one comments *"I think they wanted to give a chance for a newcomer to get involved"* (horse owner). Whether or not these overtures are always welcome is questionable since some people just don't want to join in and committees are variously described as "*slow trying to work together*" (Rudyard Lake Trust) and "*we worked hard but it was a bit like stirring mud*" (Horton Community Development Plan).

Rudyard Lake is the most active area within the parish and attracts users from a wide area. The tourism potential of the lake has been exploited since the 1800's when the North Staffordshire Railway opened the railway line on the eastern shore. In its heyday in the 1920s the lake attracted many visitors, for whom full facilities were provided. The closure of the railway in 1960 resulted in a rapid decline in visitor numbers. While the lake itself is owned by British Waterways, independent use of the lake for boating grew rapidly and regular users became concerned for the future management of the lake. In 1989 a User Forum was created, which lead to the formation of Rudyard Lake Ltd and the Rudyard Lake Trust which is used as a vehicle for management of funding and grant applications. The Trust objectives are concerned with conservation of the lake and surrounding area and education for public benefit.

Since the lake users are not necessarily local people but come from as far a field at Stoke on Trent, Manchester and Cheshire it is not surprising that the Rudyard Lake Trust and Friends of the Lake groups both contain, and are organised by, many people from outside the parish. There are said to be slight tensions that so few local people are involved. However *"it is very difficult to get people involved if it may be a liability"* (community development worker). Two years ago an activity centre was built and in 2001 a visitor centre was converted from a 200 year old boathouse.

British Waterways retain some influence over the management and development of the lake and following a survey sold an adjoining piece of land which is considered by the Trust chairman to be "*a prime asset for the lake which is now lost*."

Agriculture and social change

Inhabitants not employed in agriculture were mainly people who had moved to the rural area in order to purchase a property and a small parcel of land on which to keep one or more horses. The majority of these came from a 5 mile radius of the parish boundary and very few people have not lived in the parish for at least ten years. The social structure is therefore extremely stable with many families going back several generations. These families were described as *"not very demonstrative, they are not over gushing, that's just how they are"* (church representative). Asked whether it was common for young people to continue with the family farm a 22 year old farmer's son said *"it's a place where people grow up and stay, if there is a son he tends to stay, it's a big rural area with not a lot of opportunity."* However this is reliant upon there being sufficient income generated by the farm to support its dependants and cases were reported where more money could be raised by selling the land than from farming it.

Many examples of farms being split up and the land and a property sold to horse owners. A farmer's wife comments that farmers see others coming in from urban areas and renovating and tidying property and, while once the farmhouse was very basic and the farm business was the focus, the value of the farm properties is now being appreciated and more time and money is spent on the farm dwellings. However, not everyone sees things this way. A resident loosely connected with farming described this as:

"very sad, those people were making a living, not a very good living, but those people have had to do something else, they are displaced..... the rural community goes, people come from urban areas and they are very nice, but it's not the same." (farmer)

Many of the inhabitants of the parish originate from the older established families where *"amazing kinship bonds dominate this very stable farming community"* (minister). At one time everyone in farming helped one another but now due to differences in farming practice there is less opportunity for this type of interaction. The most important place for farmers to meet is thought to be the livestock market in Leek. Several farming respondents reported that the market is seen as an important aspect of their lives, as this farmer comments *"When they (market owners) changed the day, well that confused me for two years!. It's like a social day out even if there are no animals to take… they call it 'the farmer's Sunday'. There's a canteen and I have dinner there and talk to other farmers. For a lot of them it's probably the only time they meet a lot of other people"*. Even those involved with other LBIs notice that farmers socialise at the market and feel that is pointless to try and infiltrate this arena.

Some farmers are aware of changing perceptions among the local population regarding farming activities, as one acknowledges a few may complain about noise of machinery and large vehicles but "*when [the work's] got to be done it's got to go on but it (tension) is simmering all the time and you feel you are on tenterhooks*." Moreover, two farmers blamed the media for portraying farmers in a bad light, saying that whenever there is an issue regarding animal welfare the worst case scenario is portrayed without sufficient explanation. For one of them the issue of 'sow stalling' has finally made him decide to sell the pigs despite the fact that he loves keeping

them and claims he didn't do it just for money. Another commented that "*the general public think we are well looked after and well off, the perception is that we get money off the Government. ... It's surprising how many people have never been on a farm, they just haven't a clue. What they see on TV well the farmers are at the pub all the time! Many we get to stay (in the B & B) think we have nothing to do all day, just look at a few animals."* However, there is a good deal of public support for farmers as this quote from a church representative suggests "*I think supermarkets should get together with farmers and that fair trade should begin at home rather than focusing on other countries*."

Integration, inclusion and cooperation

The case study reveals very few contentious issues concerning feelings of marginalisation between the LBIs and others within the parish. This is despite the fact that residents connected with these industries outnumbered other residents by a large proportion. Other than the minority views expressed above, farmers feel that their contribution is valued and they do not appear to be possessive but were very happy to continue with their commitments. This was verified throughout the interviews. A unifying force within the parish is the school with all respondents and their children attending the local primary school followed by the secondary school in a neighbouring parish. The primary school is in a cluster group with two neighbouring schools and this strengthens the local ties. Nearly all the children from farmers' families attend these schools that share school outings and sports events. As one incomer comments, she found it quiet at first *but "getting involved with the school helped me a lot, the children (LBIs and non LBIs) mix well in school and coming to tea and parties*." However, there are some relative (13, 18 and 38 year residency) newcomers who made it quite clear that they do not want to become part of any community, other than within their own sphere of interest. On the one hand they say *"I don't particularly want to be involved"* but on the other they comment that *"it's really hard to integrate yet everybody seems to know about us… they all come and look … but they (farmers) don't mix, they don't want to know.* Another said *"I've got what I want up here, I never really see anyone and my husband works at home or in his warehouse"* (horse owner).

This approach is not shared by all as one respondent, who purchased a property and land to keep horses, indicates that in order to understand the life of a farmer, the first thing she did when moving to the parish was to attend a YTS farming course. "*Lots of the people on the course were local boys and when I see them now they wave*." The same respondent feels that the lack of a central place to integrate means it is more important for residents to put on their own social events and to try and include everyone. Some quoted the example of a farmer who held an open invitation party in his new silage pit before it was commissioned.

There is evidence that farmers are kind and supportive to newcomers who are engaging in a land based activity for the first time as this quote indicates:
"It's strange once (when living in a nearby urban area) we were the experts in farming terms whereas now (living deep in an agricultural community) we are the beginners! ... but they (farmers) have been very kind and we've hardly made any friends who aren't farmers" (hobby farmer). These comments were echoed by another hobby farmer who said "*we were absolutely green when we came here (47 years ago) but everybody was very kind. Then when my husband died, the neighbouring farmer helped with the land and the animals and all are very tolerant of the traffic I generate on the track* (through a B & B enterprise).

Although the rural parishes in this area are described by a community development worker as being 'insular;' cooperation between the land based industries and the wider area, is apparent. For example, after a slow start the Parish Council have set up a 'First Responder' system, which is a group of trained volunteers dedicated to a specific area who, under the control of the Ambulance Service, are notified of medical emergencies in their area and agree to respond and provide emergency life support until the arrival of the Ambulance Service. At first there was despondency with regard to raising the funds for this but a neighbouring parish advised and encouraged them to the extent that a local building society gave £5,000 which was followed by other smaller donations from other sources. A Conservation Week has recently been organised with presentations from Staffordshire County Council Countryside Services Ranger and the Royal Society for Protection of Birds. Leek Young Farmers Club, which has a number of members in the parish, is one of the largest clubs in the country. Whilst around 80% of the members are from farming families they actively encourage people from non-farming backgrounds. The Leek branch has good relationships with other branches with whom many competitions, social and charity events are held. Another respondent with strong farming connections attends the Anglican Deanery Synod and this has "*opened up his eyes to what is going on elsewhere*."

Attitudes to land management

It is clear that there are differing attitudes regarding land management between and within both the traditional land based industry of agriculture and the newer hobby farmers, horse and land owners. Those that have purchased land from farmers for whatever purpose generally feel that farmers were not that bothered what happened to the land or felt somewhat bitter that they had been forced (by economics) to take the land out of agricultural production. More generally other people from other LBIs have their concerns. A Wildlife trust representative thought that *"*(farmers) *like to think they look after the land but I know jolly well an awful lot of them don't".* This contrasts with a young farmer who thought that local farmers generally had a good reputation although acknowledged that a small minority spoil it by '*making a mess*'. One farmer suggested that the only expectation from non-farmers is for the Rights of Way (ROW) to be were maintained.

Walking within the parish appears to be mainly confined to the perimeter of the lake. Only 2 walkers were seen within the 10 day case study period on other ROWs and generally these are in a poorer condition. A County Council ranger suggests that farmers '*just tolerate rights of way'* but don't necessarily think they are a good thing. However, the views of farmers seems to be more positive, at least in public, as they report that they had '*no problems with walkers*' provided they stay on the path. Moreover another land owner felt that sharing the countryside was all part of living in the rural area. One farmer even acknowledges that '*rights of way could be better signed*' but this is largely because '*a lot of people now have the idea they can wander anywhere and they can get stroppy – they think they have a right*'. Another farmer acknowledges that the paths and stiles are in poor condition but did not seem embarrassed or about to rectify the situation.

The principal areas of work in which Staffordshire County Council Countryside Rangers are concerned within the parish are inspection of ROWs. The main routes are the Staffordshire Way long distance walking route and the well used Greenway, which runs along the old railway line to the east of Rudyard Lake. A ranger describes relationships with farmers and the other LBIs as being dependent '*on what level you are involved, inspection and enforcement can be strained ... (farmers) identify better with the chaps doing the work on the ground rather than those in ties*

telling them what to do'. This is clearly 'work in progress' as the ranger goes on to say that '*the Rights of Way guys do a good job getting involved at parish meetings and it is a healthy relationship*." This is verified by a supportive entry in the parish council minutes. A successful pilot scheme in the County involves the use of voluntary wardens from the community. They provide a link between farmers and the County as well as attending to minor work or reporting larger problems on Rights of Way. According to a ranger "*we like (volunteers) to have a uniform so they can be distinguished from others ... The Ramblers Association views can be one sided.* It is anticipated that the scheme will be extended throughout the County.

An apparently happy compromise was reached between a horse owner who rents land not used for horse grazing to a neighbouring farmer. The farmer checks before he undertakes certain land management practices whilst the horse owner asks if she can canter her horses around the field edge. The arrangement appears to work well for both parties. However, there was evidence that some farmers find changing away from traditional agricultural practices more difficult. Two respondents suggested that the older farmers may be reluctant to change their ways if, for example, their sons wanted to go into organic production or starting an equine business said *"a lot, especially the older farmer types, don't like change [and] there was a lot of whistling through the teeth at what we paid [for the farm]."* A smallholder said that she had been receiving grants for environmental stewardship since the schemes began but at first farmers "*thought I was mad, I wasn't a serious farmer, I was just playing, but gradually more and more are getting involved with the grants*."

All those spoken to were asked about the changes in land use that they had noticed in recent years. The dominant theme was the amalgamation of farms, summed up by these two comments. "*In 1964 there were lots of small farms. One milk lorry round used to pick up from 29 who produced milk, now the same round only picks up from 2 farms, but these probably produce more milk than the 29 ever did all together.*" Another farmer said "*Previously all the small farms of 40 – 50 acres produced milk and all provided a living but now the bigger farms get bigger and the smaller ones are sold off, people come from outside the area and commute. I can see a huge change in the countryside*" (County Councillor and farmer). The smaller farms are most often sold to people wanting to keep horses. If they don't need all the land they tend to let it to a neighbouring farmer. However this not only reduces the number of residential units available to farming families but may also reduces the options for young people starting out in farming, although it may offer more rentable land at less than the market rate as the informal arrangements elsewhere suggest.

The issue of land management is important in relation to the equine interests because in extreme cases horse-grazed fields can become infested with nettles and thistles. In most cases mixed grazing is recommended but only two of the horse owners interviewed practice this. Despite this one young farmer says "*I'd rather see cows than horses, we (farmers) keep the land better than those that come from urban areas*." Horse owners however acknowledge that not all farmers wish to have horses on their land because, in the eyes of the farmers, horses damage the land and from a farming point of view the land is less likely to be in good condition and therefore more difficult to make a living from.

Development

There has hardly been any new-build residential development within the parish during the past 40 years. Nearly all the growth in the parish has been through selling the many redundant farm buildings, which were then refurbished and 'gentrified' into dwellings. Lifelong residents mostly agree that this is preferable to seeing them fall

into disrepair. It is difficult for farmers to let properties to local residents or incomers rather than sell them as many farm dwellings have a covenant only permitting occupation to agricultural workers. This is broken when the property is sold off, encouraging the quick release of capital rather than the steady income provided by letting. Several people operating a business in the parish were questioned regarding their planning obligations but none said they had received any local opposition, although an application to convert some redundant buildings to workshops had been rejected by the planning authority. More recently other non-farming buildings have begun to be regenerated, for example the Old Station Hotel in Rudyard is currently being converted into luxury apartments, former chalets on the western side of the lake have been considerably extended and a large new sailing clubhouse has been erected. Some negative comments regarding these developments were noted from lake users and nearby landowners.

The recent development of facilities at Rudyard Lake generally receive support from both farmers and other residents. Two men (non LBI) have been instrumental in obtaining grants and overseeing the improvements and are described by a farmer as "*certainly trying to bring it (the lake and surrounding area) back to life. R and R have made Rudyard … 50 years ago it was really rough and then these two came along, I'm in full agreement with what has been done*." Another resident living near the lake thought it helped to attract and keep people in the area, bringing it to life and "*making me feel proud to live here.*" However some viewed the developments with caution; particularly a lakeside resident and landowner who thought that the tranquillity could be spoiled at the expense of the commercial aspect. In addition prices of properties bordering the lake had risen dramatically and were now out of reach of local people.

Overall one gets the sense that the planning process in Horton and Rudyard has been reactive in terms of responding to applications it receives but there has been little proactive strategic development in the area. Development has been random and unplanned in spatial terms depending on the economics of different farming families and the intentions of those who move into the area. Attention seems to have focussed on the lake and on neighbouring areas. Some in the community note that the nearby town of Leek is receiving some much needed attention commenting that "*Leek is becoming a nice thriving little market town…. It's one of the very good things that has happened in this area."*

Service provision and Economic Linkages

A considerable amount of interaction took place regarding the provision and receiving of services by and for land based industries. Many people preferred to deal with locally based businesses and as a horse owner says "*I've always used local people, I think it makes the local community stronger, it's a relationship and if anything goes wrong you can ask them*." These interactions can be split into those involving monetary exchange and those conducted on a voluntary basis.

Voluntary activity is often associated with conservation issues where, for example, a Wildlife Trust representative explains that a landowner just outside the parish *"knows that SSSI designation requires (the land) to be managed and kept in good nick, otherwise the designation will be withdrawn, so she appreciates the work of the Trust."* Another owner of a wood and meadow, which was part of a recently split up farm, is prepared to allow the neighbouring farmer to use the meadow free of charge because "*it helps him out and looks after the ground*." The same man is encouraging wildlife through various woodland management practices and whilst there is no public access, a right of way extends along the length of his boundary fence.

Schools are often a focus of voluntary activity and this case study is no exception with a representative from the school suggesting that farmers were very helpful but this was most likely if they have attended or their children do attend the school. For, example the school woodland was excavated and tidied by a farmer who attended the school. Residents also mention farmers who have held charity events in marquees that have been erected for family weddings or volunteered their equipment for community use. The cooperation is not entirely one-way, as one incomer points out as her teenage sons now go and help the neighbouring farmer and she describes the general relationship of the area as a *'trading of skills and knowledge*." Overall, the use of time should not be underestimated and as noted earlier two farmers giving up vast quantities of time to the running and maintenance of the church and the village hall respectively.

In terms of the commercial services these are mostly provided by farmers to other land owners, such as hobby farmers and horse owners. The wide range of tasks, included muck spreading, harrowing, rolling, thistle control, laying of water pipes, fencing, slaughter, provision of silage, hay and straw, tending fields, removing horse manure, building a ménage as well as veterinary and blacksmith services. The lack of any other examples within the case study suggests that this is not a well developed aspect of the rural economy and tends to exist on an informal ad hoc basis.

All respondents were asked about their purchasing and selling patterns and the extent to which they are influenced by price, quality, loyalty, convenience, trust and personal service. The majority of respondents mentioned most of the above factors but the overriding influences were price and quality, as one farmer comments "*if it's not the right price the loyalty goes out of the window*" (farmer). Speaking to businesses supplying customers reveals almost the same criteria but here there were wider linkages as well. For example a farmer in the parish rears animals for the family butcher shop situated 5 miles out of the parish. He has his own slaughter facilities and also provides this service to others in the area and describes "*an element of inter-working with them*."

Farmers all took stock to the livestock market in Leek but acknowledge that once sold they have no influence over where their products end up. One farmer does sell direct to a butcher but prefers to purchase at the market where he has more choice and where he feels it is still easy to verify the local source. The butcher's customers value the fact that meat is reared locally and that he makes his own pies on site. A young entrepreneur just starting a business selling local meat is well aware that she does not want to displace existing suppliers and may have to look elsewhere for a market for her products. However the enterprise will be limited by the amount of land available to her but she preferred to keep the enterprise small, focussing on quality and adding value to the product by hanging the meat properly.

Easier transport facilities, which have developed over the last 20 years or so, allow a corn merchant to buy his supplies from Eastern England where grain grows much better. He also imports some proteins via the docks at Liverpool. Lorries deliver and collect daily to each location and whereas traditionally customers were contained within the 7 nearby parishes, they are now extended to a much wider radius. "*If the lorry is going to Liverpool to collect supplies we may deliver to someone en route and similarly if they are going to the East for grain we have customers out that way, we don't like to have empty lorries and this way it increases the radius of customers you can service economically*" (corn merchant).

Employment

Agriculture, in the form of small family farms has dominated the case study area. Forty years ago each family farm would have also employed a farm labourer whereas now most farms are managed by the farmer himself with some help from family or contract labour. This is also true of the non-farm LBIs as well. The contribution of work by grown up children and other family members, as well as mechanisation, displaces the need for other workers. For those LBIs who continue to employ people outside of the family indicate that their employees live within a 3-mile radius. Many agriculturally related businesses have employees who also managed their own farms or smallholdings, whilst some hobby farmers and horse owners are retired or have other professional employment. One case is noted where the farm did not generate enough income to support two adult sons and they have now moved out of the parish to work for agricultural contractors elsewhere. A stable owner and a farmer report they had once taken people on Youth Training Schemes and retained good students.

Equine related employment has clearly increased within the case study area, largely at the expense of agriculture both in terms of land and labour. In some cases horses and their owners appear to be accepted by farmers and one reason given by a stable owner was that "*lots of forward thinking farmers are welcoming horses because farmers can provide livery and sell haleage. The equine industry is growing and they can see the lucrative potential*." Several respondents note the low number of bridleways within the parish. The County Council ranger reports that the Council is working to increase this provision by upgrading some footpaths. Interestingly, riders have been prohibited from using the greenway to the east of Rudyard Lake, apparently due to the width of the track. At present the route, which is owned by the County Council, is open to walkers, cyclists and the narrow gauge railway that runs in the summer.

Most residents generally accept horses whether or not they were involved in LBIs. However, in addition to the lack of bridleways within the parish some feel that the actions of farmers do not match their positive words. Overall, one horse owner felt "*there's no encouragement to go [out on a horse], farmers put a bull in the field and there's lots of gates so you have to keep getting on and off*." A farmer agreed that "*sooner or later someone must grasp the nettle to increase the number of bridleways, this should be done by negotiation and proper compensation and should be taken in hand as a public duty*."

By and large horse owners purchase the majority of their supplies from local farmers or businesses. In addition some provide a service to the community by offering livery, riding lessons and an opportunity for country hacks. As one would expect people who kept horses tended to know each other and to socialise and attend shows together. In common with farmers, some felt that this like-to-like socialising tended to dominate and generally horse owners did not socialise with others. Non-horse owners also noted changes such as the occasional ostentatious electric gates and other intrusive security devices, which some felt further reduced the likelihood of social interaction with the local community. For one local resident (non LBI) this was happening to such an extent that *"rural Britain is declining to a state where we will only have pony paddocks, prairies and fortified farmhouses."*

7.4.3 Summary of Horton and Rudyard case study

The parish of Horton with Gratton and Rudyard is dispersed with no natural centre. Opportunities for 'meeting and greeting' are therefore minimised and people living

down narrow lanes seldom see their neighbours. It is unsurprising to find that residents are unlikely to socialise with anyone other than those with a common purpose. The 'local community' could therefore be characterised as one of interest rather than a community of place. There are two centres of 'interest', one based around land and the other around the lake. The community based around land consists of the farmers and the horse owners, there is some interaction but largely both groups centred around the livestock markets and horse events respectively. The lake brings in a very distinct group who are focussed on recreation activities and only one or two individuals seem to link this group with the wider parish. While there is a primary school it is noticeable that this does not have the cohesive 'centre of the community' aspects that has been found in other case study parishes. Most of the community sent their children to the school and it is held in high regard but overall the impact in terms of a sense of community appears to be lower than elsewhere, although precisely why this is the case is difficult to determine.

Development within the case study area has been limited to the renovation of farmsteads and redundant farm buildings once sold of by farm families. There appears to have been no new build residential development for around 40 years. However, development has taken place around Rudyard Lake and this now attracts many day visitors from neighbouring towns. Generally this is thought to be good for the area although it requires sensitive management to ensure the tranquillity of this part of the parish is not jeopardised. However, spreading these visitors around the parish is not easy as there are few rights of way for both horses and those on foot and these may be in poor condition. It is fair to say that the farmers seem to be ambivalent to those using these facilities, recognising their contribution but not feeling responsible for improving their experience.

The findings clearly demonstrate that those connected with LBIs in the parish make a strong commitment to the community, several volunteering to undertake a job that may otherwise cost the parish considerable sums of money. One reason for this might be the very low turnover in population with most people we spoke to either born in the area or resident for a long time having moved in from elsewhere. Hence there is a close affinity to the area and since the presence of agriculture remains fairly strong local people often have the appropriate tools at their disposal to undertake jobs such as the restoration of the school woodland and the building of a hide.

Over the past 20 years the number of small farms has decreased most of them being sold to incomers with horses or to hobby farmers with the surplus land being added to increasingly larger farms. Other surplus land is often leased back to farmers as and when required or sold on to make the larger farms even larger. Once a very large milk producing area, in one area there are now only two dairy farms compared to 29 in 1964 but these are noted as very productive. Other farmers have not moved away from dairy farming entirely but choose to rear stock as diary replacements rather producing milk. The number of horses in the parish has increased significantly and there appears to be only limited interaction between the various LBI owners.

During the 10 day case study period numerous 'For Sale' boards were noted in fields suggesting that farmers are still disposing of land. When asked about the future of the parish a young farmer said "*many people have horses, but those farms of a substantial size will continue and buy up the land not wanted by the others (horse owners).*" This comment probably summarises the future for the parish and unless the younger generation involved in agriculturally related employment can continue to live within the parish, the social contribution that land based industries potentially make to the local community will inevitably continue to move away from farming and

become more diverse including recreation, conservation and particularly equine landowners.

7.5 Rookhope and Eastgate

7.5.1 Introduction

Rookhope and Eastgate are situated in Weardale in the North Pennines. From an administrative point of view, the Rookhope and Eastgate area is part of the large civil parish of Stanhope, which in turn comes under Wear Valley District Council and Durham County Council. Rookhope is situated about 3 miles further up the Rookhope Burn and is rather larger (population 265), whereas Eastgate is a small settlement (population 160) lower down in the valley bottom of the dale where the Rookhope Burn meets the River Wear. Both communities are remote, the nearest sizeable towns being Consett and Bishop Auckland and Durham (all about 40km away) with Stanhope the nearest market town. The area ranges in height from 210m to 550m above sea level, with Eastgate village at approximately 230m and Rookhope village at just over 300m above sea level. See Figure 3.1 (main report) for the location of the area within England.

The economy of the area has been based on mining (first of lead and then of fluorspar), quarrying and, until recently, cement manufacture. Most of the area studied (including Rookhope but not Eastgate) is within the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. In addition, many of the fells above and around Rookhope are designated as Sites of Special Scientific Interest.

The presentation of findings begins with some descriptive information about the case study area, outlined in Box 7.5, before providing a descriptive overview of the land based industries and rural communities of the area. The main findings are structured around the central themes concerning the socio-economic interactions in the Rookhope and Eastgate case study area. These themes encompass attitudes to history and social change; participation and commitment; identity and belonging; isolation and conflict; economic interactions; consumption and conservation.

Box 7.5 Descriptive information about the Rookhope and Eastgate case study area

Resident Population: 4519 (493470) (*)
No. of Households: 2019 (207436)
Area: approx. 255.6km^2
Percentage over age 75: 9% (7.4%)
Average Age: 43.69 (39.5)
Household Ethnicity (white): 99.6% (99.0%)
Index of Multiple Deprivation Rank#***: 12,043 (2nd quartile)
Unemployment (of economically inactive 16-74): 4.5% (2.8%)
Long term unemployed/never worked (16-74): 4.0% (2.6%)
Persons with limiting long term illness: 22.3% (24.5%)
Self employed with no employees: 10.1%* (5.2%)
Self employed with employees: 7.8%* (3.8%)
Employment in Agriculture/Hunting/Forestry*:7.2% (1.6%)

Holding size groups:

<5 ha	38.0%	(39.1%)(*)
5 <20 ha	16.8%	(17.6%)
20 < 50 ha	13.4%	(13.6%)
50 <100 ha	12.0%	(13.9%)
>=100 ha	12.0%	(15.8%)

Land use/cover:	% Land	
crops and fallow	2.5%	(22.4%)(*)
temporary grass	4.0%	(4.8%)
permanent grass	56.7%	(44.7%)
rough grazing	33.5%	(20.1%)
woodland	2.5%	(2.3%)
set-aside	0.3%	(3.3%)
all other land	0.5%	(2.4%)
Total Woodland Area (2002)	3.6%	

Average house price 2006**: £274166 (£124864) (*)
House price change** 1996-2000: 76.3% (14.5%)
Proportion of second homes/holiday residences: 6.7% (0.4%)

(*)County figures in brackets
Figures based on Parish unless otherwise stated:
* Figures based upon Ward
** Figures based on Postcode Sector
***Figures based on Lower Super Output Area (LSOA)

Index of Multiple Deprivation: 1 Is the most deprived LSOA and 32482 is the least deprived LSOA. Quartile ranges : 1st (1-8120), 2nd (8121-16241), 3rd (16242-24361), 4th (24362-32482)

Overview of relevant Land-based industries

Agriculture, although dairy farming used to be common there is now only one herd left, and that farmer is intending to convert to beef cattle next year. Farming is now almost exclusively sheep and beef cattle. Farms are small, most having originated as smallholdings run by miners' wives but are being gradually amalgamated into bigger holdings. They are mostly owner occupied but there are some small tenancies. There is a scattered local ownership pattern, with many farmers growing fodder crops down the valley to feed stock higher up where they have common rights and graze sheep on the fells. The keeping of free-range chickens and ducks are common on farms and smallholdings.

Shooting occurs on the fells above Rookhope, which are mostly owned by absentee landlords and shooting syndicates. Grouse shooting is a significant part of the local economy, employing gamekeepers and beaters and domestic staff who are associated with shooting lodges.

Forestry, there is very little woodland and what there is seems to be left alone rather than managed either for wildlife or timber.

Equine is an increasing influence in the area, most horses seem to belong to people who had bought up smallholdings and moved in fairly recently. No horse related businesses were identified.

No **horticultural** activity of any significance is noted.

Recreation, two aspects of tourism were apparent. There were three static caravan parks in the area studied as well as others nearby. Many caravans are owned by people from Sunderland, some of whom had been evacuated to Weardale during the war. These provided a significant income in ground rent to the farmers who owned the sites. However, planning restrictions prevent any new sites or growth in existing sites.

The other significant aspect of **tourism** is the C2C (Coast-to-coast) cycle route that passes through Rookhope. The Weardale Way also passes through both villages but seems to be less well used. The fells are open access land although there are restrictions because of the shooting interests. However, neither locals nor visitors seem to take advantage of the additional access. Tourists also drive up the dale, Killhope Mining Museum being a particular attraction. And motor bikers ride up through the dale to congregate at Hartside Café (between Alston and Penrith).

Nature conservation, most of the area is part of the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, however the Wear Valley up to and including Eastgate is exempted, due to its industrial nature. Much of the higher land (or fell) is designated as a Special Protection Area and a Site of Special Scientific Interest. In addition an area of fell land to the southwest of Rookhope is managed for wildlife.

Overview of the Local Communities

Rookhope is situated away from the main valley on the Rookhope Burn about 5 km north of Eastgate. It is a larger village than Eastgate and has a church, a village hall, a working men's club, a community-run pub, a primary school, a children's playground and a shop and post office. There are two community notice boards and two notice boards aimed at walkers. There are also at least four public benches and

2 bus stops. There were 3 buses a day to Stanhope which is 10km away. Relatively speaking, Rookhope is busier than Eastgate but the streets are still quite quiet. The pub is run by the St Aiden's Trust, a county-wide trust which had become inactive but was revived by a group consisting mainly of incomers in order to re-open the pub. It runs computer courses and events for young people. The school, which has 29 children on its role, has a community room that is used by a playgroup and a parent and toddler group. The school also runs a monthly coffee afternoon, attended by a mixture of parents and other community members. There is also a regular indoor bowling club and a lunch club for the elderly. The Working Men's Club opens (to women as well as men) four nights a week.

Eastgate is a small community in the main Wear valley situated about 4 km west of Stanhope. For such a small community it has a lot of public buildings – a church, a chapel and a village hall, the last recently renovated. It also has a pub, a rather rundown children's playground and one (scruffy) notice board. There is a bus stop and buses are roughly hourly throughout the day. Eastgate appears to be a quiet village, although said to be an 'active' community. It is populated by a mixture of people with connections to the land, the (now closed) cement works and incomers. The population seems quite elderly and there were very few children. Activity centres on the church, the chapel and the farming community, who meet in the pub. The Women's Institute has just closed due to the lack of anyone willing to run it.

In both communities, there is no obvious division between land-managers and community. The population in both is made up of a mix of long-term residents with farming, mining or quarrying connections and newcomers who either commute (some to Durham or Newcastle and others shorter distances) or who have bought up small holdings on which they grow vegetables, keep chickens and work from home. There are also a few holiday homes and house prices are said to be rising, especially for barn conversions and derelict houses.

The recent history of the area, notably its industrial heritage, is an important factor influencing local attitudes; and is outlined here. According to a local historian *'In its heyday, Rookhope was the classic, industrial company settlement' (Bowes and Wall, undated).* The local economy was based around the mining and processing of lead and later fluorspar and Rookhope was the site of a large washing plant that dominated the village. There are still many signs of this industrial heritage in the landscape. Because mining was an insecure form of income, many miners' wives ran smallholdings to provide food for the family. Thus historically there was no fixed division between farmers and the community.

More recently, the retired miners/farmers and their descendents have moved out of the area or into the village and many of the smallholdings have been purchased by outsiders searching for an improved quality of life in a rural area. Typically, an incomer would buy a small holding renovate the house, grow vegetables, keep chickens and ducks and work from home, doing anything from general building work to psychotherapy. Many also keep horses with surplus land let to local farmers. These changes have further blurred the distinction between farmers and community, as most locals and a high proportion of incomers have 'connections' with the land. The other significant aspect of local history is the role of the church. Land around Rookhope and Eastgate (and most of upper Weardale) was owned by the Bishop of Durham and the church still retains the mineral rights. The dale also saw a Methodist revival in the late eighteenth century and most villages, however small, have both a church and a chapel as a result.

7.5.2 Main Findings from the Rookhope and Eastgate case study

Attitudes to history and social change

There is a perception of change among those we spoke to that social change has altered the social and economic structure of both communities for the worse. The population and number of houses in Rookhope are seen as declining, largely through amalgamations of properties. One long-term resident points out that one terrace had consisted of back-to-backs, and the house in which his son lives used to be four houses. The loss of population and of activity in the village is felt keenly by some of the older residents of Rookhope, several of whom complain that they no longer know everyone in the village as these quotes suggest.

'It was once a really thriving community.' (Rookhope resident)
'No matter what time you went out you had someone to talk to … it's a 'dead hole now' (Rookhope resident)

Rookhope Working Men's Club is much quieter than it used to be and has reduced its opening to four nights a week. Some residents remember it being very busy. *'You had to be there by 7pm to get a seat … Woe betide you if you sat in someone else's seat' (Rookhope resident).* The emphasis on, and attachment to, local history by the long-term residents is perhaps in part a reaction to that change. A vicar describes the strong sense of history and tradition as a 'folk memory'. While the buying up of property by commuters is blamed for this social change, this is certainly not the only cause, and some admit that incomers make a positive contribution to the communities. A local historian describes incomers as 'very valuable' and says that Weardale's 'plight would be greater without them', and a local vicar said that incomers bring 'something new and fresh'.

The social change has largely resulted from economic change, mostly decline, in the area. There has been a loss of jobs in farming and, more significantly, in mining. The closure of the mines made farming of the smallholdings (mostly farmed by miners' wives) unviable and many have been sold. The cement works at Eastgate had absorbed much of the labour from the mines, but after this closed there have been no large employers in the area. There is, however, a significant level of self-employment in both villages, mostly in manual work such as building and decorating fuelled by the renovation of derelict properties by incomers. This renovation is generally welcomed, although some incomers are criticised for not joining in. However, many incomers have young children and are involved in the school. In fact, their children probably provide the critical mass that keeps the Rookhope Primary School open. *'The school won't run unless people come in' (Rookhope resident).* At the same time the school is cited by two incomers as one of the reasons for choosing to move to Rookhope.

House prices, especially in Rookhope, appear to be lower than in the rest of the upper dale. However, whilst house (and land) prices appear low to an outsider, and attract many incomers, the local perception is that they were rising and pricing local people out of the market. It is also suggested that the demand for horse grazing is pushing up the price of non-building land. There is said to be a lack of affordable housing, although Rookhope had a small council estate, some of which had been sold into the private market. At least some residents welcomed this sale as an alternative to 'yobs' from elsewhere being sent to Rookhope. However, there was general opposition to new housing development. The loss of facilities is also bemoaned, with long term residents pointing out that there used to be up to ten shops in Rookhope as well as two schools, a vicar and a doctor's surgery. A vicar

points out that the cutting back of services has a disproportionate effect on poorer, older people, whilst those with cars 'don't really notice'.

Participation and commitment

Farmers in particular seem to identify with Rookhope and/or Eastgate rather than further afield. The situation in Rookhope is complex with different groups organising different types of event making it impossible to identify a straightforward distinction between farmers and community. Rather, there appear to be a number of groups with different relationships to the land. Indeed a central focus is a group, which seems to consist mainly of incomers without a direct connection to the land, that has formed around the Rookhope Inn. This group are now instrumental in a number of 'connected' local groups, including a camera club, and a woodman's group (who cut wood for elderly local people and for sale, and were thinking of expanding to provide local employment). They also organise events for young people including regular rock nights in the village hall. The young people themselves organise a local cinema club. Computer courses run by the Rookhope Inn are attended by a cross-section of people including several farmers.

Other Rookhope events such as the lunch club, the bowls night and at least one of the three darts teams, are organised by, and largely for, older members of the community who tend to be retired miners/farmers and their children. The school is also active, organising a monthly coffee afternoon, attended by parents and retired community members, as well as hosting the parent and toddler group and the playgroup. The latter two activities have been initiated by a mother who has quite recently moved to one of the smallholdings. Her husband was a school governor. Thus, while there was no straightforward split in the community, different groups tended to form around different activities. There are also some who were said not to get involved at all.

> *'Some join in and some choose not to ... It's not a great joining-in village'* (Rookhope resident).

The school seems to be a strong unifying factor in the community. Almost all the local children attend it and the one family who sent their children elsewhere were derided for doing so. One local thought that 'some newcomers get involved but not most, although their children usually go to the local school.' Some activity is based around the church and non-churchgoers help with fund raising and tasks such as embroidering kneelers. Forty-two out of about 100 residences subscribe to the church magazine, although only about 10 people attend services. Newcomers are generally said not to attend church, although at least one attends harvest festival each year. It is asserted that 'people watch out for each other' in Rookhope, but that there is no privacy. There certainly seems to be some people who know what everyone else is doing. Interestingly, one incomer moved to Rookhope for safety and social support when he became a single parent, having previously had connections with the area. He comments that he has never had to lock his door even when going on holiday.

In Eastgate, farmers appear to be central to the social life of the village, although their participation was limited at busy times such as harvest. Farmers are involved 'as individuals' because '*in a small community everyone has to be involved*' *(Eastgate resident and farmer's daughter).* Local farmers are key to organising events in Eastgate, regularly meeting in the pub for Sunday lunch. A farmer's son, who works in the local quarry, organises a number of events throughout the year, including a sheep show, a hay show (a big event that attracted farmers from a wide

area), a pork pie show, a chocolate cake weekend and 'egg jarping'. The latter is similar to conkers but with hardboiled eggs. Some of these events are just for farmers, while others involve the whole community.

A farmer's wife describes Eastgate as a '*very social village*' where '*everyone supports everything*'; although she later modified this by saying that newcomers do not always participate. *'Some do not even shop in the dale or go to the local pub' (farmer's wife).* She asserts that there are no divisions between farmers and the rest of the community. In fact, it appears that farmers and their families do more than their share of running things, although there is one farmer who says that he and his wife do not take part now their children are grown up. The lack of children in Eastgate, compared to Rookhope, has meant less community spirit, as parents would join in activities in which their children are involved.

The small size of Eastgate has an effect on the level of activity. On one hand it means that people feel they have a duty to join in and even non-churchgoers help with fund raising events for the churches. On the other hand, the Women's' Institute has recently closed due to a lack of people to run it. Similarly, the Young Farmers '*comes and goes*' according to an Eastgate farmer's wife for similar reasons.

From a wider area perspective, an officer from the BTCV asserted that there is '*a tradition of volunteering in the area*' (referring to Stanhope and its surrounding villages) with quite a lot of registered volunteers, although participation numbers vary, with a wide age range from school leavers to the retired. Overall there is much evidence of voluntary activity in both communities as detailed above. However, one elderly lady found people unhelpful, particularly with regard to offers of lifts, saying *'it's like trying to get blood out of a stone'*.

The parish council is largely derived from the larger village of Stanhope, and Rookhope and Eastgate each have one representative on it. The parish council began a parish plan 18 months ago but it has been delayed due to a dispute between the council and a previous clerk. There are currently two farmers among the 14 councillors. The representative for Eastgate is a farmer's wife while the Rookhope councillor does not have farming connections. Although in the past there have been a higher percentage of farmers, it is described as '*a mixture of people who have the interest of the dale at heart' (farmer and ex-parish councillor).* One farmer who was a parish councillor had initially been persuaded to stand in order to oppose an incomer from Stanhope. However, it seemed to be the fact that the proposed candidate was not from the village he was standing for that the farmer objected to rather than his 'incomer' status.

Identity and Belonging

Rookhope is seen, both by its own inhabitants and those of the other dale settlements, as 'different' from the rest of the dale. This is due to its isolation and its historical position as the processing centre for the products of the mines. Descriptions include: *'A little clan of their own' (Eastgate farmer's wife); 'A separate little place' (parish clerk); 'Very different' (local historian, born in Rookhope).* This perceived difference has continued with the relatively low house prices attracting 'different' outsiders – described by one respondent as 'hippy types' (either the group running the Rookhope Inn or the people who had bought up the smallholdings). In Rookhope there is a strong pride, particularly amongst the elderly population, in being 'local'. Although there are differences of opinion as to exactly what this term means. One participant at the lunch club claimed to be the only local present – meaning the only one born in the village – and was met by a chorus of claims from

others, based on having been born nearby or having lived locally for a long time. The pride in being local seems to be linked to the involvement (by themselves or parents and grandparents) in the industrial heritage of the area and hence to a relationship with the land whether through mining or farming.

The converse of this pride in locality is a distrust of 'incomers' and outsiders. Consequently, some people moving into Rookhope or the smallholdings around feel unwelcome. One newcomer, who had moved into one of the smallholdings, was surprised by the way she was treated when she first arrived: – '*as a typical newcomer come to change things*' – although she indicates that she actually wanted to learn from local people and fit in with their ways. However, the couple have got to know both local people and other incomers through the local school, and they now consider that they have '*strong and good relationships with just about everybody*'. This includes at least one local farmer who gives them cockerels to fatten and eat. Another incomer, a mother of a young daughter, whose husband commutes, regularly attends the Parent and Toddler Group but feels quite isolated, although she values the safety of Rookhope.

The suspicion of both change and incomers is evident in the local response to the re-opening (by outsiders) of the Rookhope Inn. *'People complained that the pub was closed and then complained when it was opened' (Rookhope resident).* The perception of locals is that newcomers who joined in were accepted. *'Some incomers fit in well, others don't fit in at all. They want to change things' (Rookhope resident).* Another incomer, living on a smallholding close to Rookhope, thought that acceptance is more to do with the acceptance of country ways, and that it is 'the townies' who had trouble fitting in. A farmer backs this up, referring to the fact that drivers are no longer happy to wait for his cows to cross the road.

In Eastgate, however, it is asserted that '*incomers are welcomed with open arms*' (Eastgate resident); and indeed a newcomer felt welcomed, although '*not effusively*' – which was the approach she preferred. She had joined the now disbanded WI and found it good entertainment and together with her husband is also involved with the lottery grant for the village hall. There are three static caravan sites around Eastgate, and regular caravaners are accepted into the community. According to one local, whose family own one of the sites: *'there are caravaners whose children grew up with our children.'*

Identity and belonging in both communities is closely tied to attitudes to the locality and the special beauty of what is seen as a working landscape. This seems to be true of Weardale generally, but especially Rookhope. There is much pride, especially from older inhabitants, in the industrial history of the dale and there were many references to its nature as 'a working dale'. This is sometimes when compared to neighbouring Teesdale, regarded by Weardale residents as more of 'a beautiful dale'. Thus there seemed to be a pride in Weardale not being beautiful. Some point out that Rookhope '*has never been a pretty village*'. The washing plant dominated the village and made a noise all night, with the result that at least one person couldn't sleep when it stopped. A local historian said the plant was always lit up and hence it was part of the life of the place. Perhaps because of this pride in their industrial heritage, there is reluctance to be seen as a tourist attraction in the same way that Teesdale is as these quotes suggest.

> *'Tourism won't happen. This is not the Lake District … One of the joys is that we're a working dale' (vicar).*

'It has been an industrial valley since the year dot. Suddenly we haven't got any industry. It's a tragedy really' (councillor)

'The links [to the land] have gone but the memories haven't' (local historian)

Others, mainly outsiders, see a synergy between tourism and heritage that leads to further suspicion among the locals. A County Council officer who lives in the dale thought that more could be made of the industrial heritage to attract tourists. He thinks that there is a gradual realisation amongst local people that they have to look beyond the traditional economic base, suggesting that *'Weardale is not actually much different to the other dales – Teesdale also had an industrial base.'* With the local emphasis on a 'working dale', there are some differences of opinion between locals and 'outsiders' in the long-term management of the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB). Partly as a result of this opposition, but also because of the existence of the cement works at Eastgate, the valley bottom as far as just above Eastgate was excluded from the AONB. One councillor alleged that the AONB is restricting job creation, citing an example of a Canadian company who wanted to mine zinc: *'There could have been 300 new jobs'.* He insists that the area is not 'natural' but had been 'created by the mining industry'. He adds that there always were wagons going through Rookhope but others wouldn't want them claiming that *'what local people want is not the same as what outsiders want'.*

A local vicar emphasises the role of the church in the area's identity since medieval times, outlining the consequences. Combined with the Methodist revival, he insists that the church and chapel are integral to the area and 'steeped into folk memory' even for non-church goers. Most villages have both a church and a chapel, although in many the congregations have now combined. The vicar suggests that the strong connections with the church have led to a sense of connectedness to the land, and hence to agriculture and mining. He thought that this sense of connectedness was one of the factors drawing people to the area suggesting that *'the church and the land is one of the attractions for people coming from areas with alienation. – they move for a sense of connectedness.'*

Isolation and Conflict: 'them and us'

Many residents of Rookhope feel constrained and even trapped by the isolation. Whilst this is particularly true of the elderly, a young mother also mentions it. One resident claimed: *'You <u>have</u> to drive'.* Nevertheless, there are a significant number of people, particularly the elderly, who don't have access to a car. They generally manage by using the bus service into Stanhope and by using mobile shops (two come to Rookhope) and the delivery service of the Stanhope Co-op. The importance of transport is recognised both by the County Council, who subsidise the bus service, and the Weardale Community Partnership, which has prioritised the issue and runs a flexible transport service of its own.

There are many complaints about the lack of priority given to the problems of Weardale, particularly by the district council. *'It's difficult to get investment in the Dale because it is not an area of deprivation by EU standards. Money is going to the coalfield areas and not to the ex-lead mining areas' (Community Partnership member)*. This respondent continued by explaining that the district council is nationally one of the poorest and had other more deprived areas within the district to consider stating that *'it's almost as if things conspire against Weardale'.*

Overall relations between land users and the rest of the community appear to be good. However, a few conflicts connected with land use were mentioned. In

Rookhope, there has been a very heated conflict about a proposed wind farm, which '*split the village in two'*. According to a councillor, it was opposed by incomers but supported by locals. The application was eventually turned down but it was still a very sore point amongst local residents, because of the effect it had had on community relations. And although several people mentioned the conflict, nobody was willing to discuss it in detail.

There is a potential for conflict between the different uses of the fells. One farmer referred to problems between farmers, who have grazing rights, and the syndicates who profit from the shooting. There has been some worry about overgrazing of the heather reducing the grouse population. As a result shooting syndicates have been buying up grazing rights in some areas, which is not popular among farmers.

There are also two issues, one in each village, involving the selling of land that had been assumed by local people to be in communal ownership. In each case local people, particularly the elderly, feel aggrieved that the land had been fenced off and was no longer available for access. There are also complaints from some incomers about issues such as the smell of manure and/or animals being moved by road. But in general, people seem to very keen not to inconvenience farmers and other land-users, possibly because so many have a connection to the land.

Economic interactions: the formal and the informal

There are few formal selling and purchasing interactions between land-managers and the community in either village. However, there are a number of informal interactions. In terms of employment most farms are run by the family only and there is only a small amount of direct employment. In some areas employment expands onto other farms in order to provide work for all the family. However, some farms cannot even provide work for all the sons. One farmer pointed out that his dairy farm used to employ 12 people but *'now farms rarely employ anyone'.* However, Weardale has never had the majority of employment in farming – rather it has been in mining and industry and this has now mostly gone. There seemed to be a lot of self-employment, particularly amongst Rookhope residents – both locals and incomers – for example as plumbers, joiners, decorators and car mechanics. To emphasis the informal nature of this it is clear that local farmers seem very willing to help incomers with their smallholdings. This is apparent in a number of ways such as giving advice on sheep shearing or helping with dipping as well as using their tractors when incomers are snowed in.

Grouse shooting on the moors around Rookhope is an important employer locally, although much of the work is seasonal. Gamekeepers are employed throughout the year, but beaters and domestic staff are hired during the shooting season. An Eastgate resident and her husband are both employed on a casual basis at a shooting lodge at Wearhead. Altogether, this estate employed about 7 all year and around 20–30 people during the shooting season itself including several lodges in the Dale. Grouse shooting was described by the parish clerk as '*one of the biggest money spinners*' in the dale. However, the absentee owners of the estates, including shooting syndicates, are not well known in the locality and play no other role in the life of the communities.

The recently closed cement works in Eastgate had taken up most of the slack from the closure of the mines and employed over 400 people at one point. One working quarry remains and this is probably now the major employer in upper Weardale. An example of self-employment is a woman in Eastgate, whose husband had been made redundant when the cement works closed, who is running a hat hire business

from her home. Some small builders also employ a few local people. Whilst there do not seem to be any direct links between most of these small businesses and land-based industry, the restoration of redundant buildings by incomers, including those taking over small holdings, provides some of the work for builders and decorators. A self-employed 'arborist' and gardener from a neighbouring village says that he could not find much work in the dale. He gives the example of farmers, who do not employ him as *'they just let the trees fall down'.* The work he does on trees is mainly for urban people, although recently there had been some garden work in the dale.

In general, farm produce is not sold or purchased locally. Local milk used to be available, but the only dairy farm remaining now sends its milk to Newcastle. Most local abattoirs and markets have now closed. There was a small privately-owned abattoir (belonging to the local butcher) in St John's Chapel, but due to changes in regulations, it stopped selling meat to the public and only slaughters for the farmers' own use. One farmer had looked at selling his lamb and beef locally; he wanted to bring it back to the farm after butchering, then freeze it and deliver it to customers. However, he found it wasn't practical because of '*all the rules and regulations and form-filling*'. Even livestock sold to other farmers tended to travel '*huge distances*' (farmer), with very little sold within the dale.

A local vicar is keen to introduce a farmers' co-operative selling Weardale beef and lamb. He talked to the AONB about funding the salary of a worker and found the response from farmers to be very positive. There is some local selling of honey and eggs but on a very informal basis. For example, one hotelier bought honey from a local supplier but did not even have his telephone number, just stopping him as he drives by. A further example of this casual approach to local selling is that residents of Rookhope who do not keep chickens, buying eggs from (or are given eggs by) someone they know. A voluntary group in Rookhope, called the Weardale Woodmen, began as a voluntary scheme cutting scrap wood for the elderly. It now hopes to become a business employing one or two people selling firewood locally. Members claim to use local wood as far as is possible.

There used to be an agricultural supplier in Eastgate. However, the couple struggled to make a living. They changed to selling building supplies when a small local merchant in Stanhope closed, and the business has been very successful. They supply locally, notably to newcomers doing-up derelict properties, and further afield and are diversifying into garden supplies. As a result they now employ a number of people. One Eastgate resident building an extension used local labour and materials as far as possible. The County Council also try to use local contractors and source supplies locally when repairing and improving footpaths but did not always find it possible.

Most residents in both communities are very keen to support local shops and producers. A farmer's wife made a point of buying from Stanhope and avoiding supermarkets, and one hotelier claims to buy as much as possible locally, although mostly not from the study area. There is a farm shop at Wolsingham and a monthly farmers market in Stanhope. However, at least one Eastgate resident is not very impressed with farmers' market, as most of the vegetables came from Teesdale, while others find it expensive. The Rookhope Inn does not manage to buy much locally, although people brought in vegetables from their gardens.

Economic Change: from Production to Consumption?

The decline of heavy industry has left the Weardale economy in '*a state of limbo' (local historian).* Farms increased in size as mining jobs declined. One farmer

pointed out that there used to be 16 farms in the Rookhope valley and were now only seven before predicting that *'In another 20 years it will be down to 4 to make them viable.'* A councillor asserted that farmers were getting older (he estimated the average age as 55- 60) while the parish clerk thought that farmers were largely '*getting out or going into tourism*'. However, from the farmers that the researcher met, it seemed that farmers' sons are going into the family business, and that in some cases farms are expanding to accommodate them. One family ran three farms to provide work for two brothers and their sons. The vicar, who is advocating the farmers' co-operative thinks farmers, and particularly their sons, can see that their farms are not viable unless things change.

> *'Partly, it is generational; the children of existing farmers are willing to look at new ways of doing things. At present they are following their fathers into farming but this may change if prospects don't improve.'*

There is generally feeling of a need for a new source of employment following the closure of the cement works. However, the type of employment needed is a contentious issue. Within the study area people think that the district council sees tourism as the main solution. For example, there is an ambitious plan by the local authority to develop the cement works site as an eco-village to attract tourists. However, there is resistance amongst local people to these proposals and in some cases to tourism generally. *'Tourism has a part to play but it's not the way forward' (councillor).*

The cement works had generated a lot of traffic down the dale and a considerable amount of dust in Eastgate, to the extent that the company provided free window and car cleaning for residents. When the site was operating there had been complaints, although only one person (an incomer living in Eastgate) mentioned the possible negative health effects of the dust. An ex-employee had heard that the company would have needed to spend £1million on updating filters to remain open, and this may have been one of the reasons it closed. In spite of the considerable inconvenience to residents, most people seem sorry to see the works closed.

> *'The little village [Eastgate] worked with the cement works for the economy of the dale'* (farmer's wife)

'It closed for political reasons' (two councillors, on separate occasions)

> *'It shouldn't have closed'* (Rookhope resident)

The opposition is not just because of the loss of jobs but also has to do with perceptions of the character of the dale. At least one Eastgate resident thinks that the demolition of the cement works chimney was a loss to the landscape. Shortly before the closure of the works Eastgate residents had been worried that the sites new owners would not honour Blue Circle's agreement to return the plant to a green-field site. A task force consisting of the district and county councils, One North East (ONE) and Lafarge has been set up with a brief to regenerate Weardale. However, in practice its efforts have concentrated on the cement works site at Eastgate. The plans for the site are ambitious and involve an eco-village powered by alternative energy, mainly by geothermal energy from under the site. The plan is for Eastgate to be a major tourist attraction including at least one hotel, and as a result a change of use from heavy industry to tourism. The reaction of local people is indicative of attitudes to the locality in general. Although varied, first and foremost, there is a general scepticism about the chances of the project succeeding.

'I will believe it when I see it' (Rookhope resident)

'I'll eat hay with the donkeys' (parish clerk)

And more thoughtfully: *'There's nothing to anchor it to'* (Rookhope resident)

There is also concern about the amount of money that had been spent*:*

> *'One are said to have 'wasted thousands on feasibility studies' and 'made a business for themselves'* (parish councillor).

> *'£700,000 for a borehole was a waste of money'* (councillor).

However, there are a few people who thought it had a chance of success:

> *'If [a] big project is going to be successful – fine, otherwise leave alone. A small project would not work.* (Eastgate resident).

> *'They've put so much into it, it may well come off'* (Eastgate resident)

There is a mixed reaction to the desirability, as opposed to the feasibility, of the proposals, although there is general agreement that something needs to be done. Some think it would be of benefit to the area and provide useful employment, but others feel it would create more problems than it solves. It is described as a '*wild idea*' fashioned on the Eden Project and as the '*white elephant of Weardale*'. A local resident also suggests it would create a '*them and us*' situation between the village and the development. On the other hand, a hotelier says she would like to see more promotion of tourism, including the return of the train and for '*something to happen*' at the cement works. Her daughter would like to see an equine tourism scheme on the cement works site.

There is concern about the amount of traffic that the development will generate, and that the development will not provide high quality jobs. A member of the Community Partnership is concerned about the amount of time the development would take, as well as the practicality of the scheme itself.

'It will take at least 10 years. It needs to go to public Inquiry and planning applications have not yet been put in. … There are all sorts of ideas – some of them nonsensical. People would like to see light industry, affordable housing and some recreation.'

A vicar considered that: *'all the proposals for the cement works are missing the mark.'* While an ex-employee thinks that the plans might just be a way of deferring or avoiding the reinstatement to a greenfield site. However, outside agencies are generally very positive about the proposals. It is described as '*a great opportunity to support the continued survival of a diverse economy' (AONB officer)*. However, this officer is concerned that it should be done properly saying *'It needs to build on the special quality of the area'.* He is determined that it should be '*a gateway to the North Pennines*', complementing what is already there and so spreading the wealth. He is also insistent that it should provide training for local people so that they could fill the jobs provided. He thinks that local antipathy to the scheme might be caused in part by dislike and distrust of the district council and ONE.

The cement works proposals are closely linked, and many thought synergistic, to the re-opening of the railway to Eastgate. This could provide a link to the national rail network and bring in visitors without greatly increasing road traffic. In turn, visitors

could make the railway viable. The railway was originally used to transport cement from the cement works, although the cement works later changed to road transport. Recently a group of enthusiasts had been working to restore and reopen the railway. The initial failure of this project, when the group went bankrupt at a cost to local people to whom it owed money, had changed local enthusiasm for the scheme to scepticism. The renewed attempts to re-open the railway are regarded by most local people as a waste of money, although a few residents are enthusiastic. A local vicar says that he would like to see it as part of a much-improved public transport system.

Consumption: tourism and recreation

In terms of tourism, it is clear that there is a suspicion of tourism replacing industry as an economic base for the dale. However, there are ways in which tourism, and consumption more generally, have been contributing to the economy of the dale for some time. For example grouse shooting is an important source of jobs, although mostly seasonal and there is little other benefit to the community. An AONB officer indicated his view that '*there is scope for development of appropriate nature and scale*', pointing out that the AONB is '*of interest to the nation*' not just to local people. He sees his role as 'managing change' rather than preventing change stating *'we don't do preservation.'* In contrast to the councillor who asserts that provision of jobs must be the priority, the AONB officer saw environmental quality as a driver for external investment in a variety of enterprises, such as knowledge-based or recreation businesses. The AONB have used grant schemes to support 'pro-active measures to preserve and enhance the environment' for example a "cyclists welcome" grant was given to St Aiden's Trust for a cycle repair workshop at the Rookhope Inn. His position is supported by an officer from BTCV who said:

> *'People are realising that the beauty of the area is a good selling point…. Organisations such as ourselves and the Market Towns Initiative have realised that eco-developments can benefit the area.'*

Generally it is thought that in the area above Stanhope only the pubs benefit from tourism. However, there are a few farm bed and breakfasts in Rookhope, providing catering for walkers, cyclists and passing motorists, and at least two smallholdings have had a barn converted to a holiday cottage. Most of these ventures seemed to be successful, although some were more central to business than others. In addition, the Coast-to-Coast (C2C) cycle route, passing through Rookhope, brought money into the local economy, providing '55% to 60%' of business for the Inn and also helping the shop. It appears that the majority of farmers are not yet involved in tourism and did not see it as the way forward for themselves. As one farmer admits:

> *'Tourism will be part of the way forward – we will get the overflow from established areas such as the Lake District*. It will be *'a godsend to some'* but *'you have to like people' (farmer, who went on to say that he did not like people).*

Other examples of tourism in the area are the caravan parks, which have existed since the war when evacuees from Sunderland were sent to Weardale. There are three static caravan parks in Eastgate alone, and caravaners have become part of the community as well as contributing to the economy. In at least one case the caravan park makes a very significant contribution to the farm's economic viability, bringing in as much money as the farm: *'It allows the farm to keep running'* (farmer's wife). However, in spite of the district council's commitment to tourism, planning permission for caravan pitches was no longer given.

For some tourism is seen as being too seasonal to be a sound source of jobs, especially as the altitude makes the summer season very short. A county council officer thought that there are not enough places to stay, while a local historian suggests that there aren't enough attractions to encourage people to visit for more than a day. He continued: *'Tourism is never going to raise the population and incomes of people in the dale'.* A farmer's wife is a reluctant advocate of tourism: *'It looks like tourism is the way we will have to go'* continuing: *'If the council keep it right for the people who live and work here then the tourists will come'.*

Through the Mineral Valleys Project, (a partnership which 'aims to use environment-led regeneration to help local communities celebrate their heritage whilst enhancing the environment around them', the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers (BTCV) is running a 'Sustainable Tourism' project to 'bring people into Weardale to benefit communities and the landscape and environment'. They aim to promote the area as a tourist destination and 'involve local communities in their landscape'. They offer specific rural skills such as dry stone walling and tree planting to local people and encourage local people to get involved in tourism by training them as project leaders to make the process sustainable.

Recreation is present throughout the area. There is a network of footpaths in the area, although most are not particularly well maintained or signposted. Local people do not seem to complain about this and it is accepted that farmers are too busy to prioritise footpath maintenance. *'Footpaths may be blocked but it is because farmers have other priorities rather than because they don't want walkers' (County Council Officer).* In fact, farmers seem very tolerant of walkers, although gates were sometimes left open and for some this is a nuisance. Walkers are noted as useful as they sometimes spot problems with livestock and report this to the farmer. The council has recently put in some stiles as well as a new design of kissing gate that shuts itself. The council have also put in some attractive ladder stiles, but the farmer found that his sheep could climb over them, so he has put a hurdle against them making access to walkers more difficult.

Interestingly, the local beneficiaries of the expanded access areas are concerned not to inconvenience farmers and other landowners. A hotel owner said that her guests sometimes asked about local walks but she tries '*to keep them off farmers' land*'; and a horse rider said that she and her family stuck to the paths when riding over the fells so as not to disturb the grouse. A local Rookhope man, with the support of St Aiden's Trust and the BTCV, had revived four local walks demonstrating the industrial heritage of the area – calling them the Rookhope Trails. He continues to keep an eye on the walks and on the C2C route, replacing signs, picking up litter etc. He has also put in two litter bins on the C2C route. The C2C route is well used by cyclists doing the full C2C ride and also by caravaners. There was a map of the Rookhope Walks outside the inn, and he hoped to get some leaflets published. The walks are generally well signposted in places but sometimes not easy to follow.

There have been several initiatives to improve particular rights of way. The BTCV have co-ordinated a project to improve some of the footpaths in the Eastgate area, and have found farmers very co-operative and pleased with the results. The County Council had worked with a group of local people to signpost another local walk around Rookhope – the Mineral Valleys Walk. Eight local people came forward and stayed involved throughout. One was an ex-miner and they were all walkers or ex-walkers. Children from Rookhope Primary School were also involved. They have tried to make the walk navigable for novice walkers by using large posts on fairly featureless moor land, so that as one post was reached the next could be seen. A leaflet aimed at both locals and tourists has been designed by local people, including

paintings by a local artist. At the request of the locals a stone seat has been installed at a favourite viewpoint.

The fells are common land and thus recorded as open access land, albeit with restrictions on dogs due to the grouse shooting business. There had been some concerns in advance about the introduction of open access, notably about safety as the fells contain many old mine shafts and quarries, often unfenced. In practice, there is currently very little use of access rights and almost all the fell users kept to the footpaths. Most of the footpaths in the valleys are not well used, although some regularly used for local dog walking. Also there are sometimes groups of ramblers in the area and occasional organised walks around Rookhope. In addition, potholers have been seen on the fells at times. Various agricultural shows, mentioned earlier, are an important form of recreation for the farming community and bring in visitors to the area.

Conservation

Many incomers have been attracted to the area by the natural environment, including a couple who bought a smallholding near Rookhope, seeing the area as '*not touristy*', although they now try to attract people to the holiday cottage they created. An Eastgate resident said that she needs '*country, a bit of space*'. A local vicar sees environmental awareness as being very high, particularly amongst the young (including farmers' children) who have '*an awareness of wildlife*'. The vicar thinks that for people who don't go to church, 'reading the land', in terms of understanding the different seasons, helps them develop as people. This in turn affects '*how we use the land and moderate our footprint on it*' forming a link between '*people and creation*'. In general however, conservation issues are not often brought up by local people, although there are some very rare plants in the area that only thrive where there has been lead mining. However, there are some initiatives, such as the St Aiden's Trust who have worked with Rookhope Primary School to make a community garden, and are aiming to do some tree planting, although the location is considered by some as inappropriate. In the longer term, they also plan to restore some contaminated land in Rookhope. There are a number of local artists who paint and sell pictures of the fells.

The Wear Valley Environment Trust has done some work in Rookhope on surplus land that was once been used as a nursery and was suffering from erosion. The scheme involved the fencing of the river bank (to prevent erosion) and planting willows to improve the habitat for water voles whose numbers were declining. The work was funded through the landfill tax. Interestingly, apart from the owners of the land, local people had not been involved in the scheme.

An environmentalist who doesn't live locally or have any other connections with the area owns a large area of land to the southwest of Rookhope. He bought the land to manage in an environmentally friendly way, mostly to enhance the habitat for the rare black grouse. The owner doesn't involve local people in its management, apart from some drain-blocking work done by children from Rookhope Primary School, but doesn't receive any negative comment from residents. Much of the land is fell land and, although he does not allow shooting, he has managed to get an access restriction on dogs. A local couple said that access to this land was harder since the open access rules came into force but the owner said that he has put stiles on every gate and notices telling people where they could walk.

In general farmers consider their farming methods to be environmentally friendly, but are bemused to be paid for undoing things that they or their fathers had been paid for

doing. For example, as one farmer points out *'overnight the drainage officer became the ESA officer'.* One farmer said there are pressures to join the Environmental Stewardship Scheme but they had not been able to as yet due to maps not having been available. However, they suggest that they have always been '*inclined towards conservation*', pointing out that they '*have planted trees all their lives*' for wildlife and shelter. Another family farm does not belong to any scheme, because they are '*not the joining type*' but still do some environmental management. The farmer pointed out that you used to be a hero for cultivating the fell line but now you are a villain. However, he claims that '*nothing we have ever done has been detrimental to wildlife*'. He regards reliance on subsidies as '*a dangerous position*', as they can be reduced or withdrawn.

There are a few comments concerning the environmental effect of recreational activities. For example, a vicar remarked that there have been some complaints about shooters making roads over the tops of the fells at the top of Weardale, but he added that shooting was part of the local economy. Conversely, a county council officer commented that 'walkers have a light footprint [i.e. they don't damage the environment], although some say that they don't put anything into the local economy'.

7.5.3 Summary of the Rookhope and Eastgate case study

It is clear from this case study that Rookhope and Eastgate differ from much of rural England in that their recent past has been shaped as much by mining and related manufacturing as it has by agriculture. This strong link to a more industrial past clearly shapes the present day, as there is a blurring of the normally separate land-based industries and the community itself with land ownership and management more widely dispersed. In the present day this tradition means that many residents in Rookhope own land either for 'hobby' farming, horses or letting to larger farmers. There still exists, in Rookhope in particular and to a lesser extent in Eastgate, an interconnectedness between land and community that is perhaps absent from many other communities of a similar size elsewhere in England. As a result the influence of, and connectedness to, the land-based industries on the community remains strong. This is also true of Eastgate where the innovation of local farmers in terms of the shows arranged each year has a wide range of benefits.

The retention of this link to traditional production aspects is also a result of the remoteness of Rookhope. Noticeably different from the other settlements in the dale there is a self-reliance present within the community. This is evident among both locals and incomers. The example of the Rockhope Inn shows how incomers have been able to shape and influence the future of this community for the better. The findings of the case study suggest that it is this isolation that enables an understanding to be developed between locals and incomers. The other example would be the exchange of knowledge from farmer to incomers with smallholdings on issues concerning sheep management or chickens. As a result the lack of understanding between incomer and local and land-based worker and community seems to be at a much lower level and alienation is not a major issue. The integration of those living in the static caravans is a good example.

Of the traditional land uses, shooting remains important but it is very detached from the community, largely due to the absent nature of the landowners and shooting syndicates. In a similar way the natural environment is also implicit within the community with the majority of residents valuing the wildlife and landscape but a few expressing concerns or feeling there were conflicts.

As suggest above the economic processes are complex and often very informal, as might be expected in a isolated tight-knit community developed during the lifetime of older residents. The lack of large employers and isolation from large settlements has made the communities very resourceful and local sourcing is seen as much as a way of social integration as economic sense. The economic significance of tourism is probably down played as is the fact that the management of the land on which it is, or could be, based is largely out of the control of the two communities. However, the sympathetic management of the fells is likely to continue as long as grouse shooting and the associated management is practiced. The networks of paths and other access routes provide potential for sympathetic access routes into these areas.

Issues surrounding recreation in the shape of tourism and access is clearly one of the key issues for the future. The value of recreation is recognised in Rookhope in the shape of the C2C route and the subsequent benefits for the inn and other businesses. Major new developments linked to tourism are viewed with caution especially when they are developed by individuals and organisations outside of the dale. The residents clearly have a strong affinity with the former cement works and thus have strong feelings about its future and would prefer to work in equal partnership than have a solution imposed from outside.

Annexe 8: Development of indicators

The tender brief specified the need for identification of suitable indicators for monitoring the level of social contribution land-based industries make to rural communities and to carry out an initial analysis of these indicators. The need for indicators of social interaction was reinforced in the dissemination workshop, where participants identified their value in tracking long term trends in social change and in examining spatial variations in land-based-community interaction and vibrancy. However, following the ethnographic work in the five case study areas it became evident that the patterns and processes of LBI-community interactions were shaped by community activities and personalities unique to local areas, making generalisation across the five areas, and in turn across rural England, extremely difficult. It was therefore agreed that the research team would identify a limited number of generic indicators that might (whether currently available or not) be of some use in indicating the degree of LBI-community interaction in a given locality.

Following identification of these generic indicators, and rationalisation of them with respect to the qualitative findings, this section goes on to identify possible data sources for these indicators, together with an accompanying discussion on the potential usefulness, or application, of the suggested data source.

Initially, however, it is useful to discuss the precise meaning of indicators in the present context and the types of indicators that may be desirable. In recent years there has been a growth in the numbers and use of indicators, for example concerning sustainable land use, but these have focussed primarily on economic or ecological aspects. The OECD define indicators as 'parameters, or a value derived from parameters, which points to, provides information about or describes the state of a phenomenon/environment/area, with a significance extending beyond that directly associated with a parameter value' (OECD 1994). Indeed there may be other more recent definitions that would help in this case.

Clearly indicators are a simplification of a complex situation and the ability to use a consistent approach to the act of simplifying is important. Romstad (1999) suggests that in order to achieve 'analytical soundness' there are three main qualities of indicators: consistency, reliability and predicative capacity. In terms of our work here the use of qualitative techniques may impact on consistency (as time series data may not be available).

In the context of the present study, indicators of social interaction between land-based industries and rural communities may prove useful to policy makers and practitioners for three main reasons. First, they may allow trends in social interaction to be monitored alongside other socio-economic trends in rural areas, such as migration and change in agricultural holdings. Second, alongside established indicators of economic performance and development, social indicators may help provide a more comprehensive picture of socio-economic well-being and community cohesion to help policy makers target rural development funds more effectively. Third, indicators of social interaction may prove a useful way of evaluating policies that regulate and support land-based industries, particularly farming, as policy evolves in the face of changing demands on the countryside, its people and its produce.

8.1 Identifying generic indicators that chime with the evidence

It is evident from the findings presented in this report that the characteristics, patterns and reasons for the nature and extent of LBI-community social interactions are far from straightforward. Crucially, they are often in embedded in the local social, historical and cultural contexts and are, more often than not, informal and ad-hoc in nature. These factors make the identification of meaningful indicators of social interactions very difficult. Further, given the importance of contextual factors in shaping interactions, the application of any defined indicators is inherently limited as it will be extremely difficult to generalise from one area to another.

Nevertheless, through its in-depth, exploratory approach the research has identified some interesting patterns and processes through which a degree of commonality is discernable. With the above caveats in mind, we have therefore identified five potentially desirable indicators which a) chime with the evidence arising from the ethnographic work; b) have some relevance to all five communities examined in this study; and c) are judged to be realistic in terms of either data availability or the practical application of such data if it were made available.

These five indicators are detailed in Table 8.1, along with notes relating to their significance in the context of the ethnographic findings.

Table 8.1 Potential 'indicators' arising from the evidence of social interactions between LBIs and rural communities

Potential 'indicator' of LBI-community social interactions	Significance in the context of the ethnographic work
Number of farmers / LBI representatives on parish councils	This appeared indicative of the extent of social interaction in all five-study areas. Potentially the most useful indicator. However, a reducing number of land-users on local councils may indicate increased involvement by other community members and may lead to a better overall representation.
Number of LBI-related complaints	An immediate (albeit fairly superficial) indicator of the general level of harmony between LBIs and rural communities.
Change of use/ occupancy of farm holdings (and buildings)	Potentially indicative of the future contribution of LBIs to the social fabric of local communities. Also possible to indicate if existing agricultural user or not. Change in size of holdings may also be relevant.
Local sales and purchasing of land-based products	An important linkage with potential to foster social interactions, but difficult to measure. Ideally needs to encompass links between producers and consumers through short supply chains, i.e. direct (farm shop, farmers market) and local retail outlets. Also important to be aware that there may be informal (exchange or gift) interactions as well as more formal ones, which may influence social interactions to a greater degree.
Extent of LBI diversification	Diversification tends to foster more local employment, and therefore interactions in the local community. It can also stimulate other parts of the local economy. However, plans for diversification, can give rise to local opposition. Need to consider rural diversification and SMEs rather than just agricultural diversification.

The notes outlined in the above table further illustrate the complexity in attempting to explain LBI-community interactions, not to mention aligning the nature and extent of social interactions with quantitative indicators. Nevertheless, given these caveats the following section goes on to identify potential data sources for these desired indicators and to suggest possible courses of action for data acquisition.

8.2 Data acquisition for the selected indicators

While a number of indicators are currently available which help explain variations and attributes of land-based activities and communities *per se,* very few relate to the social interactions between these two entities. This poses a major challenge; while we are able to suggest useful indicators which help reflect some of the patterns and processes emerging from the ethnographic work, the main recommendations for each of the five indicators centre around suggestions for the assembly of further secondary data rather than analysis of existing data. Taking each of the five indicators in turn, the following sections outline possible sources of data for the acquisition of information pertaining to these indicators. It also suggests some possible courses of action to obtain specific data which may be useful.

1) Number of farmers on parish councils

The only national repeat survey of Parish Councils was undertaken annually by CRC (then Countryside Agency) between 1991 and 2000 as part of their analysis of rural services. Within the 'Rural Services Survey", each Parish Council was asked to complete a form detailing the services (e.g. bus, bank, telephone etc.) that existed in their local community. Had this survey not been superseded by a secondary (postcode) data analysis of service points, this would have been a suitable survey by which to collect data on the number of farmers/land users on parish councils. However, no paper survey is now undertaken.

Nevertheless, under Section 81 of the Local Government Act 2000, all members of a Parish Council are required by law to complete a declaration of interest form to register their financial interests. These include:

- A declaration of their financial interests in the parish;
- A declaration of any personal or prejudicial interest in any matter under discussion at a Parish Council meeting;
- Details of any employment or business carried out;
- The name of their employer;
- Details of any directorships;
- Contracts between themselves/their firm and the Council;
- Interests in land within the parish.

Thus, by default, the occupations or business of parish councillors is available in the public domain, and a number of local authorities publish each submission (often a scan of the original form) on their websites. However, it appears that the majority are held in paper form at the Parish Council offices by the Parish Clerk, although it is possible that some collation of registers is undertaken by the relevant Local Authority. No national collation of interests, however, has ever been undertaken (probably given the relative recent implementation of the act and lack of necessity to do so).

In theory, the registers provide a valuable data source, not only for determining the number of farmers on Parish Councils but also for a more detailed profiling of Parish Councils in terms of land based interests (for example, land ownership, land

interests, business interests, membership of unions or associations). Indeed, a profiling of Parish Council members could be undertaken and a typology of members developed. This could include elements such as links, interactions and interests in the local area, its land-based industries and natural resources.

Although this data is not currently collated at a national level there are just under 10,000 Parish Councils in England and each has a parish clerk. A collation exercise could be undertaken, perhaps coordinated by the National Association of Local Councils (NALC), who have links with the majority of Parish Council Clerks.

2) Number of LBI-related complaints

A number of surveys have been undertaken which have identified the nature of complaints about land-based industries, most commonly farming. For example, a survey of 819 farmers in Great Britain undertaken by Milbourne *et al* (2000) found that 32% of farmers had received a complaint from a member of the public or a representative of a public agency between 1996 and 1999. The types of complaint included those concerning public access and mud and slurry on roads.

In addition, MORI undertook a national survey of "Neighbour Noise" on behalf of Defra (MORI 2003). However, this was a representative sample of around 6,000 respondents and focused mainly on noise from household neighbours rather than industrial/agricultural/land based sources.

It is essential that any indicator derived should be nationally representative and available at more refined spatial scales. As such it is necessary to explore national schemes, laws or surveys which might enable access to such data. In this regard we can distinguish between two types of complaint relevant to the study: nuisance complaints and complaints about access.

Nuisance complaints

Section 79 of the Environmental Protection Act 1990 states that Local Authorities have a responsibility to investigate nuisances, including the following:

- any premises in such a state as to be prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- smoke emitted from premises so as to be prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- fumes or gases emitted from premises so as to be prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- any dust, steam, smell or other effluvia arising on industrial, trade or business premises and being prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- any accumulation or deposit which is prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- any animal kept in such a place or manner as to be prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- noise emitted from premises so as to be prejudicial to health or a nuisance;
- any other matter declared by any enactment to be a statutory nuisance;

Source: (OPSI 1990)

Enforcement of this Act is the responsibility of the Environmental Health Department of the Local Authority. EHOs (Environmental Health Officers) record complaints using a Service Request Code which is usually stored in an Environmental Health Database such as FLARE. All elements of the complaint are stored in the system (e.g. location, nature of the complaint, the complainant and, if appropriate, the

responsible parties). Usually, the complaint is coded by type (i.e. noise, air) and source (e.g. industrial, agricultural).

Local authorities do tend to collate and analyse complaints – if only for their own monitoring and annual targets. As such, the raw data required to explore complaints about land-based industries does exist and some collation of this data has been undertaken at the national level. For example, some figures were collated by CIEH (Chartered Institute for Environmental Health) on behalf of Defra in 2006 although the spatial resolution is not very fine and the categories too coarse for the purposes of developing an indicator.

However, many LAs also submit records to the Chartered Institute of Environmental Health (CIEH), primarily about noise. CIEH request returns from EH departments on an annual basis. To date the noise nuisance categories have been not refined enough to enable a focus on agricultural or LBI sources of nuisance complaints. However, from 2006/7 CIEH will be collecting more detailed data based on returns from most Local Authorities and will include:

- Source of noise (including agricultural activities)
- Type of noise (machinery etc.)

CIEH do not specifically collect data on air quality and pollution, which is also included in the Environment Act. However, a similar organisation, the National Society for Clean Air, collates air quality data on an annual basis from EHOs. As NSCA is a private company, obtaining specific data may be problematic.

Complaints about access

Similarly, enforcement of rights of access (under The National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949 and the Countryside and Rights of Ways Act 2000) falls to the local authority who generally have a department responsible for Rights of Way. The Produce Studies survey, mentioned earlier, stated that one of the two primary complaints about land based industries was access. Relevant departments hold data in a similar fashion to the nuisance complaints detailed above, and thus have data on the nature of the complainant, issue, and the landowner. Again, data is collated for internal use but no national collation has yet been undertaken. Nevertheless, a survey of local authorities could, in theory, be undertaken to collate this information.

3) Change of use/occupancy of farm holdings

Two recent pieces of work have focused specifically on the state of farm buildings in terms of their change of use. The first was the Historic Farm Buildings Project (Gaskell and Clark 2005) undertaken as part of the Countryside Character Area profiling by the Countryside Agency. This study took a sample of listed historic farmsteads in each Countryside Character Area and explored changes of use such as economic or residential change, including dereliction, using photo evidence from the 1980s and early 2000s. Using weighting factors it produced data on change of use for each of the 155 Countryside Character Areas and for each English region. The main conclusion was that 31% of all working farmsteads had experienced a change of use out of agriculture.

The second was work undertaken by Bibby (2006) and was entitled Land Use Change at the Urban: Rural Fringe and the Wider Countryside. This project used two data sources – Land Use Change Statistics (LUCS) and the postcode address files (PAF). LUCS is collected by Ordnance Survey personnel and is a record of any

change of use for any land/building on the ground. PAF is a list of postal addresses, supplemented by grid references. The integration of PAF and LUCS data provides for a valuable way of exploring land use change in the countryside. The work was undertaken as part of the CRC Countryside Quality Counts program and data was generated for 1-hectare squares. The data gives an indication of the proportion of farmsteads or farm buildings that have been converted or subdivided into residential or commercial use for each hectare. This data could usefully be aggregated to a more appropriate spatial scale, for example, census output or Unitary Authority area.

4) Local sales/purchases of LBI products

There appears to be no national information relating to the number of suppliers of land based products. However, a number of directories, particularly for federations and cooperatives, exist which could possibly give an indication as to the number and location of various LBI producers and consumers.

Producers

FARMA (The National Farmers' Retail & Markets Association) is a co-operative of agricultural producers selling on a local scale, and organisers of farmers markets. They have a directory of members which can be filtered as to the type of supplier (e.g. a farmers market, a local supplier or a cooperative). Using postcode mapping it would be possible to produce an indicator specifying the number of FARMA members by type (e.g. supplier, farmers market or coop) in each Census Output Area (or other appropriate area).

Soil Association is the UK's largest organic certification body. Soil Association hold data on the nature of the enterprise which may contain information on whether they are part of the local supply chain. The postcode of each type of supplier could be spatially analysed in a GIS system. For example, the proportion of each type of supplier (e.g. farmers market, farm shop, timber mill) in each Census Output Area could be derived relatively easily.

CONFOR (Confederation of Forest Industries) – represents almost 2,000 members from all parts of the timber supply chain, including growers, woodland managers, suppliers, contractors, harvesters and primary and secondary processors. A postcode analysis of this directory, could, as with the directories above, be used to identify the number of members of each type in each Census Output Area.

Aggregating the data from these three analyses would enable an indicator of LBI producer density to be derived – identifying areas of low concentration and areas of high concentration.

Another possible survey which could be used to incorporate questions regarding local supply chains is The Farmers' Voice Survey, undertaken by ADAS. The survey has been conducted annually since 1999 and asks attitude and opinion related questions to farmers in England and Wales. In 2006 1800 completed questionnaires were received and collated by farm type and geography. Results from the survey could be integrated with the above data to inform the indicator.

Consumers

Various small scale surveys have explored the purchase and sales of Land Based Products such as timber and food. However, there is no comprehensive national survey which has tackled issues of local purchasing.

There are, however, a number of suitable survey vehicles which could be used to pose questions on local purchasing. The most appropriate appears to be the British Household Panel Survey which asks a vast array of value and attitude questions which could be easily complemented by questions on local purchasing. The BHPS is undertaken by the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), incorporating the ESRC Research Centre on Micro-Social Change, at the University of Essex. The survey began in 1991 and is a multi-purpose study whose unique value resides in the fact that:

- it follows the same representative sample of individuals - the panel - over a period of years;
- it is household-based, interviewing every adult member of sampled households;
- it contains sufficient cases for a meaningful socio-economic analysis of results.

The "wave 1 panel" consists of some 5,500 households and 10,300 individuals drawn from 250 areas of Great Britain. Additional samples of 1,500 households in each of Scotland and Wales were added to the main sample in 1999, and in 2001 a sample of 2,000 households was added in Northern Ireland, making the panel suitable for UK-wide research. Questions on local food purchasing, for example, could easily be inserted into the relevant section.

5) Extent of LBI diversification

Over recent years there have been several analyses of farm diversification based on literature reviews and small scale samples. For example, the University of Exeter (Centre for Rural Research 2002) undertook a comprehensive literature review and a survey of approximately 2250 farmers. However, this was a one off survey and thus not suitable as a national indicator of diversification. The Defra June Agricultural Census also collated information on diversification for several years but no longer does so.

The Farm Business Survey

The Farm Business Survey, undertaken on behalf of Defra by a number of Universities and agricultural colleges, analyses businesses with a standard labour requirement of 0.5 and above. It analyses the annual accounts of 3800 farms (2% of all businesses) and the data is weighted for regional representativeness. Special dispensation would be required to access data at a more refined spatial scale.

The FBS focuses considerably on non-agricultural income and diversified enterprises which comprises all farms of a size considered sufficient to occupy a farmer for at least half the time. It considers non-agricultural activity of an entrepreneurial nature which uses farm resources. Data collected relates to:

- Proportion of diversified activity
- Letting of farm buildings for non agricultural activity
- Value of diversified activities
- Forms of diversification
- Relationships between types of farm and diversification and diversified activity

Potentially, therefore, this data could act as an indicator of diversification, particularly if access to small area data is possible.

Inferred diversification indicators

Other indicators of broader rural diversification, i.e. shifts away from primary industries to secondary and tertiary industries, could be gleaned from much of the population census and labour force surveys. In particular, the following indicators would be useful:

Patterns of new business formation derived from VAT registrations and de-registrations. This data is available annually and at NUTS 3 level.

- Industrial re-structuring – longitudinal mapping of the shift from primary to secondary to tertiary sectors. This could be done using SIC and SOC coding - tracking the decline in primary sectors versus gains in other sectors.
- Contractual change – shifts into self-employment (Population Census)
- Business size changes – growth of SMEs in the countryside (Annual Business Inquiry)
- New woodland planting – Forestry Commission Spatial Data
- Permissive access agreements – Local Access Forums (minutes)

Such data could be collected as part of a desk study. Of course, change of use of farm buildings is also an indicator of diversification and the data collected in this regard could also be integrated into the indicator.

8.3 Summary

A list of possible data sources for each indicator is provided in Table 8.2. The data sources have been divided into three types:

- Collated secondary data – those sources that are already available in the public domain or available (particularly at small spatial scales) with special permission;
- Non- collated secondary data – data that exists in a secondary format but which needs collation at a national scale;
- Possibilities for data acquisition – for data which does not currently exist and possible surveys which could be used to acquire the data.

For each type, the spatial resolution at which the data is available is also noted.

Table 8.2 Possible data sources for each of the five indicators

Indicator	Collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Non- collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Possibilities for data acquisition
Number of farmers on Parish Councils			Register of members interests at LA level	Parish Council	
Number of LBI related complaints	Chartered institute of Environmental Health (CIEH) Source and type of noise nuisance complaints	Unitary Authority or District	Local Authorities : Access complaints Nuisance complaints	Local Authority (maybe Postcode or Grid Reference)	
	National Society for Clean Air (NSCA). Source and type of air pollution/quality complaints	Unitary Authority or District			
	Local Authorities. Complaints about Access and Rights of way	Unitary Authority or District			

Indicator	Collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Non- collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Possibilities for data acquisition
Change of use/occupancy of farm holdings	LUCS/PAF data generated for CQC (CRC) – Farm buildings change of use Historic Farm Buildings Survey (based on weighted (CCRU) - Farm buildings change of use	1 Square Hectare Countryside Character Area (weighted data)			
Local Sales/Purchases of Land Based Products	Directory of Farmers Markets – Location of farmers markets Directory of Woodland Suppliers/Managers – location of suppliers Organic Suppliers (Soil Association) – location of organic farms in local food chains.	Local Local Local	Visits to farmers markets (various regional Farmers Markets Associations)	Regional/Piecemeal	Household Panel Survey

Indicator	Collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Non- collated secondary data	Possible Spatial Scale	Possibilities for data acquisition
LBI Diversification	Farm Business Survey (proportion and type of diversification) VAT registrations and de-registrations Occupational/Industrial shifts (OPCS) – change in SoC and SiC. New Woodland Planting (FC) – Location of new woodland planting Farm building change of use data (as above)	National (high definition with dispensation) Local Authority Super Output Area Grid Reference/polygons	Voluntary Access Agreements (National Access Forums)	Regional	