RELOCAL

Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development

D 6.2 National Report
United Kingdom

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Abbreviations

CAA	Comprehensive Assessment Area
CAM	Community Account Management
CPP	Community Planning Partnership (Scotland)
CSJ	Centre for Social Justice (Think Tank)
DEFRA	Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (England)
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIE	Highlands and Islands Enterprise (Scotland)
LA	Local Authority (otherwise known as 'council', e.g NCC, see below)
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
NCC	Northumberland County Council (England)
NERC	The Select Committee on the Natural Environment and Rural Communities
NHS	National Health Service (UK)
NULAG	Northumberland Uplands Local Action Group (England case study)
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
P/L	PLACE/Ladywell, (Homelessness Project in Lewisham Borough of London), (England case study)
R&D	Research and Development
SC	Strengthening Communities, Lewis, Western Isles, Scotland case study
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises

Executive Summary

This report summarises the national context for the three UK RELOCAL actions. It draws together the work of the James Hutton Institute, which focuses on a case study in Scotland, and of Newcastle University, which has two case studies in England. The structure of the report reflects the different national situations in Scotland and England by considering their policy contexts in turn, within each section. Section One introduces the three actions: (1) Strengthening Communities on the island of Lewis, on the west coast of Scotland, which aims to tackle spatial inequalities in one of the most remote parts of the UK; (2) NULAG, a LEADER Local Action Group in the remote Uplands of North East England, which promotes rural development led by local volunteers; and (3) PLACE/Ladywell, a homelessness project sited on vacant land awaiting development in the Borough of Lewisham, in London, England.

Section 2 then unpacks the notion of a national context for the UK case studies, where the incremental (though still partial) devolution of three constituent nations over the last two decades has resulted in the emergence of a multi-layered and fluid policy landscape. Our approach to addressing this complexity in the report is set out, which is to frame each case study within the context of the national administration where it is based. The Scottish and English contexts in relation to spatial justice are discussed in turn, considering differences in the ways in which the term is framed and understood. Differences between the Scottish and English contexts are highlighted further in the discussion of specific national and regional policies promoting spatial justice and how these relate to EU cohesion policy.

Section Three situates the three UK case studies within their national contexts, describing how they relate to the policies outlined in Section 2, framing them through the RELOCAL study's five analytical dimensions and then reviewing them through the synthesising dimensions of A to C. The disparate case studies are considered separately which helps commonalities, differences and cross-cutting themes to emerge. Finally, in Section Four, we consider the findings from all three case studies in light of their national contexts and start to draw out the similarities between them. In Scotland, the action was found to be successful in its goal of 'Strengthening Communities', however new forms of spatial injustice were emerging as a result. In England, NULAG was successful in generating several high-profile and innovative initiatives as well as an expanded base of good quality rural jobs, and a set of intangible benefits around improved social capital, skills and networks. While the spatial justice impact of the urban PLACE/Ladywell action at the local level was confined to no more than 40-50 families and businesses, it has been remarkable for rapid uptake locally and regionally in replication schemes. These replications however lack clear participation from the intended beneficiaries or with the communities where they will be set, suggesting a need for ongoing scrutiny. Looking across the case studies, all three adopted place-based responses were to some degree tailored to local needs and facilitated highly innovative projects within their areas, but faced challenges of varying scales in providing equitable support within communities and in minimising the creation of new injustices between communities. In terms of future policy changes, Brexit presents considerable uncertainty, particularly regarding sources of funding.

1. Introduction

This report provides the national context for three case studies, two in England and one in Scotland. One of the English cases and the Scottish case can broadly be described as community development actions, based in rural locations. As will emerge in this report, these two cases have several commonalities and some interesting differences, partly grounded in the very different policy contexts of the devolved administrations[1] of the UK, described in more detail in later sections.

The second English case study, however, is of a very different nature. It is not only urban but based in the metropolitan context of London. Furthermore, it is a very different kind of action, a temporary use of a vacant site awaiting development for a new kind of moveable temporary housing, providing accommodation for 24 families and around the same number of SMEs and social enterprises on its ground floor.

Framing the commonalities and differences between the three UK case studies is the UK's broadly neoliberal welfare regime (see also Section 2.2.1), and the temporal context of an austerity-led reduction in public sector spending as well as the developing political context of preparation for the UK's exit from the European Union. This context is to some extent explored in Section 2.1, but for the most part the report links each case study to the context of the national administration where it is based – national administration being the preferred term in this report for the devolved political and executive bodies governing Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and the parts of the UK administration that govern England.

Throughout the report, however, it should be borne in mind that devolution in the UK is both incremental, occurring through many separate pieces of legislation over time; and is partial and incomplete even as regards particular policy sectors. It can never be assumed that any sectoral policy is completely devolved to a national administration as on close examination it will be found that most devolved areas continue to be shaped or influenced by reserved powers.

The three case studies, introduced below, are as follows: "Strengthening Communities", based on the remote island of Lewis in Scotland, henceforth referred to as SC; a LEADER project in the sparsely populated Northumberland Uplands in North East England, referred to as NULAG; and a Homelessness Project in the London Borough of Lewisham, in England, called PLACE/Ladywell henceforth referred to as P/L.

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[1] The devolved administrations of the UK is the collective term for the Scottish Government, Welsh Government and Northern Ireland Executive (led respectively by the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales, and the Northern Ireland Assembly). The UK Parliament governs for England and the UK and the England and UK administrations are co-located at Westminster in London. Thus, although there are many aspects of its governance that are distinct from those of the devolved administrations, England is not itself generally regarded as a devolved administration.

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Introduction to *Strengthening Communities*, Lewis, Scotland

Highlands and Islands Enterprise's (HIE) core priority area of *Strengthening Communities* (SC) was selected as a RELOCAL case study because it is an example of a Scottish action that is concerned with spatial justice. HIE as an organisation is explicitly oriented towards supporting and promoting the development of a specific geographical area that has long been considered one of the most 'deprived' and 'remote' in the UK, and the case study was undertaken to consider how place-based interventions carried out under the remit of SC have tackled spatial inequalities and injustices on the island of Lewis. Lewis forms part of the Western Isles of Scotland, and population decline is considered a key challenge on these islands threatening their long-term sustainability, viability and resilience. SC is designed to address local challenges and foster social and economic development in communities, particularly in HIE's self-defined "fragile areas". The case study focused 1) on how HIE's work under SC has facilitated community land buy-outs in a bid to promote greater spatial justice on Lewis and 2) on the nature and effects of HIE's ongoing support for communities – and specifically for community trusts – in the aftermath of the buyouts. Communities in the Highlands and Islands have also received substantial support from the European Union, and many of the research participants in the case study expressed concerns about the future of local projects after Brexit.

Introduction to NULAG, LEADER in sparsely-populated Northern England

NULAG is a LEADER Local Action Group in the Northumberland Uplands, a remote and sparsely populated uplands area of North East England. NULAG operated with EU funding from 2007-13, and again in 2014-20. The LEADER approach is an EU rural development programme that promotes bottom-up, place-based decision-making and development in rural areas. It does this through channelling development grant through a largely voluntary Board of Members, who review and support the development of grant applications according to local need based on a Local Development Strategy. LEADER runs throughout the UK, but the framing of the programme has, in the most recent iteration, been devolved to, and shaped by, the national administrations. In England it currently forms part of the Rural Development Programme for England [RDPE] which is managed by a government department, the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs [DEFRA].

The Northumberland Uplands includes England's most remote and sparsely populated rural areas, bordering Scotland to the north. Within its current borders,[2] the action area includes a population of 55,000 (density 17/km2) and faces familiar challenges of other remote rural areas, such as isolation, maintaining public services, good quality jobs and affordable housing. The area includes the Northumberland National Park, (also a Planning Authority in its own right), and is rich in history and culture including a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Hadrian's Wall. The area can also be described as a remote periphery in the disadvantaged post-industrial North East England region. The local authority within which it falls, Northumberland County Council (NCC), includes urban ex-industrial areas as well

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[2] These have expanded considerably since its first phase in 2007-13, when the population was approximately 33,000.

as remote rural areas, with an associated political geography. It became a single-tier ('unitary') authority in 2009, after six second-tier district councils spread across the county were merged with the top tier county council. These changes in governance structures at various scales are interesting in terms of the capacity of a remote rural locality to address spatial injustice.

Introduction to PLACE/Ladywell, Homelessness Project in Lewisham, Borough of London, England

Homelessness is a major issue in the UK, and particularly in London, due to a combination of high rents, insecure tenancies and insufficient social housing. Built on a site left vacant by the demolition of Lewisham Leisure Centre, PLACE/Ladywell (P/L) is a temporary development described as Britain's "first pop-up village", which will remain on site for four years, providing 24 homes for local homeless people as well as a ground floor "enterprise hub" for community and business use, some of which is divided into individual short-term work stations. Designed by a partnership led by the internationally renowned architect Richard Rogers, it provides good quality accommodation for those in housing need, which is estimated to last under 2 years in most cases, allowing up to 48 households to benefit from the scheme in this first phase. The finished flats are precision-built offsite in a factory location, cutting the time and costs of construction. They are also designed to be fully demountable, meaning they could be used over a number of years and in different locations across the borough. The homeless families accommodated by the scheme pay a controlled rent up to the amount that can be claimed through the national system of housing welfare benefit. Because they would otherwise require local authority subsidy additional to national housing benefit to meet the high cost of private rented housing in London, the scheme is intended to be cost neutral for the Local Authority.

The London Borough of Lewisham is a growing Inner London borough, with a population estimated at 301,000 in 2016 and growing rapidly due to a combination of birth rate and migration. It is the second most ethnically diverse borough in London and scores high on levels of deprivation for Income, Crime, Barriers to Housing and Services and Living Environment, compared to other England Local Authorities. The use of vacant city space to provide high quality temporary accommodation is being pioneered in this scheme and already has inspired both further replications of the scheme within the Borough, and a London-wide replication, PLACE Ltd.

The London Borough of Lewisham is one of 32 standard London Boroughs (plus the City of London), but one of only four London Boroughs to have a degree of devolved government under a directly elected Mayor in a new form of devolved local government introduced by the Local Government Act 2000. At a lower level, Lewisham is divided into 18 wards, governed by Local Assemblies. Unusually for England, which abolished its short-lived period of regional governance from 2010 onwards, Lewisham is also governed at a higher level by a regional authority, the Greater London Authority - a Mayor and Assembly-led devolved city government body extant since 2000. This case study offers an interesting opportunity to explore to what extent a small-scale local initiative can have impacts on spatial justice at higher levels, and to what extent a temporary (or 'meanwhile') project can work towards or against spatial justice at a local scale.

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2. The Case Studies in a National Context

2.1 Unpacking Spatial Justice in a National Context

2.1.1 Unpacking the idea of National Context in the UK

The UK is a particularly centralised regime by comparison with other European countries, and much of the fiscal power of raising and distributing taxation is still retained by the UK government (referred to as Westminster),[3] while moves to devolve local power are generally regarded as 'shallow', involving a transfer of decision-making power about services and their organisation, rather than more significant control at local level of policy direction and methods (Lupton et al., 2018). Nevertheless, the rhetoric of localism and devolution has been a powerful force in UK governance for over two decades, beginning with limited devolution of governing powers to the national administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and to the English regions in the 1990s. This has continued in spite of the abolition of regional government in England after 2010, with moves to further devolve powers to the national administrations, and to give greater powers to communities and local authorities, as well as combined groups of authorities and cities - including in those in the devolved administrations (see for example Burn-Murdoch, 2017).

Long before devolution, the different parts of the UK enjoyed distinctive governance features - for example, the separate education and legal systems in Scotland. But in 1997, devolution entered a new phase. That year, referendums were held in Scotland and Wales, with both parts of Ireland following in 1998. In 1997, the Scottish electorate voted for the establishment of a Scottish Parliament with tax varying powers. The legislation to transfer powers from the UK Parliament to the Scottish Parliament was set out in the Scotland Act of 1998, and the Scottish Parliament held its first meeting in 1999, with administrative functions carried out by a new Scottish Government. During the same period, Assemblies with devolved powers were established in Wales and Northern Ireland, and devolution become a defining feature of policy in the UK and its constituent nations. Broadly, the Scottish Government has responsibility for much domestic policy; a summary of matters currently devolved to Scotland and those reserved to Westminster is provided in Table 1.

Matters devolved to Scotland include:	Matters reserved to Westminster include:
▪ Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	▪ Broadcasting
▪ Culture and creative industries	▪ Constitution
▪ Economic development	▪ Consumer protection
▪ Education and training	▪ Defence and security
▪ Energy efficiency and fuel poverty	▪ Employment
▪ Environment and planning	▪ Equal opportunities
▪ Fire services	▪ Energy (excluding the promotion of
▪ Health and social services	renewable energy generation and

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[3] Although the devolved governments can set the rate of certain taxes, such as income tax and corporation tax, all tax in the UK continues to be collected by a single central collection service, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs.

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- ▪ Housing
- ▪ Justice
- ▪ Local government
- ▪ Sport
- ▪ Tourism
- ▪ Transport (excluding international travel)
- ▪ Welfare
- ▪ Some taxes:
  - o Income tax
  - o VAT (revenues but not rates)
  - o Local business tax
  - o Council tax
  - o Land and buildings transaction tax

- energy efficiency)
- ▪ Economic and monetary policy, including the currency and interest rates
- ▪ Foreign policy and immigration
- ▪ Social security
- ▪ Telecommunications
- ▪ Trade and industry
- ▪ Taxes and revenues including:
  - o National insurance (personal and employers)
  - o Corporation tax
  - o Fuel (petrol)
  - o VAT rates

Table 1. Reserved and devolved matters (The Scottish Parliament, 2016)

While the lines between devolved and reserved matters appear straightforward in Table 1, this is often not the case in practice and responsibilities have changed frequently in the past 20 years. It is not within the scope of this report to provide a comprehensive overview of this complex area, and we refer the reader to Stephens and Fitzpatrick (2018) for a detailed account of how devolved matters play out in ten exemplar policy areas in Scotland.

The conclusion of the above reflections is that there will be separate national contexts in terms of policy approaches and terminology for Scotland and England's national administrations, covered in sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 below. With regard to the academic context, this may be more integrated by the shared language across the UK. It would be fair to say that spatial justice is a term found predominantly in the academic context in the UK; indeed, it is unlikely that many outside of key academic disciplines such as geography and urban, rural or regional studies would be conversant with the term.

Even in academic circles, as found by the IMAJINE study's Google Scholar search (Weckroth et al., 2017: 5), spatial justice is relatively under-represented compared with other terminology, such as regional inequalities and regional or spatial disparities. A similar finding emerged from a database search using various justice terms at Newcastle University.[4]

In terms of its academic use across the UK, the term 'spatial justice' appears to occur mainly in urban studies and planning, and is also evident in the linked disciplines of geography and sociology. On exploring references with 'spatial justice' in either the title or occurring anywhere in the article, they appear to originate predominantly from outside

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[4] A search of academic articles on the Newcastle University database, carried out for this report in May 2019 found that the associated concepts of 'social justice' (14,009) and 'environmental justice' (2,849) were considerably more strongly represented than "spatial justice", which delivered just 121 references.

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UK universities, and the influence of the spatial justice theory of Lefebvre, Harvey and Soja is evident. Academic focus specifically on spatial justice may be limited to a handful of names, but the geographical dimensions of social justice and inequality are intensely explored by UK geographers and sociologists at urban, regional and national levels and focusing on a range of issues including employment, poverty, health and education.

In terms of policy, the main (non-legal) use of the term justice found in UK government policy is 'social justice'; however, this is used with very different meanings on the left and right of the political spectrum. On the left, in 1992, Labour opposition leader John Smith set up the Commission for Social Justice. The Commission produced its central publication in 1994: "Social Justice – Strategies for National Renewal", which was focused on "intelligent welfare and new economic opportunities". Policies outlined in the document, including economic modernisation, adjustment to women's greater labour market participation and decentralisation / devolution of government to lower levels, came to inform a refocused and ultimately successful New Labour party under the successor to John Smith, Tony Blair. Social justice was a key concept for New Labour in developing a 'third way' in British politics between capitalism and socialism, and was a short-hand used to imply the equality of opportunity above equality of outcome and policies aimed at guaranteeing everyone's rights to meet their basic needs and take part in society (as opposed to equality of outcomes through the redistribution of resources, which had been central to 'old' Labour policy). At this point, there was little spatial focus within the way social justice was conceptualised, although New Labour in office developed to be particularly sensitive to the difficulties of deprived places, targeting resources to these through a number of policy instruments, such as Housing Renewal Pathfinders (with mixed results); and through policies focused on eliminating social exclusion, which are connected with higher-level EU level policy. Furthermore, the idea of National Renewal in the title of the Commission's social justice report was later taken up by the left wing think tank the Institute for Public Policy and Research (IPPR) in the concept of "social renewal" which is in some respects (e.g. housing, crime and inclusion) also a place-sensitive approach to implementing social justice (Lawton et al., 2014).

On the right, social justice was picked up as a concept around a decade later, when the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ) was set up by former leader of the Conservative Party in opposition, Ian Duncan Smith, in 2004. The goal of the CSJ was to develop Conservative party policy on the problems facing the lowest income groups in society. In 2007 the Centre was commissioned by the then Leader of the Opposition, David Cameron to develop a new approach to fighting poverty for the Conservative Party. This resulted in the first Breakthrough Britain report, which identified five pathways to poverty experienced by people in the poorest communities: family breakdown, worklessness, serious personal debt, addiction and educational underachievement (Duncan-Smith, 2007). Strategies to tackle these were focused on civil society (through voluntary sector action, and institutions such as credit unions and free schools) and reforming state welfare with the aim of increasing incentives to work, most notably the roll-out of a benefit called universal credit, which replaced six key benefits with one.

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The position and publications of the CSJ have been influential on social policy in both the Coalition (2010-2015) and current Conservative governments (e.g. Her Majesty's Government, 2012; CSJ, 2017: 4). The CSJ has continued to be highly active in publishing reports on a wide range of social policy areas and has developed several policies with spatial dimensions, albeit with a strong focus on economic productivity as the measure of success (CSJ, 2017; CSJ, 2018). Nevertheless, the impact of the social justice measures promoted by the CSJ, including radical reforms of the welfare system which have been accompanied by stringent changes in implementation and delivery of welfare benefits, has been controversial. By some accounts, welfare reform and the way it has been implemented, have exacerbated spatial and social inequalities, particularly those of protected groups under European legislation (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2018).

2.1.2 The National Context in Scotland

In the Scottish national context, spatial justice has been discussed in recent years using the terms as described below.

Spatial injustices are often discussed in Scotland in terms of deprivation, with particular reference to the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD). This is the official statistical tool used by the Scottish Government to identify the country's most deprived areas, and is used by agencies across Scotland to focus activities and direct resources. SIMD combines seven 'domains' to measure different dimensions of deprivation: income, employment, education, health, access to services, crime and housing. However, the SIMD is often criticized for not being particularly applicable or relevant to rural communities, where deprivation is less likely to be geographically clustered and where car ownership (one of its measures) is considered to be a necessity, not a luxury (Ralston et al., 2014; Bailey et al., 2016). Research participants in the Scotland case study inferred spatial injustices by discussing specific places as having better opportunities than others.

Lewis is also considered to be in a remote part of Scotland and this remoteness was felt by research participants to contribute to spatial injustices as much as anything else. HIE (2015) has developed a fragile areas classification to refer to places that are characterized by declining population, under-representation of young people, lack of jobs and below average income, as well as problems with transport and other services: these are all located in remote areas. They use this classification to direct support (including Strengthening Communities) to those communities experiencing the greatest decline. Similarly, recent work by Copus and Hopkins (2017) and Copus (2018) introduces Sparsely Populated Areas which refers to areas where residents can reach fewer than 10,000 other people within a 30-minute drive-time.

The way in which spatial justice, and the project, were described to the research participants in the SC case study area can be found in Annex 6.2.3.[5]

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[5] Similar, but not identical, modifications of the project information sheet were used in the Scotland and England case studies as described in the next section.

2.1.3 The National Context in England

Similarly to Scotland, spatial injustices in England are generally described in terms of deprivation, with an English Index of Multiple Deprivation (EIMD) measuring small areas according to seven different domains of deprivation. However, these differ somewhat from the SIMD domains, in that they merge the domains of housing and services into one domain and include an additional domain of living environment. These measures are then weighted to produce EIMD scores that can help organisations in deciding where to target resources, through identifying areas of greater deprivation (for example, in the lowest decile, quintile or quartile). They are also used to trace policy impacts through time and to rank small statistical areas (and cumulatively, administrative areas) according to deprivation levels. The EIMD measures include a useful subdomain for rural areas, regarding barriers to services, which can be a proxy for the idea of 'remoteness'. The measures are currently in the process of being updated for a new version to be issued in summer 2019 (OCSI, 2019).

In terms of how spatial justice was understood in the English case studies, the account in 2.1.1 suggests that non-legal uses of the term 'justice', as in 'social justice' and 'spatial justice' may be seen as problematic or even political in England. However, the initial obstacle to using such terms in the NULAG (England) case study information sheet was one of simple comprehensibility. The standard information sheet developed for use across European partners was initially presented to the case study action group for the Northumberland LEADER case study at one of their monthly meetings. The sheet's account of the project was found difficult to understand by the Board of Members, including terms such as territorial cohesion, and spatial justice. The idea of "justice" in this context was questioned as being a term with different interpretations. The research team's response was to rewrite the sheet using terms that are regionally and nationally understood and perceived to be neutral, thus substituting terms such as territorial cohesion and spatial justice for ideas such as "fostering cooperative relations between places" and "disparities in opportunities and resources" "between different places" (The resulting version of the information sheet was proposed as a model for the RELOCAL project and added to the project's internal portal, so it may be similar if not identical to those used by other studies, including SC's reproduced in Annex 6.2.3 - see Brooks et al., 2019a, Annex, 7.4.1). The semi-structured interview questionnaires were likewise developed using the language of disadvantaged people and communities (see ibid., Annex, 7.4.2). A similar approach was extended to the London case study information sheet and interview questionnaires.

2.2 Capturing Policies Promoting Spatial Justice in a National Context

2.2.1 Capturing Policies Promoting Spatial Justice in Scotland

Place-based approaches in Scotland have been promoted in recent years due to an austerity-driven neo-liberal emphasis promoting local governance in a drive to encourage cross-sectoral service provision. This has been described by some as the responsibilisation agenda attached to neo-liberalism (Peeters, 2013). This approach demonstrates the

Scottish Government's recognition of the need for greater autonomy, whereby communities are empowered to take more action. This Scottish approach is addressed in two key policy documents, specifically the Christie Commission's **Review of Public Services Delivery in Scotland** (Scottish Government, 2011) and the **Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015**.

At a regional level, **Regional Economic Partnerships** have evolved the concept of addressing regional inequalities through urban investments. Of particular relevance to the SC case study are **Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs)**, the **Land Reform (Scotland) Acts of 2003 and 2015** and **the Islands (Scotland) Act 2018**. These policies are explained in greater detail in the Annex, Section 6.2.1.

Locally, the Outer Hebrides CPP developed an **Economic Regeneration Strategy**, outlining its vision and priorities for the island group to 2020 (Outer Hebrides Community Planning Partnership, undated).

2.2.2 Capturing Policies Promoting Spatial Justice in England

The UK's devolutionary and decentralisation trends described in Section 2.1.1. were most recently furthered in England by the **2011 Localism Act**, and **City Region Devolution Deals**. Counter to these trends has been **the mainstreaming of rural policy** in England over the past decade, including measures such as uniting some district rural councils together as large, singly-located unitaries (as in the NULAG case study area); and a reduction in the focus on rural communities as opposed to the environmental and agricultural aspects of rural governance. Finally, the incremental removal of formal policy monitoring over the last decade, via **the abolition of a wide range of national outcome indicators in England** (although a similar system of monitored indicators remains in force in Scotland and the other devolved administrations), has resulted in a reduction in capacity to identify policy impacts and spatial differences in outcomes, which may be said to have implications for spatial justice. These are all complex legal and policy issues, which are explained in more detail in the Annex, Section 6.2.2.

Northumberland:
- EU regional funds strategies: as described in the Northumberland case study report for this project, regional level governance outside of major cities in the UK is weak, although this was not the case up to 2012, when a Regional Development Agency oversaw the distribution of EU funds to both urban and rural parts of the region. Regional funds were focused on the economy, community and infrastructure, though the latter two aspects were dropped from the 2007-2013 funding programme (Charles and Mitchie, 2013). Funds increased in the next phase, 2014-2020, following the financial crisis and recession. When the regional level of government introduced in 1999 was rescinded in 2010, it was replaced over time with Local Enterprise Partnerships - primarily voluntary-led organisations with a more limited role focused on business.
- This period also saw EU funds reorganised according to the subnational administrations of the UK. Thus, single operational programmes were introduced

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for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland and the North East became part of the England programme. This means that the United Kingdom Rural Development Programme for England (DEFRA, 2014, updated in 2018) can be seen as a significant regional programme that addresses the spatial injustices experienced by rural areas and businesses, by comparison with urban areas.

- The post-2010 regional devolution policy described in the previous (national policy) section has confronted some difficulties in forming a stable regional body. In the North East this resulted in a breakaway organisation evolving from the three most northerly authorities within the original North East Combined Authority. This North of Tyne Combined Authority began operation and attained its first elected mayor in May 2019. Being so new, it has yet to issue any policy.

- Northumberland County Council: spatial organisation and development in England takes place under the legal authority of a Local (Development) Plan. At the time of the Northumberland case study, this had not been updated for reasons based on political and policy changes (as described in the RELOCAL Northumberland case study report), and the current draft plan was still going through examination (NCC, 2018a). While attending to the policies within the new draft plan, legal authority continued to lie with 'saved policies' from earlier plans, some of which dated back to the 1990s (NCC, 2018b).

London:
- Of general relevance is (the Mayor of London) Sadiq Khan's draft new London Plan, with its emphasis on social inclusion; also, its concept of "good growth" – growth that is inclusive (as described in Brooks et al, 2019b).

- In terms of the regional policy that is most relevant to the spatial injustice of homelessness in London, this is the London Housing Strategy, published in May 2018 but only formally adopted in August 2018 (Mayor of London, 2018). Unlike its predecessor London Housing Strategy (Mayor of London, 2014), the new Strategy has a chapter dedicated to "Tackling homelessness and helping rough sleepers". Furthermore, the statement on p 18 that the mayor "wants it to be recognised that lack of action in other areas – such as reforming private renting and building more affordable homes – is a direct cause of the homelessness crisis" can be said to reflect its social justice approach to homelessness.

- In terms of the local policies most relevant to the disparities of socio-economic opportunities and outcomes in the local area, the Lewisham Core Strategy (2011), and Town Centre Local Plan (2014), as described in (Brooks et al., 2019b) are most relevant.

2.3.1 Differences between these higher-level policies and local practical policy with regards to spatial justice

Scotland

The establishment of HIE reflects EU thinking that the Highlands and Islands face different challenges to other parts of the UK, reflected by a separate funding allocation. This specifically acknowledges, on both parts, that a Scotland-wide, one-size-fits-all policy does not work for the region and concentrates on what works for more populous areas.

Therefore, both HIE and the EU recognise that a more bespoke package, tailored to suit the particular economic circumstances of the region, offsets disadvantages.

England

NULAG: The 2011 Localism Act introduces a raft of new powers for communities that appear to promise greater control over neighbourhoods and local assets. The new Neighbourhood Planning powers introduced in the Act have been widely taken up, initially more in rural than in urban areas. In terms of the practical implementation of the current round of LEADER at England level, this is intended to be bottom-up by both the Local Authority (see NCC, 2014) and the EU (EC, 2008); but in practice this bottom-up dimension was curtailed by a) a lack of paid officer time in Phase 2 NULAG, relating to expansion of the England scheme in this phase without increasing the overall proportion of Rural Development Programme Funding that LEADER is allocated and also b) due to top-down framing of the programme and its conditions overriding the Local Development Strategies developed by LEADER applicants – including the way the funding in this phase is structured to be focused on economic growth and jobs creation, but also the rescinding of an international dimension.

At regional level, equally, it might also be noted that the Localism Act, 2011, was the legal instrument which abolished Regional Strategies, and at the same time, brought in new community level planning, through the Neighbourhood Planning initiative. But the loss of a regional level of governance except for what is represented by the City Deals and Local Enterprise Partnerships in England may actually decrease the potential of European funding to mitigate the spatial disparities between rural and urban areas in a large rural area, due to the loss of rural communities expertise that was part of the remit of Regional Development Agencies as well as the loss of the kinds of levels of staffing which are necessary to achieve effective outreach to large and remote rural areas.

At a broader level, a loss of rural knowledge locally has accompanied the removal of the second, 'district' tier of governance in 2009 when the two layers of the local authority were joined together in a single 'unitary', Northumberland County Council. This took place in tandem with mainstreaming of a rural communities strand in national policy at around this time, and its subsumption into a central government department primarily focused on agriculture and environment. This means that the potential to reduce rural and urban disparities and increase regional-level spatial justice through EU-funded programmes such as LEADER is likely to be hampered by a lack of expert knowledge on the needs and issues of rural communities at both the Local Authority and at government departmental levels.

P/L: In terms of the Localism Act, the higher-level policy and legislation is focused upon greater rights and powers for local places and local people:

> The Government is committed to passing new powers and freedoms to town halls [i.e. Local Authorities]. We think that power should be exercised at the lowest practical level - close to the people who are affected by decisions, rather than distant from them. Local authorities can do their job best when they have genuine

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freedom to respond to what local people want, not what they are told to do by central government. In challenging financial times, this freedom is more important than ever, enabling local authorities to innovate and deliver better value for taxpayers' money. (CLG, 2011).

This approach, in particular the 'general power of competence' for councils introduced in the Act, and explained further in Sections 3.1.2 and Annex 6.2.2, made schemes such as P/L in Lewisham, and cross-London schemes such as PLACE Ltd possible. But as suggested in the London case study report, in practice the 'general power of competence' empowers councils to act without taking into account the views of some of the eventual users and beneficiaries of their initiatives, as well as of the places where they will be located.

The new draft London Plan has an emphasis on social inclusion and the needs of disadvantaged people, which is an important change in tone, compared with the previous London Plan (Mayor of London, 2011). But this does not necessarily find a reflection or parallel in Lewisham local authority's discourse around P/L – see also the top-down way in which the evolution of P/L is described in the Local Democracy Review that has recently taken place in the Borough (L B Lewisham, 2018, and see also Figure 2 reproduced below).

2.3.2 Influence of EU cohesion policy or similar EU policies on national policy and/or academic discourses related to spatial justice

Scotland
In the local CPP (Outer Hebrides CPP), there is an emphasis on "equivalence and parity" in the context of the local authority, with a focus on population regeneration and buoyancy that addresses the particular strengths (renewable energy, community land ownership, tourism, heritage and culture, marine environment etc.) and weaknesses (connectivity, fuel poverty, ferry costs and capacity) of the area.

England
NULAG: If EU cohesion policy can be seen as reflected in the integrated governance of regions, then it is relevant here that the EU funding programme influenced the adoption of a regional level of government in England which brought together funds for rural and urban areas in a more coherent whole. When this regional level was disbanded in 2010-12 the EU funds were henceforth mainly distributed via sub-regional organisations with an exclusive business focus, the Local Enterprise Partnerships. LEADER was an exception to this, being ultimately distributed from central government, through DEFRA, but also as we have seen, with the imposition of a top-down economic focus in the fifth iteration (equal to the second phase of NULAG).

P/L: The discourse of social inclusion features in EU policy (EU social charter) and has become embedded in the concept of social justice. This emerges in particular in the language and "good growth" approach of the draft new London Plan, which represents the regional level of policy influencing future versions of P/L, both in the London Borough of Lewisham and London-wide, through PLACE Ltd.

2.3.1 Framing the Case in Scotland

SC makes an interesting case study in the Scottish national context, since it represents a place-based policy response and allows greater understanding about how policy mechanisms such as the Land Reform and CPPs provide spatial justice opportunities or otherwise. The selection of Lewis is also particularly timely in light of the new Islands Act (2018), which aims to consider national policy in the light of specific island challenges. In the context of RELOCAL, it makes an interesting case because it enhances understanding about how community buy-outs promote a new type of spatial justice for rural communities, and the way in which Strengthening Communities is facilitating this process (or not).

2.3.3 Framing the Cases in England

NULAG – the Northumberland Uplands LEADER group – is a community development action, funded by the EU, set in the Northumberland Uplands. This area which is among England's most remote and sparsely populated rural areas, faces familiar challenges of other remote rural areas, such as isolation, maintaining public services, good quality jobs and affordable housing. Within its boundaries it includes the Northumberland National Park, (a Planning Authority in its own right), and is itself situated within the wider Northumberland County Council, now operating for a decade as a unitary local authority, replacing a two-tier local authority composed of six district councils and a higher county-wide tier. The Regional level of governance for the North East region where the action is set was dissolved in 2012. These changes in governance structures at various timepoints and scales are interesting in terms of their impact on the capacity of a scheme such as LEADER to mitigate spatial injustices, both between the Uplands and the region's urban areas and between its own settlements and inhabitants.

P/L is a scheme in the London Borough of Lewisham that takes advantage of the long delays in planning and developing urban sites to provide temporary and moveable housing for 24 homeless families and a roughly equivalent number of start-ups and small enterprises in its ground floor enterprise hub. The London Borough of Lewisham is a growing Inner London borough, the second most ethnically diverse borough in London and scores high on levels of deprivation for Income, Crime, Barriers to Housing and Services and Living Environment, compared to other England Local Authorities. The use of vacant city space to provide high quality temporary accommodation is being pioneered in this scheme and already has inspired both further replications of the scheme within the Borough, and a London-wide replication, PLACE Ltd. This case study offers an interesting opportunity to explore to what extent a small-scale local initiative can have impacts on spatial justice at higher levels, and to what extent a temporary (or 'meanwhile') project can work towards or against spatial justice at a local scale.

3. The Studied Cases in a Comparative Perspective

3.1 Characterising the Cases

3.1.1 Maturity of the Actions – Scotland and England

A broad contrast can be drawn between the actions in terms of maturity.

In April 1991 HIE replaced the Highlands and Islands Development Board, a public body in Scotland responsible for distributing government grants for economic and cultural development of the Highlands that was launched on 1 November 1965. Strengthening Communities and Fragile Areas is one of four of HIE's priorities, which recognises that strong communities contribute significantly to the delivery of sustainable economic growth, particularly in remote rural areas. Such a strand of work has existed to some extent since HIE formed, but its current form – SC – has existed since 2007.

The LEADER programme in England dates back to 1991 and is now on its fifth iteration. Even in rural Northumberland, LEADER dates back to the 1990s, although the Uplands LAG was not created until 2007, when the former county-wide LEADER group was redistributed into two new LAGS representing the county's Uplands area and the Coastal and Lowlands respectively (also with parts of the Northumberland-wide LAG redistributed to the North Pennines LAG). Thus NULAG, or Northumberland Uplands LAG, dates back to 2007 and thus was around a decade in existence at the beginning of the case study.

By contrast, the PLACE/Ladywell action in London was first conceived by the London Borough of Lewisham in August 2014, and the scheme was opened to its first residential and business tenants less than two years later in July 2016. By 2018 replication schemes in both the Borough of Lewisham and plans for cross-London replication were underway. As anticipated, plans were recently announced to move it from its current location on Lewisham High Street to a new location, in 2020 when it will have stood for four years on the current site, to make way for a development of around 200 new homes including social housing (Witton, 2019).

Difference. One of the main differences between the two English actions is that the first derives from a supra-national level rural development initiative that began with optional and only partial coverage of the country's rural areas, but gradually expanded to a more comprehensive - if more modestly-funded - rural programme. The second was a small-scale, local authority-level experiment, that expanded first through three more replications across the local authority area; and then through a larger regional-level replication, which may yet prove influential outwith the London region.

Commonality In terms of commonality, it can be said that both rural UK case studies have attempted to foster and enable greater autonomy by promoting empowerment and bottom-up responses to tackle spatial (in)justice. Both the urban and rural English actions have undergone a reduction in local participation over the time of their existence,

although this is not the case for the Scottish case study. In NULAG, nevertheless, the steering of the action by a group of Uplands located residents and professionals assures the inclusion of a certain degree of place-connectedness and local knowledge. In the London case, although local residents may still benefit from access to the ground floor enterprise hub, the small element of local input into the management of the scheme, in terms of the Local-authority led consultation on the uses that should be made of the hub, seems to have been lost or reduced, because most of the first commercial tenancies did not endure.

3.1.2 Situating the Cases with regard to their contributions to policy areas

Scotland

SC aims to build capacity within communities, mainly through supporting development trusts and social enterprises by means of grant and loan funding, as well as mentoring in business development, networking, and strategic planning. Such support is designed to foster the profitability and independence of local bodies, enabling them in turn to facilitate further local social and economic initiatives. SC aims to be explicitly place-based and attempts to address spatial injustices by empowering and enabling communities to become more autonomous in an area that faces the paired challenges of remoteness (though many from Lewis contest the language of remoteness) and de-population. Lewis is also an area where European money has been heavily invested and there are questions around where that financial support is likely to come from post-Brexit.

One core dimension of SC is HIE's long-term work to support and facilitate the ongoing transfer of landed estates under private ownership on the Western Isles (and throughout the Highlands) into community ownership. Lewis has been at the forefront of efforts to bring land into community ownership in Scotland; around 72% of the Lewis population now reside on community owned land.

HIE's Community Assets team supports groups that are looking to acquire land or buildings for their communities. Members of the team act as case officers for the Scottish Land Fund, a Scottish government-supported programme, delivered in partnership with HIE and the National Lottery Community Fund, that offers grants of up to £1 million to help communities "take ownership of the land and buildings that matter to them, as well as practical support to develop their aspirations into viable projects" (The National Lottery, 2019).

A second dimension of the SC theme is HIE's key approach to working with localities, 'Community Account Management' (CAM). CAM effectively describes the cultivation of a long-term relationship between HIE and the community trusts and social enterprises it supports.[6] HIE offers the communities under its account management ongoing financial and business mentoring, network-building and funding over three to five years (at the

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[6] Community trusts are non-profit making organisations established to manage an asset – in many cases in Lewis, the land – for public benefit whilst social enterprises are businesses that re-invest profit to support the social good.

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outset) with the goal of fostering economic growth and building capacity. CAM has been offered to a number of the community trusts that have formed in the wake of land buyouts, and constitutes one of HIE's principal tools for fostering their continuity and sustainability. In this respect, CAM might be seen, in part, as a complement to HIE's work to facilitate land reform on the Western Isles. Another part is the Community Assets programme - which supports communities that are seeking to buy out privately-owned land and/or purchase infrastructures, such as schools, for local use. We explored the workings of these programmes in relation to Lewis' Community Land Trusts in particular.

England

The two English case studies contribute to very disparate policy areas. The **NULAG** case study relates mostly to maintaining, (in however attenuated a form in its latest iteration), a strand of place-based and locally-steered rural communities development[7] funding and awareness in the recent context of incremental erosion of rural communities policy at the national (England) level; (to fully appreciate this point, see Annex 6.2.2, which includes a detailed description of the impacts of the recent 'mainstreaming' of rural policy in England).

The **P/L** case study has contributed mostly to policies that aim to maximise the potential use of vacant urban space, usually known as 'meanwhile' uses (promoted as a policy, for example, in the draft new London Plan - GLA, 2017: 160-161). This is taking place both through developing the capacity of the precision-built modular housing industry to manufacture off-site, movable housing units that can be erected and demounted quickly and at low cost; and through developing planning guidance for temporary residential uses on urban land that awaits development. In theory, 'meanwhile' uses should contribute to animating empty spaces, supporting place-making and developing community social capital, but in the case of P/L, this is a secondary and perhaps somewhat underdeveloped dimension. The action is also weak in terms of its impacts on the spatial injustice of homelessness in London and the various policies in place to combat this, given the very small numbers of families that each scheme can accommodate.

Ultimately, however, PLACE Ltd, the cross-London replication scheme inspired by P/L, may make the greatest policy contribution, in offering a showcase of the new ways councils can work in collaboration and meet local needs through the 'general power of competence' and other provisions introduced in the 2011 Localism Act. In effect, the 'general power of competence' allows councils in England to act as developers, creating buildings in order to generate revenue streams which can then fund other aspects of their housing strategies. PLACE Ltd., when it comes into full operation in the next two to three years, will show to what extent councils are able to do this to the benefit of local communities and temporary housing residents, or conversely, to what extent PLACE style temporary homes operate independent of (perhaps even regardless of), the places where they are sited.

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[7] This represents the final component in the title of the government department responsible for dealing with rural matters in England, the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA).

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3.2 Findings Analytical Dimensions 1-5

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in) justice within the locality

Scotland

Inequalities were predominantly discussed in terms of within Lewis and the Western Isles rather than to in comparison to the wider Scottish context. Different measures of were used to aid this discussion including the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) (see Section 2.1.2). Spatial distribution of inequality within Lewis was often understood to be relatively minimal, but some geographical differences were noted. Some suggested, for example, that the SIMD had pinpointed the areas of West Stornoway, Carloway, and Pairc as relatively more deprived areas of Lewis. Characterisations of deprivation tended to be explained as by-products of the 'remoteness'. Stornoway, the main town, was often seen as a centralised site to which resources were disproportionately directed. Interviewees commented that Stornoway benefitted from services that other communities on Lewis did not.

HIE staff used to their own definition of **fragile areas** with respect to issues reflecting the geographical location of the action. They also made reference to recent work on **Sparsely Populated Areas**, commissioned by the Scottish Government, and authored by Copus and Hopkins (2018). This differs from the Scottish Government's own rural-urban classification, which uses drive times to population centres of 10,000 people as indicative of rurality and remoteness.

Perceptions of spatial inequalities can also vary within different sectors of the population. For example, older adults may be spatially disadvantaged due to the absence of health and social care opportunities; children may be disadvantaged due to the absence of schools and extracurricular activities; and teenagers and young adults may be disadvantaged due to a lack of transport opportunities.

Dynamics of spatial (in)justice in Lewis are also shaped by multiple interacting power relations and layers of governance that can constrain or open up possibilities for progressive action. In particular, configurations of land ownership, the distribution of common and crofting land, and opportunities for taking action on the land are critical dimensions of local empowerment.

Although **community land buyouts** on Lewis and the establishment of community trusts have opened up possibilities for greater local autonomy in addressing local issues, and some decentralisation of power and resources to localities, the buyouts should not be perceived as leading to spatial equality *per se*. For example, not all community trusts have access to the same opportunities. In the case study area, we found that this was specifically related to whether or not the Trust had established early enough to tap into the potential of community energy; those Trusts that had been able to do so were more financially successful than those that hadn't.

England

NULAG: Connection is an important dimension in the Northumberland Uplands case study, where towns and villages to the north and west of the case study catchment area are poorly connected and remote. Residence in these kinds of locations within the Uplands is one category of disadvantage noted by the interviewees for this study. The others are: Younger people; Older people; Disabled people; Low-paid people; Low-skilled people; People who cannot access consultancy support with the (LEADER) forms; Businesses with low financial resources and reserves. In the action's documentation (Local Development Strategies were created for each of the action's two phases), the need to retain young people and the difficult situation of young people in rural areas are especially highlighted. At the stakeholder involvement event, it emerged that some well-connected market towns with were also seen as disadvantaged, due to high levels of unemployment and people on low incomes.

P/L: With regard to the P/L case study, there is an awareness that the scheme's locality within Lewisham, Lewisham Central Ward, is run down and disadvantaged in relation to its more prosperous neighbours, Ladywell Ward and Blackheath Ward. People on low incomes generally are understood to be disadvantaged by London's under-regulated and overpriced property and rental markets. Connectivity is also important: north of the locality of the case study action is generally better connected, but the site of the case study benefits from good bus routes and a five-minute walk to an overland train service connected with central London. The south of the Borough, lower down Lewisham High Street than the case study action, is generally the worst-connected part of the Borough.

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

Scotland

HIE are specifically facilitating many National Policies by supporting communities and services and facilitating the process of land reform in Lewis. More broadly, HIE delivers the Scottish Government's Economic Strategy using Scottish Government funds and, to some extent, it is funded through European Structural Investment Funds. The Scottish Government is the managing authority for these funds in Scotland – specifically, the European Rural Development Fund and the European Social Fund - which it distributes to ESIF partners, of which HIE is one. Thus, to some extent these processes are facilitated by European money.

England

NULAG: In Northumberland, to some extent, social justice has come to be a greater consideration than spatial justice. Initially, all EU funds were focused upon the urban part of the North East region. Since 2000, however, there was a move away from the initial focus in EU funds on developing economic infrastructure and growth in the region's urban areas to include the rural as well as urban parts of the region in a coherent strategy for all parts of the region, by ONE, the Regional Development Agency. When in 2012 the regional level of governance was abolished, EU development funds came under the aegis of sub-regional bodies, the Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), that nominally embrace both urban and rural areas. However, in practice, due to the size of grants (all medium to larger

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scale) and the geographical basing of the LEP in the region's urban core, (as well as the deployment of a very inclusive definition of what constitutes a rural area), EU funds are again mainly focused upon the North East's urban areas.

This picture is not helped by the relative disarray of rural policy in England, and in the case study area – due to factors such as mainstreaming rural policy (see Annex 6.2.2), the dissolution of the body that reported on the social dimensions of the countryside in England (the Commission for Rural Communities), and at local level, the removal of a lower level of district local authorities, that were closer to their rural catchments than the county-wide unitary authority that replaced them. The website of the unitary council, Northumberland County Council, focuses on a small number of social rather than spatial justice issues (mainly directly connected with the council's statutory duties) and the council does not at present have a rural policy.

P/L: London's regional development policy is focused upon "inclusive growth" for the city of London, which means in practical terms, increased housing and jobs creation targets, while paying attention to social justice; and to this end, development of volume house building and use of temporary sites. In this respect it might be said that development, cohesion and spatial justice at the regional scale will be served by this action at the expense of spatial justice at the local level, in that the long-term regeneration and place-making requirements of local areas such as the run-down but historical area of Lewisham High Street where PLACE/Ladywell is situated comes a poor second place to the pressures for more low-cost housing and more jobs Borough-wide and in the Metropolis as a whole.

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

Scotland

HIE's working relationships with the Western Isles Local Authority
It is important to note the historical entanglements between HIE and the local authority with respect to economic and social development practices on the island. During the 1990s, the local authority had established a relatively large team of community development staff, a number of whom were located within different townships on Lewis. When HIE was planning its own programme of work in local communities, discussions were held about the possibility of the local authority and HIE working together to implement a joint community development programme, in order to prevent the duplication of effort – and specifically the duplication of community-based roles. However, HIE went ahead with its programme and the local authority ultimately opted to withdraw most of its community-based staff so as to avoid duplication, but meetings between the two do frequently still happen. In many respects, the local authority and HIE still appear to be negotiating their relative roles. There were hints from members of the local authority, community trusts, HIE and others, that radical change might be afoot, with the possible emergence of a new hybrid body, which would bring HIE staff together with economic development staff from the local authority.

Partnership working

The relational dynamics between the local authority and HIE point towards the complexities and challenges of enabling collaboration between different institutional bodies. The Community Planning Partnership (CPP), was viewed in the case study as, as largely not fit for purpose viewed as being a "talking shop", rather than a genuine space for action. The type of interaction which happens by the bodies on the CPP already happens informally, thus the CPP was viewed as being superfluous. It was implied that the CPP continued as it did largely because its presence was a statutory requirement in all Scottish Local Authority areas. Some of the inefficacy emerged due to the difficulties of streamlining relationships between institutions ordered around radically different scales and dynamics of power. Thus, for example, where the local authority considered itself "autonomous", beholden to the regions (throughout the Western Isles) that its councillors represented, the Health Board, like the HIE office, was heavily orientated towards fulfilling obligations set higher up their respective institutional chains elsewhere in Scotland and more widely in the UK. Similarly, each body was subject to the demands set by their different funding streams, with the effect that, by necessity, taking action as an individual organisation tended to be prioritised over collaborative strategic planning, sometimes with deleterious effects.

England

NULAG: over the course of the last ten years, Northumberland LEADER has been subject to five to six layers of governance: EU, National (through DEFRA), Rural Payments Agency (regional/national), (formerly) Regional Development Agency, Northumberland County Council (Local), Northumberland National Park Authority (sub-Local). There is some push back from the lower levels towards the higher levels – for example, Northumberland County Council, as well as the NULAG Board of Members, claim to have resisted the more bureaucratic barriers to projects placed in their way by the Rural Payments Agency a regional wing of DEFRA. The action seems also to have had more autonomy in the first, compared to the second phase. In the latter phase the process became more bureaucratic and the purpose of the funding was rigidly constrained by central government to mainly capital funding with a job creation focus. In terms of coordination with other local bodies, this appears to have been better in the first phase when there was more funding and a better funded rural development ecosystem operating in the Uplands, but to some extent patterns of inter-organisational networking continue, for example, in a multi-organisational group that meets every six weeks to discuss the best funder for applications received, and if necessary, to refer applicants on to more appropriate local funders.

P/L: The case study action was initiated and is being replicated by the London Borough of Lewisham local council. Lewisham is unusual for a UK local authority in having multiple layers of governance: a regional level (Greater London Authority), and an elected Borough Mayor (one of only four London Boroughs to have this), are superimposed on the usual local authority governance structures (whereby politically neutral council officers provide the executive to policy steered by councillors, that is, elected members, mainly affiliated to parliamentary political parties), and finally a sub-Borough level composed of 18 wards,

each of which is governed by a ward-level Local Assembly, made up of three elected councillors.

While this might be assumed to create a more responsive and integrated governance for the Borough, in practice it seems that this works mainly to link the Borough with higher levels, for example coordinating planning and strategy between the borough and the metropolis, but may not work so well in linking the Borough or Metropolis with the lower (ward assembly) levels.[8]

In terms of the coordination and management of the action itself, this is fragmented between three different management organisations which do not appear to be coordinated between themselves in supporting the scheme to work for its housing and business tenants, as well as for local residents.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement
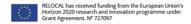
Scotland

Autonomy of HIE's Stornoway-based Strengthening Communities team and other local actors

Over the past ten years, there has been an organisational trend in HIE towards centralisation. What has emerged is a shift from a more relational and locally grounded mode of organisational practice and a shift in decision-making and control towards Inverness, somewhat stymying the capacity of area-based HIE officers to respond with versatility to local needs and desires.

Autonomy of account managed community land trusts

In terms of HIE's working relationships with local communities, both implicitly within HIE and explicitly amongst its beneficiaries (and non-beneficiaries) there was a general sense that whilst the organisation remained crucial to the survival of community trusts in some cases (not least by virtue of its direct funding of management roles trusts not in receipt of benefits from renewable energy projects), HIE's capacity to tailor its offering effectively towards local needs had been increasingly curtailed. Nonetheless, it was clear that account managed trusts benefitted considerably from it, finding that they were given grants, as well as guidance and orientation on external funding that they would not otherwise have been privy to. At the same time, non-account managed community organisations often complained that they had been left out in the cold, and suffered greater challenges in progressing their work; in this, there was a suggestion that HIE account management was something of a zero-sum game: it was constituted as a near guarantee for growth – or failing that, continuity (since HIE has not yet let go of any community trust that isn't yet able to sustain itself) – for those trusts that were in receipt of account management. But those that were not account managed attested to the difficulties of progressing without HIE's support.

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[8] An initiative of the new Borough Mayor, who took office in 2018, in the form of an ongoing consultation on democratic involvement participation and engagement may be seeking to address this deficiency

England

NULAG: The picture is somewhat different in Northumberland, where the case study action is run by a Board of local volunteers, and part of the remit of the LEADER group is to publicise the local action and reach out to all parts of the catchment area to invite applications for LEADER funds. The case study reviews ten years of the action, operating in two phases. There was greater autonomy in the first phase, initiated before the financial crisis and was shaped by the bottom-up Local Development Strategy prepared as part of the application process for the LEADER funds. In phase two, autonomy was overridden by an austerity-induced ministerial intervention focusing the programme on capital funding for job creation, which limited the extent to which the bottom-up strategy created for this phase could be implemented. To some extent, the transfer of the hosting of the action from the National Park to the Local Authority in Phase 2 also curtailed autonomy, based on the conformative and risk-averse approach of the latter.

Local community and neighbourhoods were better involved in the first phase of the action, with regard to both processes and applications. Not only was there more resource for outreach by paid staff in the first phase of the action, supporting wider recruitment for the Board, and connection with more disadvantaged rural groups and remoter locations, but there was a two-tier application process, with a simpler form for small grants. This which supported less experienced and well-resourced applications.

By phase two a single Programme Officer undertook such outreach as was possible, recruitment to the Board was through the existing networks of Board members, and a single application process was imposed by the regional/national layer of governance (the Rural Payments Agency) for all sizes of grant, down even to the minimum of £2,500. There was less possibility of local engagement and the action was able to operate without much sense of local scrutiny or involvement beyond that of Board Members, including the host and accountable body (Northumberland County council); and the few professional networks in which the action's Programme Officer participated.

P/L: In Lewisham, there is increasing autonomy for innovative initiatives at the Borough and Metropolitan governance levels through the General Power of Competence introduced through the 2011 Localism Act. However, autonomy at lower levels could be said to be diminishing, based on factors such as London's regional- and borough- level (as opposed to neighbourhood-level), approach to spatial justice. This has led Lewisham to focus retail, jobs and housing development in the best-connected location, north of the locale (thus potentially increasing the disparity in deprivation and opportunities between the different wards of the borough). The locality is located at the edge of an area earmarked for development that will transform it from a retail centre of local importance to one of Metropolitan (London-wide) significance. This proximity affects the plans for the regeneration and development of the locality and site: while it needs to be conserved and enhanced, any retail must not compete with the major retail centre located further to the north on the same high street.

A further factor reducing local autonomy, participation and engagement is the austerity-related pressure on voluntary sector organisations (often the main representatives of the voice of local disadvantaged people).

An illustration of this paradoxical picture of greater council autonomy but a relative dearth of local participation is the slide reproduced below in Figure 1. This is taken from Lewisham Borough Council Powerpoint presentation, available on the website it created for its 2018 public consultation on increasing democracy and participation in the Borough, which took place in 2018. As can be seen from Figure 1, there is no mention here of the role of either the local or neighbourhood communities, nor of the client group for the housing (or even of the initial public consultation on the scheme's ground-floor enterprise hub that took place prior to opening).

Figure 1: Example of Effective Decision Making in Lewisham, Slide 13 of Local Democracy Review Presentation
Source: London Borough of Lewisham, 2018.

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

Scotland

Forms of place-based knowledge: common understanding of problems, joint learning and shared network capital

Those research participants in the case study were found to occupy multiple roles at different levels of governance, or represent both their organisation and a community, and,

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on occasion, a Trust and the CPP too. Participants described this as "wearing multiple hats" or being actors in a number of different contexts and/or organisations. Wearing multiple hats has meant that research participants were present, in different roles, across different levels and layers of governance. Being engaged in multiple roles means that spatial inequalities and injustices are understood in more complex ways. There was good awareness of HIE's work and the fact that local practitioners took on multiple responsibilities helped – in some respects – to facilitate common understanding, joint learning and shared networks. Thus, a cultural environment with evidence of both bridging and bonding social capital helps to facilitate the success of SC.

CPPs represent a formalised mechanism by which joint-learning and best practice are meant to be instigated. HIE's inclusion on the CPP allows them to collaborate with different governing actors, translating and improving top-down and bottom-up contexts and methods of delivery that best meet needs and target spatial inequalities and injustices.

Spatial scope of intervention and the mobilisation/adaptability of knowledge
Trusts have mechanisms for assessing the impact of their work. These differ to those used by HIE to assess impact. On the whole assessment of impact was related to progress and the benchmark of what was happening before the community buy-outs. Trusts often compared their progress to other Trusts, with those who perceived themselves to be less successful usually attributing this to a lack of access to community energy.

SC was found to be highly responsive to place-based needs and the unique characteristics, dynamics, assets, social capital and human agency related to each community. The programmes of work organised under SC has been the result of HIE's long-standing investment in the region, which has been fundamental in mobilising place-based responses by instigating and employing adaptable approaches to suit needs identified by communities to a greater or lesser extent through the years.

England
NULAG: In Northumberland, much of the place-based knowledge on which the action is based is gathered and synthesised for the foundational document, the Local Development Strategy, on which the bid for LEADER funds is based. As the information is gathered for this strategy prior to the start of the action, it can easily become out of date (as arguably happened in Phase 1 due to the financial crisis and change of national government that took place between 2008-13; while phase 2 saw major welfare restructuring incrementally introduced through its period of operation of 2014-2019). Due to the reduction in resources for staff between the two phases of the action, it was easier to update and improve knowledge of catchment communities and their needs in the course of the action in Phase 1 as compared with Phase 2. Exchanges of place-based knowledge with other, similar areas across Europe were also similarly curtailed in Phase 2.

Nevertheless, the structure of the action, which is steered by a Board of local volunteers with good local connections, ensured continued contributions of up-to-date and relevant place-based knowledge to the development and support of applications for LEADER funds.

At the higher level, the action has been able to bring about a degree of networking between England's rural areas, its local authorities and the higher levels of regional and national bodies, such as the LEPs and the RPA and DEFRA. Although initially it seemed that the knowledge exchange was mainly top-down, requiring lower levels to adapt to the requirements of an inflexible higher level, and without reciprocal higher-level learning, it emerged later in the study that the national level is making an effort to remain engaged and responsive through site visits to England LEADER groups, as well as through participation in a group of 25 LEADER representatives, the LEADER exchange group. From this engagement, it has become clear to the scheme's lead at government departmental level that the outreach work of Programme Officers is essential to the scheme's success.

P/L: Place-based knowledge and organisational learning apply more at the regional (that is, London-wide) scale in terms of the personal and organisational contacts that have led to the replication of the P/L scheme at a London-wide scale by the coalition of London councils body called PLACE Limited.

The main forms of place-based knowledge influencing the Lewisham scheme itself seem to have been that of the council officers who initiated it, and the place understanding generated through the local plan-making process, including the town centre plan for Lewisham. The planning process itself was said to have raised only one main objection against the scheme, from a pub facing the scheme site, which was concerned a residential use might generate complaints about the normal kinds of disruption associated with a pub. There appears to have been a lack of consultation with local people, homeless families, or their representatives, about the design of the accommodation, and while local people were consulted on the kinds of business that should occupy the ground floor enterprise hub, the initial organisation of that hub in response to the consultation did not endure. Since the scheme opened in 2016, there has since been considerable churning in the commercial tenancies. Commercial tenants interviewed for the study – representing those who have survived the first two years of the scheme – appear to be responsive to the needs of the local area, which may well be a factor in their endurance. The development of the forecourt area as a community and building resource was being explored in early 2019 by an enterprise hub management organisation in tandem with the council, (but had not materialised into any actions by August of that year), and it was not clear whether the commercial tenants or residents may have been consulted about this development.

3.3 Findings Synthesising Dimensions A-C
- Analysing the cases out of a comparative perspective with regard to the synthesising dimensions A-C

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors

The factors that promote procedural and distributive justice within the locality can be summarised as follows:

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Promoters

- Communities on Lewis that have bought out their land from private landowners over the past two decades have been able – as a result – to develop locally-tailored projects and initiatives. These include land-based and cultural regeneration schemes; investment in local transport; and small grants programmes for local activities, amongst others. It is unlikely that similar schemes would have emerged had the estates remained in private ownership. HIE was viewed as being critical to this process happening.

- HIE's CAM programme has proved a crucial source of funding for community land trusts seeking to establish themselves after completing buyouts, as it recognises that communities that have gained autonomy must be enabled to establish their longer-term resilience. This is important, as it demonstrates HIE's recognition that processes of empowerment and autonomy do not stop when Trusts form and assets are purchased and develop.

- Recent Scottish Government legislation must also not go unrecognised, in particular the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Land Reform (Scotland) Acts of 2003 and 2016. These have been instrumental to the Land Reform process in Scotland and have also provided a supportive environment for the bottom-up and place-based foci of the Action.

- The case study has highlighted that the actors that we interviewed were highly networked and often "wore multiple hats" representing numerous interests. As mentioned earlier, this meant that research participants were present, in different roles, across different levels and layers of governance. This nexus heightened awareness of spatial inequalities and injustices and allowed them to be responded to with increased awareness of complexity. The CPP is meant to perform such a role, but our research suggests that the CPP effectively added another layer of bureaucracy to relational processes that were already underway on Lewis.

Inhibitors

- The effects of community buyouts have not been equitable across Lewis; those Trusts that own large assets or have been able to take advantage of government subsidies to install wind turbines on their land enjoy more resources, which enable them, in turn, to facilitate more wide-ranging place-based action. In short, community land buy-outs may have decreased spatial inequalities between Lewis and the rest of Scotland, but could be seen to have promoted greater spatial inequalities within Lewis, due in large part to differential access to community energy.

- With respect to CAM, HIE's emphasis on the need for community trusts to demonstrate a capacity for economic growth in order to quality for financial support, meant that smaller, newer trusts that had not managed to buy into renewable energy were less likely to receive HIE's aid. There is potentially a danger here of creating a two-tier system, whereby older, more asset-rich trusts are privileged over newer, more economically precarious trusts.

- Although not specifically mentioned by research participants, Brexit represents a threat for a number of reasons: lack of access to EU funds; uncertainty leading to

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economic downturn; and difficulties sustaining the current and future population of migrants, who play a key role in the rural economy of Scotland.

England

Promotors

NULAG: In Northumberland, factors that promote procedural and distributive justice within the locality can be summarised as follows:

- The involvement of local people, who volunteer, work and live in the Northumberland Uplands area, on the NULAG Board of Members.
- Although more in the first than second phase, Board Members have been recruited to represent a good coverage of Uplands locations and fields of expertise.
- Local Development Strategies created as part of each bid have required the gathering of local views and statistical evidence about need in the area.
- For most of Phase 1 of the action, the managing body was ONE North East, the Regional Development Agency (dissolved in 2012), which integrated urban and rural economic development in the North East.
- In both phases of the action, the NULAG Board have encouraged applications that meet the identified local needs, though more so in Phase 1.
- In-kind support in the first and second phases from both the Programme Officers and the NNPA has helped less skilled and experienced applicants to obtain grants.
- In Phase 2, the intermediation of the accountable body officers (NCC) with the managing agency (RPA) may have increased decision-making power for NULAG members.

P/L: The London Borough of Lewisham, the Local Authority which led the action, provided an extensive community consultation to determine the preferred uses for the P/L ground floor enterprise hub. The Borough has a history of innovative and radical policy, particularly with regard to housing, and is one of only four of London's 32 (standard) boroughs led by an elected mayor. The current Mayor, in office for less than a year, has a background in housing policy for the council, and as one of his first actions initiated a borough-wide consultation about how to achieve greater involvement for residents, local communities and businesses in local democracy. It can be hoped that this may improve the capacity of P/L users to get their voices (which so far only emerge in a published research study on the scheme) to be more widely heard; and potentially to influence the development of the cross-Lewisham and London replication schemes.

Inhibitors: *The factors that constrain procedural and distributive justice within the locality can be summarised as follows:*

NULAG: In Northumberland what was intended to be a bottom-up, rural action has become incrementally increasingly constrained by four to five layers of top-down governance. In the most recent phase, the influence of national governance in framing the kind of funding that is available and what it can be used for according to a growth-driven response to austerity is the biggest constraint on local people using the action to further procedural and distributive justice. Additionally, the complex application form and

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requirement for applicant organisations to provide a set of full, audited accounts, to meet all project costs upfront and to make retrospective claims to the Rural Payments Agency rules out low-capitalised NGOs and businesses from participating in the scheme.

Furthermore, for a number of structural and higher-level governance reasons, considerable rural governance knowledge and expertise has been lost to local government. NCC's consequent lack of attention to rural spatial disadvantage has led to an increasing loss of visibility of disadvantaged communities in its Uplands area. Spatial justice is not just about evening out large disparities of wealth and opportunity between regions, but can address the distribution of wealth and opportunity within regions. Various groups such as people in social or temporary housing, minorities in terms of ethnicity or sexual orientation, and those in politicised categories such as food bank users and people with drug and alcohol dependencies, do not seem to have been considered for inclusion in the kinds of community development initiative supported by LEADER. This is likely to relate in the first instance to scheme's (increasing) economic focus, as well as the highly demanding nature of the application process. The lack of statistical information on disadvantaged groups and the lack of direction regarding unmet need in the locality from the local authority may also be factors.

P/L: The initial procedural justice of inviting local people's say in the use of the ground floor enterprise hub did not result in an enduring impact (as the preferred uses were unsuccessful) and has not been extended over the life of the project. Related to this is that in common with local government across the UK, Lewisham council has been subject to repeated, substantial budgetary cuts since the financial crisis of 2008, and combined with the rising costs of meeting statutory obligations (in part related to impacts of recent national government strategies such as welfare reform, benefits freeze, and Local Housing Allowance rate freeze), this has led to a pared-down organisation that is obliged to focus upon cutting costs (even the case study action can be seen as savings-driven) and fulfilling statutory council functions. This can be seen to have so far developed somewhat at the expense of developing local participation and policies furthering neighbourhood spatial justice although P/L and its London-wide replication PLACE/Ltd can arguably be said to be likely to further local authority- and regional- level spatial justice in the long term.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Formal and Informal Empowerment. *The main mechanisms that produce or reproduce spatial injustice in the locality are as follows:*

Scotland
SC has increased the competences and capacities of the communities it works with by enabling communities to operate more autonomously. By facilitating the purchase of land or other assets that were previously unavailable or unattainable, SC has supported the creation and establishment of a new layer of local governance in the form of community trusts. What Trusts learn as they develop is shared through HIE, Community Land Scotland and an Annual meeting to support other Trusts in earlier stages of development.

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England

NULAG: Up to the present, the picture of potential for localised action has been deteriorating in Northumberland, in that public sectors and actions such as NULAG have lost staff and thus networking and exchange between organisations has been reduced. In the voluntary sector, the withdrawal of government funding streams since 2010 has led to increased competition between NGOs for funds and may have impacted likeliness to cooperate in joint actions. Intolerance of outsider groups appears to be increasing and issues such as the rights of gypsy, Roma and travellers, and of drug and alcohol dependent people and those with mental health problems may have become divisive in some communities. However, some current higher-level regional initiatives such as the Borderlands Initiative and North of Tyne Combined Authority appear to be bringing higher level actors together in the aim to take the maximum benefit from central government investment on offer through these.

P/L: The potential for localised action in terms of Lewisham third sector organisations and the residents and business tenants of P/L appears to be limited. However, at the regional level, the situation has reached a point of crisis which is now encouraging more joint working across London councils to tackle homelessness and also pushing political and opinion leaders, such as the Mayor of London, and the NGO Shelter, to consider the reintroduction of broader state-led intervention to support people in housing need, such as a major programme of new social housing construction and London-wide rent controls.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

Scotland
The Action directly responds to the wider needs of Lewis - as it facilitates a process of empowerment that increases autonomy and access to assets, most specifically land. Better access and community rights to and ownership of the land have been seen to reverse population and service decline, which is a major source of injustice and inequality in comparison to other Scottish areas.

It should be noted that the Action is located within a culturally and politically supportive environment that enables actors working at different levels of governance to come together and facilitates working across policy sectors. The Action answers calls by the Christie Commission in their review of public service delivery about place-based solutions to challenges involving multi-levels of governance across sectors. Arguably this process has been facilitated more through Trusts rather than through the CPPs, working in localities.

SC is viewed as being integral to the process of land reform in Lewis. In this sense, HIE's work has supported the reform of a major spatial injustice - the right to land. However, HIE can only support those Trusts that are able to demonstrate a basic capacity for economic growth, which not all can. The focus of a place-based approach at this level of governance thus runs the risk of promoting autonomy in the stronger communities to the

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detriment of weaker communities; which may lead to place-based disparities within Lewis. Due to the relatively early nature of Trusts' development on Lewis, it is not clear yet as to exactly whether spatial injustices will play out in such a way. The increased withdrawal of the local authority in community development processes due to austerity measures and concerns that they duplicate HIE's efforts may also result in future distributive injustices, particularly where the local authority has been supporting communities that HIE currently does not.

The Action is implicitly spatially just - it does not discriminate in terms of who can apply and is designed around empowering actors to take possession of (and manage) previously inaccessible assets in flexible ways. Although the benefits of this are only now beginning to be seen, the full extent of this enhanced autonomy in Lewis is still at its early stages. HIE's establishment sought to tackle the place-based disparities and challenges faced by some of Scotland's most remote communities. HIE is inherently place-based and its current programmes, including the Action, are the result of 50 years of refinement to support such place-based processes. It should be noted however, that these programmes are not without their external challenges. Specifically, austerity has, in the view of some Trust interviewees led to some withdrawal of HIE's activities on Lewis itself. Brexit also poses challenges, not least uncertainty, as well as a lack of access to European funding mechanisms.

England

Achievements over time and place

NULAG: NULAG is a volunteer-led body of local people from across the Northumberland Uplands who come together to distribute project grants to further local development. It is likely that the spatial injustice of the rural location, otherwise expressed as the disparity between the rural and urban areas of Northumberland, has to some extent been mitigated by the NULAG action in both phases.

Whether NULAG has succeeded in reducing spatial injustice within its own catchment – between places and between different groups of the rural disadvantaged – is more complex and difficult to determine. It has in both phases, to some degree, managed to reach two out of four of the main member-identified areas of local disadvantage in its processes, namely remote rural dwellers (through a number of Board Members located in the north and north west of the catchment area) and older people (through Board Members in retirement). Younger people were to some extent included through outreach activities and projects gathering their views and input, and through representation on the Board of Members in the first phase.

In terms of grant distribution (or outcomes) there has been success in distributing grant to groups representing younger people, over both phases, but particularly in the first phase of the funding. To a lesser extent, older and disabled people's interests have also been represented in successful grant applications. It is likely that in the first phase the hosting of action with an authority that represented only a small proportion of the catchment

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population somewhat skewed the distributional justice in terms of the location of grant beneficiaries. This may have been more equitable in Phase 2, when the Local Authority, which is responsible for the whole Northumberland Uplands, took over as host body.

P/L: The case study action in Lewisham likewise has spatial justice at regional, local and neighbourhood levels, and because it addresses three groups of users: residents (local homeless families), businesses and NGOs (in the enterprise hub) and the local community, its outcomes in terms of spatial justice are complex and likely to change over time. The scheme is most likely to be of benefit in terms of regional, London-wide, spatial justice, in demonstrating a model of a new kind of modular, factory-built housing that although in this 'meanwhile' (temporary) site version is at relatively small scale, might be built at volume in London to meet the housing needs created by accelerating population growth. Unlike the standard image of factory-made housing, it has proved to be energy efficient and of a high quality (at least at the level of the unit) and of attractive design so that it does not have an appearance of cheapness or impermanence. In common with the systems-built housing of the post-war period it can also be built in a short time-span at relatively low cost and to generous space standards.

In terms of the local, or borough-wide level, it might ultimately benefit homeless families by enabling them to stay in the borough of their choosing, but currently this is not the case as due to a lack of available move-on options, most of the tenants from the first four years of the scheme will be rehoused out of Borough. Also having an impact on its residents is the physical resilience of the building. Because it is as yet unclear whether it can in practice assemble to housing blocks with the robustness, demountability and adaptability claimed by its supporters, the scheme may present a short term improvement for the current group of residents but a longer-term disbenefit to future inhabitants – for example, if its positive aesthetic qualities do not endure across its serial moves, or if it proves unsuitable for certain sites due, for example, to the combination of use of design features like glass walls and balconies combined with local security issues.

Evaluation of impact on the locality

NULAG: In both phases of the Northumberland action, it is likely to have had some impact on improving the kind of rural disadvantage that is connected with remoteness and sparsity, by supporting small, locality-based organisations and businesses to maintain, improve or expand their operations, thus increasing the quality and range of Uplands based services, amenities, and jobs. Furthermore, it has undoubtedly raised social capital and brought into positions of responsibility and connection people who might otherwise have remained relatively isolated within their locale or sector. Board Members, grant applicants and those interacting with them in other local networks will have benefitted from the increased social capital and place-related knowledge generated by the action, to the benefit of future joint-working and general area development.

Arguments can be made for which phase of the action has had the greater overall impact on spatial justice. In the second phase, the freedom of NULAG to distribute resources according to identified need has been considerably curtailed by the requirement that 70%

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of the grant allocated should go towards (value-for-money) job creation, while only 30% can be allocated to other purposes. In the previous sub-section the unequal spatial distribution in Phase 1 was noted; but to put this into context, the processes of the new host body for Phase 2 were said to be more bureaucratic and constraining. Also in this phase, a number of factors tended to favour the better-capitalised and more experienced local actors over the smaller and new entrants, including: a bigger catchment and a less project-officer time to support grant applicants (compared with phase 1), combined with the same complex application procedure, whatever the size of the grant, plus a time squeeze resulting from repeated 'purdah' periods when no grant could be allocated due to the clustering of elections from 2015 to 2017. The action in Phase 2 may have therefore to some extent exacerbated social inequalities within the Uplands at the same time as it operated to mitigate the broader spatial inequality between rural and urban parts of the local authority area.

P/L: Although a 'tiny drop in the ocean' in terms of accommodating local families at risk of homelessness, the Lewisham scheme appears to be generally well-received in the locality and to have provided an upbeat prestige building in a run-down part of Lewisham Town Centre. In scale and height, it is broadly in character with the area, unlike the unpopular new high-rise building further up Lewisham High Street. Until its recent closure in December 2018, a strong link to the community, was The Good Hope Café, said to be particularly favoured by young mothers. This was a ground floor community café run by an NGO that doubled up as a 'safe haven' for young people at risk of street crime or violence. Multiple pressures – including what appears to be insufficient investment in management and coordination of the commercial premises on the ground floor along with security issues for businesses and tenants in a high crime area – have so far limited the local impact of the scheme. Longer term impacts are as yet unknown but if there are no enduring built-in links between the housing and the surrounding local community (such as the enterprise hub in the PLACE/Ladywell prototype), due either to the lack of access and footfall on the sites to which it is moved, or to the failure of tenant organisations, this is likely to reduce its potential to compensate for proximity of a long-term vacant site under planning permission for the local community.

4. Conclusions

There were three case studies in the UK, two rural, one urban; two in England and one in Scotland. Spatial injustices existed in all the UK case studies, however case studies were selected specifically to understand the way in which actions tackled spatial injustices in these places. In the UK, spatial injustices were usually described by stakeholders as being disadvantage related to places. Actions were a response to, and also responsive to, place-based needs and involve entrenched understanding over the localities over a long time-frame.

This National Report has been written reflecting the very different contexts in Scotland and England that have resulted because of devolution, which has resulted in complex place-based policies and legislation that does not exist in all parts of the UK. We found that across the UK there were complex interactions of policies at different scales, as well as multiple layers of governance which can lead to bureaucracy, and, in some cases constrain actions to achieve their aims. In this conclusion we attempt to draw out similarities between the case study areas where possible.

4.1 What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater spatial justice to the respective localities?

Two of the case studies - NULAG and SC – were more mature, having existed over numerous successive funding cycles. The third case study, P/L is in its first funding cycle and will move to a new location, impacting spatial justice in a different neighbourhood, in 2020.

In SC in Scotland, the action was facilitating community land buy-out processes which was enabling rural communities to generate place-based responses to complex rural issues. The action also provided access to funding post-asset purchase which afforded the community the opportunity to continue to develop. The case study highlighted that legislation (around Land Reform) had promoted place-based actions in a supportive environment. The communities being supported by the action displayed strong levels of bridging and bonding social capital. However, despite community land buy-outs providing positive place-based responses to local issues, the process is creating new and different forms of spatial injustices; particularly relating to "stronger" communities being more advantaged.

In P/L, at least some visibility is being given to the often-hidden issue of homeless families through the action. However, the number of families who are able to be supported by the scheme during its approximately four-year life span (around 48) is a negligible proportion of the number who are homeless in the Borough and in need of council support in obtaining accommodation (1,800 in 2017). The temporary nature of the scheme, which is to be moved to make way for new housing development in 2020 also limits its impacts on the locality – even the low-rise nature of the block which is in character with the area, will

make way for new 10-storey units, albeit with a commitment to include 50% of genuinely affordable housing in the new development.

In NULAG, there are both visible and invisible impacts. Visible evidence of the impact of the NULAG grants lies in a number of high-profile and distinctive, flourishing initiatives that have won regional and national acclaim. Some notable examples are: the Kielder Observatory, the Kielder Community Pump, the Humshaugh Village Shop, the Carriages tea-room, the Twice-Brewed micro-brewery and the Calvert Trust's outdoor adventure holidays where people along the full spectrum of disability and ability can try out new activities alongside one another. Invisible impacts include a modest increase in the number of good quality rural jobs, the social capital gained by successful grant applicants, from interacting with the Board of Members and learning from their extensive local knowledge; for the Board of Members themselves in gaining new skills and contacts through their exercise of the Board functions, some of them for the first time.

When comparing between the cases study areas, there were a number of similarities found. All three case study areas promoted a place-based response by recognising the needs of the area. SC and NULAG highlighted the importance of involving local people, and the enhancement of social capital. However, in SC it was found that the action favoured more established groups; whilst in NULAG less experienced applicants were encouraged to apply for funding to obtain grants although by Phase 2 several factors made it more likely for grants to go to well-capitalised and experienced applicants, as explained above. SC and P/L showed that innovative and radical policies can provide a supportive environment to enable autonomy and action. However, these actions may be enhancing the opportunities for one place that could generate new and different forms of spatial injustices.

4.2 How do the actions contribute to mitigating territorial disparities in the national context?

While none of the case studies appears to have effected any significant procedural innovation, all have generated highly innovative projects as well as generating social capital in a number of ways. SC is facilitating new forms of spatial justice through its facilitation of the land reform process in Scotland. This has enabled communities to have a say in what happens in that land for the first time in generations. NULAG has facilitated greater innovation in the rural area (see the examples listed in the previous section, most of which have distinctive and ground-breaking aspects when not, as in the case of the Kielder Community Pump, being the first of their kind). The action in both phases promoted the continuation of small rural enterprises that might otherwise have struggled to find funding to update, digitalise or expand their operations. P/L has facilitated innovation in terms of both the temporary use of vacant urban space for residential accommodation, and in terms of bringing together a new coalition of London Local Authorities in a project to commission new homes and simultaneously build industry capacity and demonstrate the viability of offsite-manufacture to produce lower-cost housing with high space and design standards. Most notably, perhaps, it has led to the development of a new kind of planning guidance for this kind of temporary

accommodation. It has also brought public and media attention to a disadvantaged Borough of South London, which is otherwise known for its high crime rate (highest in London) and having the second most diverse population in London.
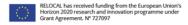
4.3 What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

SC is directly delivering to processes of land reform in Scotland by enabling and empowering local communities to undertake community buy-outs. NULAG demonstrates the continued value and relevance of a locality-led rural development programme even in the context of a lower national and local level recognition of a rural policy dimension beyond land management concerns. The implications of Northumberland Uplands LEADER for EU cohesion policy are that a rural-focused funding programme can be a lifeline in periods of national-level neglect of the rural dimension of policy.

It is perhaps too early in the life of the London action to draw firm policy conclusions, but it does seem as if evolving planning guidance for temporary spaces may need to be steered from the national level to avoid the potential for a 'spaceship' like relationship with the local area where they are erected. This might consist of a) the provision of internal spaces and means, such as events, where the local community can connect with the scheme, and its tenants and residents – particularly where the position of the scheme means that it is 100% residential [9] b) spaces where the residential (and where they exist, commercial or organisational) tenants may connect and interact. The implications of P/L for cohesion policy are that the intensified financialisation of metropolitan space has emerging implications for spatial justice that justify continued investigation.

BREXIT provides considerable uncertainty in the National context. The future of different places is unknown in times of social, political and environmental change; of particular impact, we expect, will be the precariousness and uncertainty of funding. Findings from across our case studies suggest that centralisation due to austerity has tended to make bottom-up processes more top-down, and actions, to some extent, have been stymied by gradual erosion of lower levels of governance and thus decreased autonomy across case study areas, rather than reflecting a national decreased aspiration for autonomy *per se.*

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[9] That is, unlike the case study action, PLACE/Ladywell, the replication schemes by virtue of their location outside of retail areas, are mainly unlikely to include a ground floor enterprise hub.

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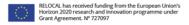
6. Annexes

6.1 List of Indicators

The subsequent list of indicators is identical to the one provided by NORDREGIO for the data availability on NUTS 2 and NUTS 3 level (see also D 2.1) and helps us to contextualize the case study both within the country and across countries. As most cases will be below NUTS 2 and also below NUTS 3 level, we ask all partners to provide the information below at the spatial level of the particular case. If the case does not match with an administrative or statistical entity, please provide the most fine-grained data that you can get (e.g., LAU-1, LAU-2 or a national classification which then needs to be explained).

Indicators that should be provided in the national case study reports[10]

Indicator 1_1		CASE 1 – SC (NUTS3: Na h-Eileanan Siar)	CASE 2 – NULAG (NUTS3: Northumberl and)	CASE 3 – P/L (LAU1: Lewisham)
Name	Income of households – Gross weekly pay, all full-time workers, 2018	GBP 476.70	GBP 508.60	GBP 623.10
	Hourly pay, excluding overtime, all full-time workers, 2018	GBP 12.40	GBP 12.81	GBP 16.57
Indicator 4				
Name	Economic activity rates - All people - Economically active (% of those aged 16-64), 2018	80.4%	75.2%	82.6%
Indicator 5				
Name	Employment rates - All people - Economically active - In employment (% of those aged 16-64), NUTS3	79.0%	71.8%	78.8%
Indicator 6				
Name	Unemployment rates - All people - Economically active - Unemployed (Model Based) (% of those aged 16 and over), 2018	2.6%	4.3%	4.8%
	Claimant count by sex – not seasonally adjusted - All claimants (% of those aged 16-64), 2019	2.1%	3.0%	3.4%
Indicator 7				
Name	Youth unemployment rates - Claimant count by age - not seasonally adjusted – Claimants aged 18 to 24 (%), 2019	3.6%	6.0%	4.6%
Indicator 8				
Name	Long term unemployment rates	NA	NA	NA
Indicator 10_1				
Name	Life expectancy - Life expectancy for administrative areas within Scotland – Age=0, 2015-17, Males/Females	76.81/82.77	NA	NA
Indicator 14				
Name	NEET - % of young people (16-19) who	6%	NA	NA

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[10] The precise definitions of all indicators can be found in RELOCAL D 2.1. (including year)

	were not in education, employment or training, 2010			
Indicator 24_1				
Name	Total population – All people, 2017	27,000	190,000	301,000
Indicator 28				
Name	People at risk of poverty or social exclusion - Estimated % of households with gross household income less than 60% of median income, Data Zones, 2014	NA	NA	NA

6.2 Additional information
All additional information that is needed to understand the main text (photos, maps, tables etc.)

6.2.1 Details of National Policies in Scotland relevant to Spatial Justice

The Christie Commission called for significant reforms to public services due to a need to meet the mounting challenges they faced; arguably this challenge is even greater in remote rural, sparse or fragile communities (Currie, 2017). The report argued that one of the problems with current forms of practice was that services were delivered to communities rather than for or with them. The Commission called for radical reform of public services to meet challenges in service provision as a way of tackling (growing) inequalities. The four key objectives for reform were reported as being:
1. Services built around people and communities
2. Organisations that ensure that services work together and are not duplicated by different providers, thereby improving efficiency.
3. Public service organisations prioritising prevention strategies over current 'responsive' approaches; this was felt to support decreases in inequality.
4. Services that constantly seek to improve performance and reduce costs

The key recommendations emerging from the review included the five Ps - participation, partnership, prevention, performance and place. The review resulted in new statutory powers, specifically the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015. The Act has set new targets around community participation and engagement and provides a more place-based focus on localities as being the key drivers of reform, and specifically aims to promote greater emphasis on a smaller scale than was happening previously.

Regional Economic Partnerships
In 2011, the Scottish Government, in association with the six main Scottish cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen and Inverness and Stirling) published "Scotland's Cities, delivering for Scotland" (Scottish Government 2011b). The report's the vision is "A Scotland where our cities and their regions power Scotland's economy for the benefit of all" The mechanism whereby rural hinterlands benefit from urban investments is considered self-evident here:

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> "*There is a shared understanding amongst policy makers and academics internationally that when city regions are working effectively, they have the potential to lift economic performance and well-being at a national level.*"

The document goes on to point out that the latest update of the Scottish Government's Economic Strategy places particular emphasis upon "a renewed focus on cities and their regions, recognising the critical contribution they make as the drivers of economic growth" The key investment priority in support of this aspiration would be infrastructure, and the key actions required to enhance the competitiveness of Scottish cities are identified as enhanced partnership working (the Scottish City Alliance), and innovative ways to access investment capital (ibid. p7).

City Region Deals in Scotland, like their counterparts in the other devolved nations (and in common with combined authorities policy in England described in Section 2.2.2 below) still take the form of agreements with the UK government. However, the Scottish Government has so far matched the UK financial contribution. The first City Region Deal was that of Glasgow, set up in August 2014 and involving eight Councils. Since then deals have been established for three more Scottish regions, including Inverness and Highland (which the SC case study falls under) with a further two under negotiation (Scottish Parliament 2018).

A more recent report re-iterates the Scottish Government's commitment to City Region Deals. The Enterprise and Skills Review, Phase 2, which reported in 2017 reiterates the Scottish Government's commitment to City Region Deals, but, like the UK government in the English context, recognises the need to provide a framework whereby the areas outside the city regions can also benefit (Scottish Government 2017). Thus, in order to "deliver improved inclusive economic outcomes across their regional economies, we see a need to support and encourage the development of regional economic partnerships which, building and expanding on the experiences, structures and learning from City Deals, are self-assembled and tailored to the bespoke requirements of each region."

In this way City Region Deals are subsumed within a generic type of territorial intervention which is termed a "Regional Partnership" (sometimes Regional Economic Partnership). The first example of a Regional Partnership which is not a City Region is the Ayrshire Growth Deal, currently being developed by the three Ayrshire Councils (Scottish Parliament 2018). Several more groups of rural councils are also developing plans for growth deals, including three Island Areas (incorporating the case study area).

- Interestingly the Enterprise and Skills Review report aligns the Regional Partnership concept with Inclusive Growth – one of the four strategic priorities of Scotland's Economic Strategy (2015) – a 'holistic approach to economic development' that, among other goals has the spatial justice focus of 'spreading the benefits of growth more evenly within and across different parts of Scotland' and maximising 'the opportunities of places that

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have been disadvantaged by adverse impacts of economic change'. (Ibid. :6)

It is further suggested that each Regional Partnership should use a standard diagnostic approach (Ibid p7), known as the Inclusive Growth Regional Level Framework, and that progress be monitored according to an "Inclusive Growth Monitoring Framework" (p8). Interestingly the last of five "high level outcomes" which apparently structure the monitoring framework is "Place", including cities, towns regions and rural areas. Although it is not clear exactly how this would work the significance of this lies in the implication that City Region Deals are insufficient, they cannot meet the needs of all rural areas across Scotland.

The Islands Act

Scotland has 93 inhabited islands, with a population of around 103,700 at the 2011 Census, making up around 2% of Scotland's population (Scottish Islands Federation, undated). An earlier OECD review of rural policy in Scotland highlighted that more remote rural regions, especially peripheral and island areas, can have quite different concerns from other rural areas, including infrastructural challenges, high income deprivation, low enterprise formation, negative population change and "pockets of ageing", which introduce concerns around providing services in a sustainable way (OECD, 2008). An attempt to address the multiple, distinctive issues faced by the islands around the coast of Scotland is The Islands (Scotland) Act 2018, which represents a significant departure from the Scottish Government's mainstreaming approach to rural issues. While only applicable to the islands, the Act can be seen as an acknowledgement by the Scottish Government that different types of rural have different needs, which might be best represented through more formal and focused policy processes. The Act came about as a result of an 'Our Islands – Our Future' campaign by the island local authorities, which asked for a commitment to 'island-proofing' national policy, and it places a duty on Scottish Ministers to prepare a national islands plan outlining how outcomes for island communities will be improved, covering themes such as: increasing population levels; improving transport and digital connectivity; and promoting sustainable economic development, environmental wellbeing, health and wellbeing, and community empowerment, as well as plans for measuring the extent to which outcomes have been improved. As part of the planning process, relevant local authorities and the Scottish Government, as appropriate, have to prepare an island communities impact assessment in relation to any policies, strategies or services that could have an impact on an island community that is different from their impact on other communities in Scotland. The Act also applies to existing legislation, with local authorities able to request retrospective assessments to be conducted by Ministers in relation to differential impacts of policies on island communities and, where necessary, to make adjustments to legislation.

Community Planning Partnerships

The CPP is a statutory strategic planning body that brings together an array of local institutions in each of the 32 local authority areas in Scotland. In Lewis in the Western Isles - the local authority area in which SC case study is situated - those organisations particularly relevant to this case study include HIE, NHS Western Isles, the local authority,

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local community councils, local housing associations, and the fire service. These institutions meet as Community Planning Partnerships for the sake of making integrated, joined-up decisions around upcoming social and economic development on the Western Isles. They are intended to drive public service reform and lessen inequalities in access to services in localities.

Every local authority has a CPP, which brings together all the agencies providing services in that local authority area. CPPs emerged in 2003 and replaced Social Inclusion Partnerships, which were seen to be unable to address poor public service provision to more deprived neighbourhoods. This change was intended to promote spatial justice and to target areas of deprivation, with an increased emphasis on all partners contributing to tangible outcomes that deliver demonstrable improvements to people's lives (Scottish Government, 2012). The Christie Commission argued that CPPs had done little to tackle inequalities and so the Community Empowerment (Scotland) 2015 Act includes a statutory requirement that CPPs divide their areas into smaller localities. This means that community groups now have a mechanism for proposing changes to a public service to bring it in line with the community's needs, and the service provider must implement their proposal unless it has strong grounds for refusal.

Land Reform
These relatively recent policy developments demonstrate a proactive approach to enabling autonomy and encouraging governance to operate at multiple levels across different sectors. **The Land Reform (Scotland) Acts of 2003 and 2016** also promote autonomy and a place-based approach in a bid to tackle the spatial injustices implied by the concentration of large areas of land in the hands of a small number of private landowners. In the 2003 Act statutory rights of access to land were gained and bodies representing rural and crofting communities were allowed to buy land. Specifically relevant to the SC (Scotland) case study, the "community right-to-buy" was established, which allows populations of up to 10,000 people to register an interest in land and allows them to buy land ahead of other buyers if the owners put it for sale; meanwhile, crofters are allowed to purchase crofting land from existing landowners regardless of whether it is for sale or not. The 2016 Act progressed the 2003 Act by providing the Government with the power to force the sale of private land to community bodies to promote sustainable development, even if the landowner is not willing to sell. The Scottish Land Fund, which is financed by the Scottish Government and administered by a partnership of the National Lottery Community Fund and HIE, provides funding to communities aspiring to buy land. Each community can apply for grants of up to £1 million to support its application, and this funds practical support as well as financial capital.

6.2.2 Details of National Policies in England relevant to Spatial Justice

The Localism Act (CLG, 2011) The Localism Act mainly applies in England, although some measures also apply in Wales. It introduced several measures that increased councils' powers to act autonomously and another tranche of measures that were intended to give more rights to communities and local residents. One of the most important measures to enhance the autonomy of the Local Authority is known as the 'general power of

competence': this gives local authorities the legal capacity to do anything that an individual can do that is not specifically prohibited (while not giving them the right to forego any existing statutory duties). The 'general power of competence' includes freedom to join with other councils in groups that can gain cost-benefits from joint actions. It was intended to allow councils to undertake creative, innovative actions to meet local people's needs.[11]
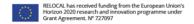
The Localism Act allows councils to limit the duration of new social housing tenancies (which prior to the Act were almost always given as lifetime tenancies), with a suggested minimum of two years and an average of five years – thus incrementally shifting social housing into a temporary form of housing provision. It also obliges those facing homelessness in priority need of accommodation to accept private rented housing offered by the council, which up to this point they had the right to refuse in favour of social housing. This is likely to have expanded the numbers of homeless families in private rented housing, which in London is likely to have incurred greater expenses for Local Authorities.

Furthermore, the Act allows Local Authorities to retain rent from social housing for their own uses; Prior to the act, rents from social housing tenants had to be passed to central government to manage and redistribute according to a national perspective. This new power increases Local Authorities' powers over their own social housing provision, and in particular gives a reason for developing some housing at a higher-rent in new and regenerated public housing schemes, because the rent can be retained by the council to cross-subsidize the maintenance of lower rent schemes.

Another important measure relating to local authority powers in the Localism Act is the new right for Ministers to transfer local public functions from central government and its agencies to local authorities, combined authorities and economic prosperity boards. [12]

In terms of communities of place, the Localism Act gave a range of new rights for communities to buy buildings and businesses listed by the local authority as assets of community value, to organise their own services and to draw up a Neighbourhood Plan for their area, that allows decisions to be taken by a parish council or neighbourhood forum in consultation with the wider community regarding the look and location of new development, and the management of traffic circulation and public amenities such as greenspace in their locale. [13] The right to a Neighbourhood Plan has been taken up widely since the right was introduced but there is some concern that the demands of the process and primarily voluntary status of the bodies taking it forward make it more likely to be adopted by less disadvantaged local communities, thus increasing pre-existing disparities and inequalities between neighbourhoods. Also, at around the same time Neighbourhood

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[11] This new power for Local Authorities is directly behind the P/L (England), and the cross-London PLACE Ltd replication scheme (as explained in Brooks et al., 2019b).

[12] This created the basis for the city region devolution policies including those in the NULAG (England) case study area, (2018), as explained in the next section.

[13] There are limits to the powers permitted through Neighbourhood Plans, for example: they should not promote less development than set out in the strategic policies for the area, or undermine those strategic policies.

Planning was introduced, the National Planning Policy Framework, a new set of guidelines for Planning Policy introduced in 2012, and heralded in the 2011 Localism Act, created a radical simplification of planning regulation that actually took some power away from local authorities and local communities due to 'presumption in favour of sustainable development'. Even when Neighbourhood Plans have been accepted by Referendum and adopted as part of the Local Development Plan, their relationship to changes in national approaches to calculating housing need as well as changes to Local Authority level planning means that they have only been partially effective in shaping development at local level.
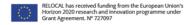
City Deals and Growth Deals. Following the 'no' vote in the Referendum on Scottish Independence in 2014, a strategy was announced to improve governance by empowering English cities. Several reports promoting greater powers for local authorities and local areas, including the 2012 Heseltine report, had preceded this announcement, and the legal basis for it was opened up through the Localism Act 2011, as noted in the preceding section. The first England devolution deal, for the Greater Manchester Combined Authority, was announced in 2014. By April 2018 12 devolution deals had been announced for England, of which three collapsed and two collapsed but were partly revived. One of the deals that collapsed was that in the North East of England, which folded in September 2016 but was partly revived through a new North of Tyne deal which came into effect in November 2018.

Deals typically consist of a shared roster of new core powers, and some locally agreed 'special' additions. The core powers are as follows: first, reviews and restructuring of the local further education system, including local commissioning of the Adult Skills Education budget, followed by full devolution from 2019-20. Second, unification of local and central business support in a 'growth hub'. Third, funds to create a support programme for 'harder to help' benefit claimants. Fourth, most deals include an investment fund, control over bus franchising, and power to create a spatial strategy for the area, including powers of compulsory purchase. A few areas, also have devolved health, housing and inter-city transport powers and funds (Sandford, 2018).[14]

There is potential for some Combined Authorities to become the holders of the proposed replacement for European Structural Funds post Brexit, instead of the main proposed fund-holders, the Local Enterprise Partnerships.

Mainstreaming of rural policy. Rural policy in the England has undergone four distinct phases since 1990 according to Ward (2010). The first was focused on the reform and liberalisation of the common agricultural policy and the development and expansion of European Structural Funds for rural development. Second, from 1997 onwards, saw the further development of the CAP, the introduction of Regional Development Agencies distributing European funds across regions that included both urban and rural areas, as opposed to the earlier urban focus, and formal introduction in 2000 of rural proofing, to

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[14] A combined authority which includes the area of the NULAG (England case) began operation in 2019 and has several additional powers, although mostly at the level of collaboration and joint working (HM Government, 2018)

make sure that all major policy changes are tested for rural impact, the setting of minimum standards for rural public services and the publication of a new data-set for England's rural areas, published as an annual State of the Countryside report. A third phase began when DEFRA was set up as new ministry in 2001, replacing the former Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries, in order to bring farming in line with environmental concerns. It is argued that what should have been a new opportunity for a united rural policy that brought together the issues of concern to rural communities ('rural affairs'), with environmental policy and the governance of food production came to focus on aligning the latter two priorities at the expense of the former, according to Ward (cited in Select Committee for the Rural Economy, 2019: Appendix 4). Also at this time the new Regional Development Agencies that disposed of European Structural Funds in England were required to have some kind of rural strategy, although this was not at the centre of their concerns. After the election of the Coalition Government in 2010, much of this infrastructure for rural governance including the Regional Development Agencies, began to be disbanded, and in 2011, DEFRA set up a Rural Communities Policy Unit (RCPU) to provide a focus for rural expertise and to lead rural proofing across government, including the provision of advice and guidance to other government departments on their rural proofing activities at national level. "A primary aim [of rural proofing] is to build capacity for all national policy makers to mainstream rural issues as part of their decision taking" (Cameron of Dillington, 2015: 8). But Cameron of Dillington reported a decline in rural proofing, partly related to the loss of a permanent team with the ability to relate rural proofing to the particular conditions and constraints of different policy departments, so as to effectively train departments in rural proofing. In the same year as C of D's report, the RCPU responsible for rural policy in DEFRA was dissolved and this is now covered by around 60 staff, of whom half work on the RDPE team within the future farming directorate while, half work on core rural policy issues (Select Committee for the Rural Economy, 2019: Appendix 4).

Rural proofing is defined by the government as follows: "assessing policy options to ensure that evidence is adequately considered and that the fairest solutions are delivered". The Select Committee on the Natural Environment and Rural Communities (NERC[15]) referred to rural proofing as the process for "considering the likely impact of policy decisions on rural areas, and, where necessary adjusting the policy to take into account the particular needs of those who live in, work in, or enjoy the countryside." (DEFRA, 2015, and NERC Committee, 2017, both cited in Select Committee for Rural Economy, 2019: Chapter 2, point 76). The Select Committee found that rural proofing as currently implemented suffers from a number of deficiencies in terms of timing, consultation, transparency, accountability, urban bias and lack of coverage, although there are nonetheless several examples of good rural proofing. In effect, this led to a loss of visibility of rural issues, as highlighted in Cameron of Dillington's review. NERC's recent report promotes the idea of a rural strategy that would support the effective implementation of better rural proofing across government departments (ibid., point 103).

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[15] The official abbreviation for this committee (see https://www.parliament.uk/nerc-act-committee) is not to be confused with the major UK Natural Environment Research Council, also NERC.

Local Authority performance monitoring – This system of understanding how Local Authorities are performing relative to each other was introduced under the title 'Comprehensive Performance Assessment' between 2002 and 2003. It drew together the views of auditors and of other inspectorates, as well as the Audit Commission's inspections of environment, housing and cultural services. "It provided, for the first time, a judgement on a council's corporate ability to improve services for local people and its leadership of its local community" (The National Archives, 2010). In 2009, Comprehensive Performance Assessment was replaced by a system called Comprehensive Area Assessment (CAA). CAA, also coordinated by the independent Non-departmental Public Body, the Audit Commission, was intended to provide an assessment of how well people are served by their local public services including councils, health bodies, police forces and fire and rescue services, working in partnership to tackle the challenges facing their communities. This comprised of a suite of 185 National Performance Indicators that allowed the impacts of policy at local, regional and national level to be monitored (Department of Communities and Local Government, 2008).

While placing an onerous degree of recording and reporting on councils they contributed transparency to both national and local policy impacts – and to some degree, the possibility of judging spatial disparities in local governance. However, for a mixture of economic and ideological reasons, following the change of government in 2010, the kind of comprehensive performance monitoring of local authorities created by the above two systems, generally known as National Performance Indicators monitoring, was abolished in England – although it continues in different forms in the devolved administrations: Wales has 31 Public Accountability Measures (Data Cymru 2017); Scotland has 81 (with more in development) (Scottish Government, 2018[16]); and Northern Ireland has 49 (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2018). In England a limited number of indicators related to the areas marked out for attention in the 'Social Justice: transforming lives' white paper (HMG, 2012) and described in Section 2.1 above, in relation to the 'five pathways to poverty' approach, were monitored through a suite of Social Justice Outcomes Framework Indicators up to 2016. These indicators themselves were abandoned in 2016, and replaced by an even narrower set of 'Helping Workless Families Indicators' (Department for Work and Pensions, 2017)

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[16] See also the local government benchmarking framework and data explorer provided for Scottish Local Authorities at: http://www.improvementservice.org.uk/benchmarking/explore-the-data.html

Annex 6.2.3: SC information sheet to research participants

Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development
https://relocal.eu/

Why this Project?

Because places differ from each other, and because it is very easy for those differences to result in disparities in opportunities and resources, there has been a Europe-wide move to encourage people to become involved in the development of their local area and to support initiatives which specifically address local challenges and disadvantage.

This project is concerned with the achievements and impacts of community-level development throughout Europe. Development which comes from the level of the community is sometimes described as "bottom-up", in contrast with "top-down" initiatives from government bodies. This project explores this bottom-up development, in particular how it might mitigate disadvantage in local areas and how this might have a wider influence on reducing disparities between places and thus increase their capacities to cooperate and align at a regional, national and international level. (The latter is known in the parlance of EU policy as "territorial cohesion").

What is the Purpose of the Study?

The RELOCAL project aims to:

- Contribute to developing theories that support understanding of community participation in development, and its impacts on fostering cooperative relations between places.

- Increase the profile of opportunities to engage not only in community participation itself, but in the methods of carrying it out and evaluating it, so that it can be improved and made more effective.

- Spread understanding of good practice and "what works" to those responsible for community development at local and regional levels.

Methods

To better understand the achievements and impacts of community development on mitigating local disadvantage, this project is undertaking **33 case studies** in 13 different European countries. These case studies will then be **compared** to draw out the factors that influence their positive impacts. Later in the study, the possible impacts of specific

factors on the performance of community development will be explored through **scenarios**, to enable a better understanding of what can help or hinder their effectiveness. The results are intended to feed into the development of more responsive policies for local communities.

Case Studies

Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Stornoway, Lewis

Taking Part in the Project

This information sheet is being sent out to all those with interest or expertise in the issues that the project is seeking to explore. We would be pleased to welcome you as a participant to the project and appreciate your contribution. Moreover, we would be happy to receive recommendations for relevant contacts that may have an interest in this project.

All information that is collected through interviews during the course of the study will be kept confidential and anonymised.

For further information on how to take part please contact:

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14	Lisbon	PO	No Case Study

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project '**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**' –**RELOCAL** aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

	action location	action name	
1	Ostwestfalen-Lippe Region	Smart Country Side	D
2	Görlitz Town	Youth Centre	
3	Western Macedonia Region	Post-Mining Regional Strategy	GR
4	Thessaloniki Region	Alexander Innovation Zone	
5	Volos City	Overcoming Fragmentation	
6	Karditsa Region	Ecosystem of Collaboration	
7	Monistrol de Montserrat Town	Local Strategic Plan	ES
8	Neighbourhood of Premià de Dalt	Llei de Barris	
9	Neighbourhood of St Adrià de Besòs	La Mina Transformation Plan	
10	Eix Riera de Caldes Municipalities	Association of Municipalities	
11	Lieksa Town	Lieksa Development Strategy 2030	FI
12	Kotka Town	Activation of Youth	
13	Encs District	Give Kids a Chance	HU
14	György-telep, Neighbourhood of Pécs	Urban Regeneration	
15	Szentes Town and Szentes District	Production Organisation	
16	Balaton Uplands	Balaton LEADER	
17	Pas-de-Calais Mining Basin	Euralens	FR
18	Lorraine-Luxembourg Border Region	EPA Alzette-Belval	
19	Northeast Groningen Region	Induced Earthquakes	NL
20	Neighbourhood of Rotterdam	Rotterdam South on Course	
21	Łódź City	Participatory Budget for Łódź	PL
22	Brezeziny Town	Social Cooperative	
23	Maslomecz Village	Goth Village	
24	Domachowo, Potarzyce, Stara Krobia Villages	Rural Public Spaces	
25	Neighbourhood of Cluj	Pata Cluj Project	RO
26	Maramures County	Mara-Natur LEADER	
27	Neighbourhood of Codlea	Mălin-Codlea Project	
28	Neighbourhood of Bucharest	Plumbuita PIDU	
29	Västerbotten Region	Digital Västerbotten	SE
30	Stockholm City	Stockholm Commission	
31	Northumberland Uplands	NULAG LEADER	GB
32	Lewisham, Borough of London	Homelessness Project	
33	Isle of Lewis	Strengthening Communities	

cartography: Jutta Rönsch, ILS

The research is based on **33 case studies in 13 different European countries** that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.

The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at https://relocal.eu

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