



Resituating the Local in Cohesion  
and Territorial Development



## Situating the RELOCAL Cases

### D 6.4 Cross-Comparative Analysis of Country Perspectives on Spatial Justice

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RELOCAL has received funding from the European Union's  
Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under  
Grant Agreement. N° 727097

## Report Information

<b>Title:</b>	Deliverable 6.4 Cross-Comparative Analysis of Country Perspectives on Spatial Justice
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<b>Contributions from:</b>	All figures, graphs, and tables produced by: Clemens Heukrodt & Lisa Warnecke (ILS Dortmund)
<b>Version:</b>	Final Draft
<b>Date of Publication:</b>	30 January 2020
<b>Dissemination Level:</b>	Public

## Project Information

<b>Project Acronym</b>	RELOCAL
<b>Project Full title:</b>	Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development
<b>Grant Agreement:</b>	727097
<b>Project Duration:</b>	48 months
<b>Project Coordinator:</b>	UEF

## Bibliographic Information

Weck S, Kamuf V. and Matzke F (2020) *Situating the RELOCAL Cases. D 6.4 Cross-Comparative Analysis of Country Perspectives on Spatial Justice*. Dortmund: ILS – Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development/Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.

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## Abbreviations, general

CLLD	Community-Led Local Development
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EP	European Parliament
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investment
LAG	Local Action Groups
LEADER	Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale (eng.: links between the rural economy and development actions)
LTU	Long-term unemployment/ unemployed
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NAM	Nederlandse Aardoliemaatschappij (Dutch oil and gas exploration and production company)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
UIA	Urban Innovative Actions
WP	Work package

## Abbreviations, Case Studies

Cases are listed by numbers or short names in some of the figures and tables in this report. For a full list of the case studies' action name and action location see Map 1.

## Executive Summary

The aim of this report is to provide an overview of the characteristics of the total sample of 33 RELOCAL cases with regards to the actions themselves, the territorial and socio-economic context of the localities in which the actions are situated, the wider policy context, and the funding of actions. Based on this analysis, clusters of cases are suggested, which can be used and taken up by subsequent papers for further analyses.

## Background

This report is based upon the RELOCAL case study reports as the main source for its findings, with additional desk research carried out in order to situate the 33 investigated cases in a national and European context. In the overall research process, Deliverable 6.4 is one of several reports which analyse the findings from the investigated RELOCAL cases in a comparative perspective. It also builds an introductory frame to these other reports (see Deliverables 3.1, 3.2, 4.2, 7.1).

## Findings

Several grouping and clustering approaches are presented that build upon each other. The starting point for case study selection was the identification of interesting actions in localities with obvious challenges of spatial justice. From the outset, there should be a diverse set of actions. Thus, the cases present a versatile sample in terms of characteristics, themes, development trajectory, territorial context, main actors and funding of the actions. Though we do not claim that the case study localities, or the actions, are representative, they were carefully chosen and allow insights into different European macro-regions as well as territorial and institutional environments.

The grouping and clustering process, based upon the findings from the case study reports, has provided insights into similarities across the cases. Most case study actions have a broad thematic approach, covering several different topics, rather than being focused on one single goal. Likewise, more than half of the actions integrate a mix of hard and soft measures. Taking the multifarious character of perceived injustices into account, local actors strive towards integrated, multidimensional approaches. There is evidence that the philosophy and underlying rationale of EU and national (funding) programmes which promote place-based and integrative approaches have noticeable impact on the design of respective actions. In terms of implementation, however, 16 out of the 33 cases are implemented by higher policy levels – which could be national as well as regional or local levels – with very little or no evidence of bottom-up elements (in terms of civil society involvement).

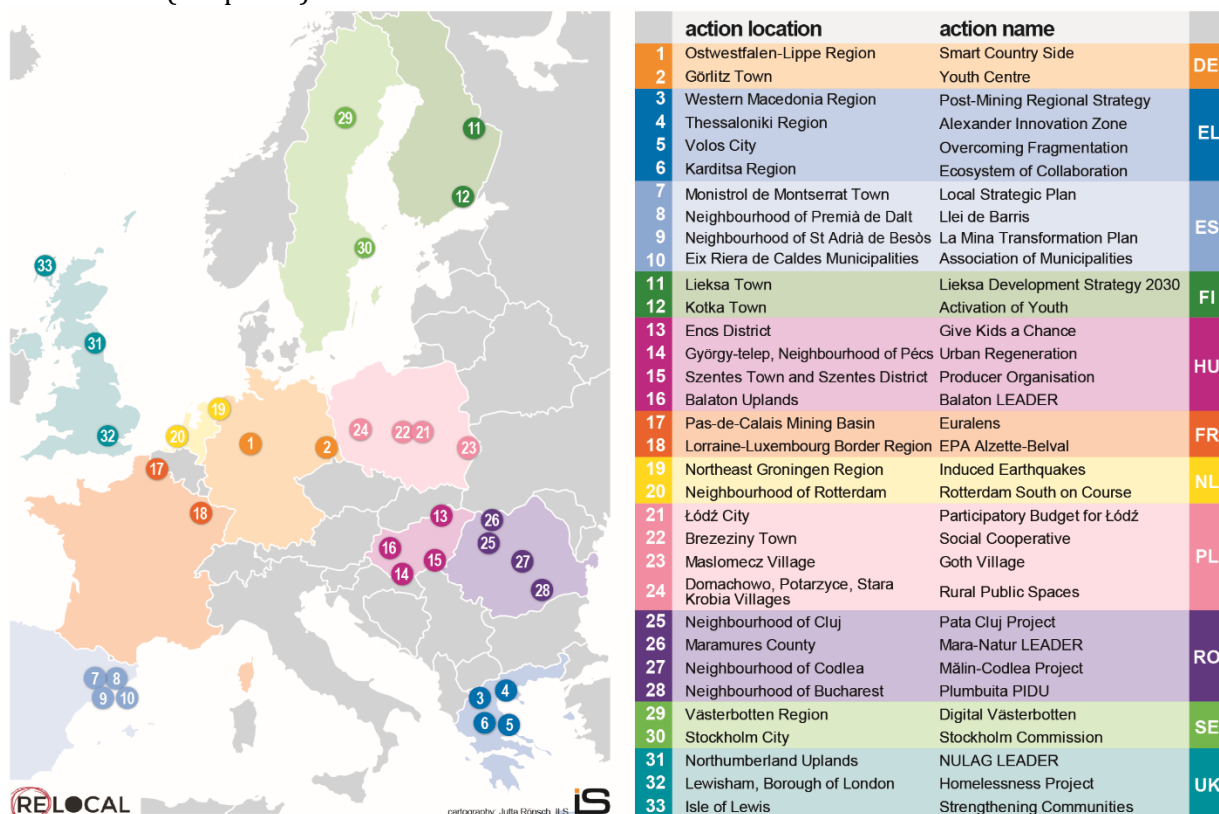
The clustering of cases shows that there is not necessarily a link between the territorial type of a case study locality and the perceived forms of spatial (in-)justices, or between the material constitution of localities and perceived challenges. Looking across the cases, the perception of spatial (in-)justices in the localities is what needs to be more systematically included in the design and implementation, but also the evaluation of respective projects or actions at different scales from the very local to higher policy levels. Thus, there is a need to include and bring into the policy arena the perceptions of those who are to a large extent still left out in the design and implementation of actions – the people, citizen groups and civil society initiatives.

## 1. Introduction

This report sets out to present the main themes of the investigated RELOCAL actions and provides information on the background and the context of the cases in a synthesising way. It is structured into four main chapters of an analytical nature, which provide information on the actions themselves, the territorial and socioeconomic context of the localities in which the actions are situated, the wider policy context and the funding of actions. The findings are based upon the RELOCAL case study reports (see RELOCAL Deliverable 6.2), and the quantitatively oriented work packages of the project, with additional desk research carried out in order to situate the 33 investigated cases in a European context. The concluding chapter of this report also suggests clusters of cases, which can be used and taken up by subsequent papers for further analysis.

The main issues at stake in this report are:

- What are the **main characteristics and themes** of the action? How do they target local development and spatial justice in particular (Chapter 3)?
- **Where** does the action take place? How far does the spatial context of the locality differ/show similarities across the cases (Chapter 4)?
- Which are the **main actors involved** (levels of government, organisations, social groups, local community, private/corporate actors etc.) (Chapter 5)?
- What role does **EU Cohesion Policy or other EU policies** play in the action? What role do other policies/strategies (national/regional level) play (Chapter 6)?
- Based upon this analysis, which **clusters of cases** can be suggested for further in-depth analysis in order to answer to the RELOCAL research questions and hypotheses (Chapter 7)?

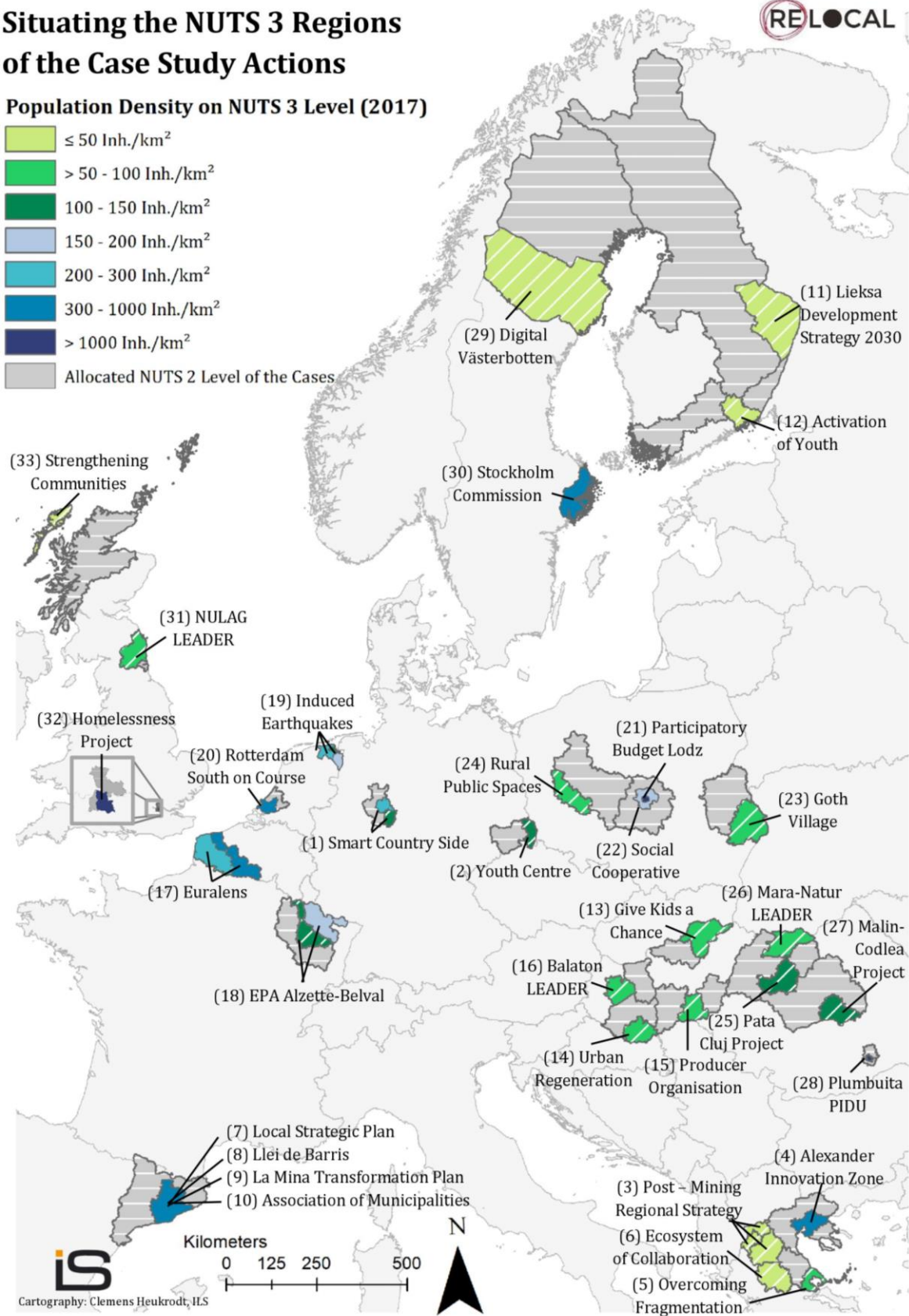


**Map 1: RELOCAL actions and case study locations.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports)



## Situating the NUTS 3 Regions of the Case Study Actions

### Population Density on NUTS 3 Level (2017)



**Map 2: Situating the NUTS 3 regions of the case study actions.** \* Colours indicate population density on NUTS 3 level (2017). (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports; Map Sources: Eurostat)

\*The NUTS 3 regions of the case study actions are not always equivalent to the case study locality, e.g. some actions take place in a smaller area within the NUTS 3 region.



Map 1 and Map 2 show the localities in which the investigated actions are situated. It was decided from the beginning that the overall sample should represent cases from different welfare regimes, but with an intentional overrepresentation (20 cases) in Southern and Eastern Europe, as those countries are supposed to benefit most from Cohesion Policies (see Chapter 6). Moreover, different types of actions are represented, including a diversity of top-down and bottom-up actions (see Figure 9), and diverse territorial governance arrangements (see Chapter 5.1). The actions are situated in localities that range from small areas, such as a group of villages or urban neighbourhoods to larger regions (see Table 2).

In the RELOCAL project, this paper represents a first step in the process of synthesising findings. In the project's journey from insights into individual cases, which were contextualised in 11 national reports, towards cross-case analyses, this report aims to provide a comprehensive image of the total sample of 33 RELOCAL cases and their characteristics, similarities and diversity. This paper is thus 'setting the stage' for further and in-depth thematic-analytical comparative papers written from the perspective of WP 3, 4 and 7 research interests.

## 2. Methodological Reflection

The purpose of this chapter is to briefly reflect on the research process and the limitations of a comparative perspective on the cases.

As mentioned before, this report is part of a wider sample of reports, which all take up and work with the results and findings from the 33 RELOCAL case studies. Earlier versions of this report have been discussed with the work package leaders of WP 3, 4 and 7 in order to clarify the scope and focus of this report and synchronise the respective tasks and contributions of the different work packages in accomplishing the comparative research. The main focus of this report is to provide an overview on the case study sample, while in-depth analysis of specific research questions is provided in RELOCAL Deliverables 3.2 & 3.3, 4.2 and 7.1. Information on how the respective research questions and case study analyses are interlinked and integrated in order to answer to the overall RELOCAL research question is available in a separate document on the methodology of comparative case study research (see Comparative Case Study Research in RELOCAL: An Overview on Methodology).

In the RELOCAL project, those actions were chosen for case study research which promised to answer best to the overall research questions and hypotheses. These actions are situated in localities which often do not neatly align to statistical units for data collection. A well-known challenge – and limiting factor in terms of comparative insights – is the fact that European-wide comparable data is available on much higher levels of statistical units only, such as NUTS 3 or even NUTS 2 level, while most of the case study actions are located in smaller sub-units below for which in consequence no comparable European-wide data is available. Most times, Eurostat or European Commission data is used for illustrating the wider context in which the actions are carried out, including data from the quantitatively oriented work packages of the project, as well as existing typologies (such as the Local Autonomy Index). Whenever available, NUTS 3 level data situates the cases in their regional context (amongst others drawing on WP 2 data sampled for the case studies). Sometimes, however, only comparable NUTS 2 level data are available, which can give some orientation on the context's characteristics but obviously provides a limited perspective on the case study locations' reality.

In order to portray this reality, the report builds upon the findings from the 33 case study reports in an inductive way of producing results. All reports have been read by the authors and coded with the data analysis programme MAXQDA. The analytical and synthesis categories of Dimensions 1-5 and A-C, which guided the case study analysis and structured the case study reports, were chosen as codes. Based on this process, clusters of cases were developed, for example according to their action topics (Figure 2) or the involvement of bottom-up procedures (Figure 9), and information on the cases' maturity (Figure 3) and funding (Figure 11) was extracted. Furthermore, interesting insights from particular case study reports were included to illustrate the analysis in the following chapters.

To guarantee readability, the case studies are not always referenced, but only mentioned by their name or abbreviation. A full list of case studies and authors can be found in Annex 10.1. The reports themselves are published and available on the RELOCAL homepage ([re-local.eu](http://re-local.eu)).

With regards to the evidence produced in this report, it should be taken into account that due to the process of choosing interesting actions, the final case sample has to a certain extent been shaped by the academic background and research interests of RELOCAL partners. This bias might be reflected in the concentration on particular topics by some case study analyses. Nonetheless, the great diversity in researchers regarding both academic focus and location in the EU allows insights into a wide variety of approaches, from top-down to bottom-up, from small-scale neighbourhood initiatives to integrated regional strategies, from short-term projects to long-term development processes. In any case, the RELOCAL project does not claim to portray every possible (place-based) approach to achieving more spatial justice in the EU, which would not be feasible, as actions tackling territorial disadvantages are always highly dependent on time and place.

A further factor which needs consideration when reading this report is that only few of the actions literally refer to '(spatial) justice' in their documents, on their websites or through their stakeholders. According to the methodological reflections of the case study reports and the national reports, the term is not well-known in local contexts and difficult to translate into national languages. Instead, most researchers used similar, less academic terms such as 'regional differences' or 'local disadvantage' in their stakeholder interviews. This means that the analysis of actions tackling spatial (in-)justice always involves a 'translation' from academic to colloquial language and from the stakeholder interviews to the academic findings in the case study reports in turn.

As a last disclaimer, it should be noted that the statements in this report are influenced by the authors' (subjective) reading and interpretation of the case study reports and thus, while case-based information has been counter-checked by all case study teams, ultimate responsibility for the correctness of the information lies with the authors of this report.

### 3. Characteristics and Themes of the Actions

This chapter presents the main characteristics and topics of the 33 case study actions. The starting point for case study selection was the identification of interesting actions in localities with obvious challenges of spatial justice. From the outset, there should be a diverse set of actions, all clearly addressing spatial injustices. Thus, actions might differ in maturity, funding, embeddedness in territorial governance arrangements, and main stakeholders. Yet, all of them should aim towards more spatial justice and have a visible impact on the locality. While the territorial (Chapter 4) and governance context (Chapter 5) as well as questions of funding (Chapter 6) are discussed later in this report, this chapter focuses on the strategic and thematic approach of case study actions.

#### 3.1 Characteristics of the Case Study Actions

The variety of RELOCAL case study actions allows to research diverse thematic approaches in tackling territorial disadvantages. Moreover, different strategic approaches of actions are investigated, depending on the specific challenges, localities face as well as the stakeholders that initiate and shape actions. Figure 1 illustrates three overarching categories that group the cases according to their strategic approach: strategies, measures and networks and associations.

Hereby, the allocation of case studies depends on the level of analysis of the research teams. For example, many of the measures listed here are part of a larger strategy. Yet, researchers in these cases chose to investigate one specific project within this strategy. In contrast, the case studies categorised as strategies give insights into the development of a strategy as a whole. Likewise, associations might be implementing measures or strategies, yet case study research has been focusing on the structure and organisation of the association or network itself.

(EL 3) Post – Mining Regional Strategy (DE 1) Smart Country Side (EL 5) Overcoming Fragmentation  
(ES 7) Local Strategic Plan (ES 8) Llei de Barris (HU 13) Give Kids a Chance (HU 14) Urban Regeneration  
(ES 9) La Mina Transformation Plan (FI 11) Lieksa Development Strategy 2030 (NL 19) Induced Earthquakes  
**STRATEGIES** (FI 12) Activation of Youth (HU 16) Balaton LEADER (PL 21) Participatory Budget Lodz **MEASURES**  
(FR 18) EPA Alzette-Belval **APPROACH OF THE CASE STUDIES** (PL 23) Goth Village  
(NL 20) Rotterdam South on Course (RO 26) Mara-Natur LEADER (PL 24) Rural Public Spaces (RO 25) Pata Cluj Project  
(RO 28) Plumbuita PIDU (SE 30) Stockholm Commission (UK 31) NULAG LEADER (RO 27) Malin-Codlea Project  
(DE 2) Youth Centre (EL 4) Alexander Innovation Zone (SE 29) Digital Västerbotten (UK 32) Homelessness Project  
(EL 6) Ecosystem of Collaboration **NETWORKS/ASSOCIATIONS** (ES 10) Association of Municipalities  
(HU 15) Producer Organisation (FR 17) Euralens (PL 22) Social Cooperative (UK 33) Strengthening Communities

**Figure 1: Approach of the case study actions.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports)

The first category ‘**strategies**’ displays strategic approaches such as long-term plans for place-based development. These strategies are confined to a locality such as a neighbourhood, a city or a region and generally outline a set of objectives to be achieved through the implementation and integration of several smaller-scale components. A prototype for this cluster is the case study of the ‘Stockholm Commission’ (SE 30). The action sheds light on the phase before project implementation, as its main goal was to give an overview of and evaluate city-wide socio-spatial developments. In a later stage of the action and based on the data gathered and analysed by the commission, concrete actions for future implemen-

tation in particularly disadvantaged neighbourhoods of Stockholm were suggested. Other types of actions that aim to develop guiding principles for the future development of a town or region are two regional strategies in localities with a history of deindustrialization (EL 3, FR 18) and two municipal developments strategies (ES 7, FI 11). At a lower territorial level, two Spanish case studies (ES 8, ES 9), NL 20 and RO 28 form a group of neighbourhood strategies. Again, focal point of these plans is not the implementation of a single action, but a strategic and integrated approach to neighbourhood development.

Another sub-group of strategies are LEADER (HU 16, RO 26, UK 31) and CLLD actions (FI 12). At the core of these programmes are small-scale projects, initiated and implemented by local stakeholders. Yet, in every funding period, such projects are preceded by a local development strategy that is drawn up in accordance with higher-level requirements and the involvement of local civic, public and private actors. This overarching strategy might be overridden over time, as seen in Phase 2 of the Northumberland LEADER case (UK31), but it forms a central foundation of LEADER and CLLD programmes and differentiates them from the second category ‘measures’. The two cases PL 23 and PL 24 are also partly funded by LEADER, yet they are not considered here, as they belong to the ‘measures’ category. The focus of these case studies is not the implementation of the LEADER programme, but smaller-scale actions.

Cases in the category ‘**measures**’ concentrate on such small-scale actions. Often, these are short-term projects focusing on one specific topic or policy sector. Many measures are embedded in a long-term or higher-level strategy similar to the ones described above. For example, the German project ‘Smart Country Side’ (DE 1) and the Swedish action ‘Digital Västerbotten’ (SE 29) are two digitalisation projects for rural areas implemented and funded under the umbrella of a regional development strategy. Other measures are not formally part of a higher-level programme, yet guided by regional, national or EU strategies regarding thematic focus and funding (HU 13, HU 14, PL 23, PL 24, RO 27, UK 32).

Amongst these measures, a group of actions can be distinguished whose main toehold is social work with and for a specific disadvantaged target group (HU 13, RO 25, RO 27, UK 32). This target group are, for example, children and youths in the Hungarian case ‘Give Kids a Chance’ (HU 13) or homeless in the temporary housing project in London (UK 32). Lastly, the cluster encompasses policies and reforms, of which there are three: the territorial administrative restructuring reform in Greece (EL 5), the implementation of a municipal participatory budget in Lodz (PL 21) and the measures implemented to alleviate earthquake damage in the case of Groningen (NL 19).

The third grouping comprises ‘**associations or networks of associations**’ which address spatial injustices in their localities. Hereby, researchers took the internal and external workings of an organisation and the learning processes emerging from the strategic cooperation of several initiatives and institutions into focus. Actions range from small-scale associations with a specific field of impact (DE 2, HU 15, PL 22) to region-wide amalgamations of organisations like the non-hierarchical network ‘Ecosystem of Collaboration’ (EL 6), the top-down initiated innovation cluster ‘Alexander Innovation Zone’ (EL 4), an ‘Association of Municipalities’ (ES 10) and ‘Euralens’ in Nord-Pas-de-Calais (FR 17), which acts as a project incubator, consolidating and supporting a variety of smaller-scale projects. Lastly, a development agency (UK 33) belongs to this cluster. It has been installed by the Scottish Government, but operates largely autonomously and through place-based interventions in the Highlands and Islands regions of the country.



Generally, case study analysis has shown that there does not exist one ‘best practice’ approach to tackle spatial injustice. Instead, the success of an approach always depends upon the spatial as well as temporal context it is implemented in. Most case study actions do not work isolated, but are embedded in or cooperate with other initiatives and projects in the locality. When working well, such cooperation proves valuable for integrated local development. A single, temporary measure or small association cannot fully turn around the development trajectory of a locality. Yet, if it is **vertically and horizontally integrated** within the territorial governance scheme, the joint effort can have a significant impact on a place. Additionally, integrated networks complement higher level strategies with focused action and allow stakeholders to exchange place-based knowledge, as in the case of a youth association (DE 2), where “*regional sociocultural organisations bundle experiences and form a lobby demanding more visibility and facilitation for their activities from public actors*” (Kamuf et al., 2019: 17). Thus, it is important to view and analyse the actions’ implementation in their horizontal/vertical integration (see RELOCAL Deliverable 3.2).

### 3.2 Topics of the Case Study Actions

In an attempt to categorise the case studies under key topics (see Figure 2), special attention is paid to the observed spatial (in-)justices in the respective locality on the one hand and on the other hand to the aims and measures articulated – through the case study action – to counteract these.

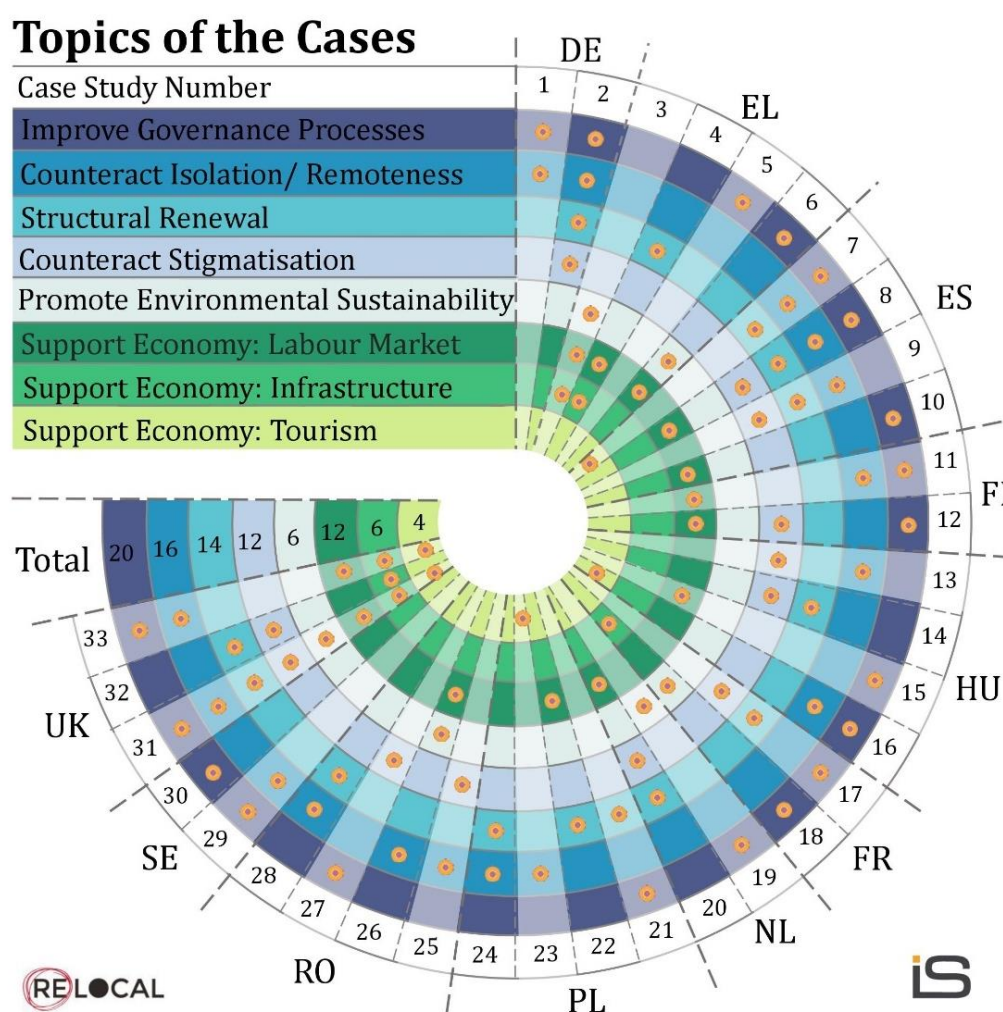


Figure 2: Topics of the case study actions. (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports)

The classification is not to be seen as a conclusive system which contains all of the topics coming up in the case studies, yet as an approach to demonstrate connections between them in drawing attention to the most important expressions of ways of counteracting spatial (in-)justices communicated within the case study reports.

In the selection of actions, the researchers' backgrounds, interests and perspectives did play an important role. According to their expertise, some research teams were more focused on certain topics than others. Nevertheless, it can be observed that action topics are not limited to particular EU countries, yet spread across the case study localities.

Overall, Figure 2 indicates that most case study actions have a broad thematic approach, covering several different topics and aims, rather than being focused on one single goal (see also Copus et al., 2019: 11). Likewise, more than half of the actions integrate a mix of hard and soft measures (see Table 4 in Annex 10.2). This shows that stakeholders seldom believe that local disadvantages can be tackled by one single measure, as perceived injustices themselves are multifarious in their formation and effects on populations and places.

Accordingly, in the RELOCAL project, spatial justice is defined as the interplay between distributive and procedural justice. As Figure 2 shows, most of the case study actions aim at **improving governance processes**, thus fostering procedural justice in the locality. These cases deal with issues related to the functioning of governance and its reorganisation through public, private, and civic stakeholders. In some cases, this entails the improvement of every-day municipal service provisions. For example, in the case of ES 10, several municipalities joined forces in an association to provide extended and improved services to residents and local economic actors.

Secondly, many actions aim at fostering new formats of local governance through the development and implementation of participation mechanisms and a better integration of non-governmental and civil society actors into political decision-making processes. One example for this is the Finnish case of Kotka (FI 12), where local NGOs play an important role for the conceptualisation and implementation of the action. Yet, in several localities, civil society organisations themselves try to compensate non- or malfunctioning civil services like national level mismanagement of a LEADER programme (HU 16). The 'Ecosystem of Collaboration' (EL 6) founded a bank that gives credits to local cooperatives and the 'Social Cooperative' in Poland (PL 22) was founded by local actors who tried to refurbish public spaces independently, before the co-operative was taken over by the municipality.

In addition to the improvement of procedures, many of the case study actions aim to **counteract the isolation or remoteness** of the locality they are implemented in. This being such a key component in many of the cases supports the underlying assumption of this study that perceived injustices often have a clear spatial reference. The importance of counteracting isolation or remoteness can be observed across all welfare regimes.

The cases represented in this cluster can be split into two groups. Firstly, there are actions in localities experiencing geographical disadvantages, as a consequence of a remote location (e.g. alongside a national border) or topographical characteristics such as a mountainous territory (DE 1, DE 2, FI 11, HU 13, HU 16, PL 23, PL 24, RO 26, SE 29, UK 31, UK 33). Most of these case study areas are rural villages or small towns within remote regions. For example, the case study 'Strengthening Communities' (UK 33) takes place on sparsely populated Scottish Islands that suffer from outmigration. The second group of cases represent so-called inner peripheries (Noguera et al., 2017). These are localities which are not necessarily remotely located, yet still socially, politically and/ or economi-



cally isolated (ES 7, ES 8, ES 9, FR 18, RO 25, RO 28). The most typical example in this group are neighbourhoods such as Plumbuita in Bucarest (RO 28), which is cut off from the rest of the city due to the physical environment (roads, a lake) and socioeconomic and political neglect. For further information on the territorial context of case study localities, see Chapter 4.

The third category displays those actions promoting distributive justice in the form of **structural renewal** in their area. These actions represent strategies, measures, or projects with concrete propositions to revitalize or renew built-up areas. Most of them focus on housing and public space. They strive towards an upgrade of the citizens' living standard and the public image of their localities through constructional measures (ES 7, ES 8, ES 9, HU 14, NL 20, PL 21, PL 22, PL 24, RO 27, RO 28). However, some of the cases likewise entail soft measures in renewing urban space. In the cases of FR 17 and DE 2, for example, actors aim to revitalise former industrial buildings through cultural activities.

Sometimes, a negative public image of a locality can hinder local development. Such stigma is often based on a multitude of reasons, from the peripheral location of a town to the discrimination of specific (ethnic) population groups. Case study actions in this cluster aim to **counteract stigmatisation** by fostering a new public image for the locality. If the stigmatisation refers to a specific population group within the locality, this might include examining approaches to redress the principles constituting the basis for the people's discrimination. Within this cluster 'Give Kids a Chance' (HU 13) is an example for a project that fights child and family poverty. In the case of 'Rotterdam South on Course' (NL 20), the population and particularly the young inhabitants of a segregated neighbourhood shall be given a future perspective through educational measures. Lastly, the case of Nord-Pas de Calais (FR 17) illustrates that a negative local image can be internalized and reproduced by local citizens themselves, leading to a *"lack of confidence of the people"* (Blondel, 2019: 11; see also Chapter 7.2).

Figure 2 indicates the importance of social and governance-related aspects of spatial (in-) justice. Nevertheless, an issue often unconsidered when talking about territorial disadvantages are environmental challenges. These can have disadvantaging effects on the quality of life of a population and the attractiveness of a place. Consequently, some case studies are specifically taking the **promotion of environmental sustainability** into focus. These studies are exploring actions to counteract pollution, like the 'Post-Mining Regional Strategy' in Greece (EL 3), or environmental hazards such as the prevention and compensation of earthquake damages in the Dutch region of Groningen (NL 19). The promotion of sustainable construction is another important component, like in the French case FR 18, where green economy and sustainable housing are fostered.

Lastly, a range of case study actions deals with **supporting and stimulating the economy** of the respective locality. Hereby, the case studies are examining networks, strategies or measures which focus on (1) the improvement of local **infrastructure**, such as the 'Alexander Innovation Zone' in Thessaloniki (EL 4), where one aim is to set-up a technology park, (2) **employment opportunities** such as the 'Producer Organisation' in Hungary (HU 15), which provides jobs in the agricultural sector, and (3) **touristic development** such as heritage tourism in the case of the 'Goth Village Association' (PL 23). In these cases, the hope is that greater economic strength and competitiveness of the locality will lead to an overall better quality of life for its citizens.

As observed above, most case study actions employ a broad approach regarding topics and goals. This approach is not static. In some cases, the thematic focus of the action has shift-

ed over time or additional aims evolved due to higher-level demands or changing local circumstances (action revision, see Figure 3). A prominent example is the Northumberland LEADER project (UK 31), where there was a strong shift of funding requirements from a more social to an economically-oriented approach. Other actions were extended by additional stakeholders, subjects, territory or time (action extension). For example, the ‘La Mina Transformation Plan’ (ES 9) was prolonged, as stakeholders *“understood that major social changes in the neighbourhood could not be implemented under a forced timetable”* (Ulled et al., 2019: 30).

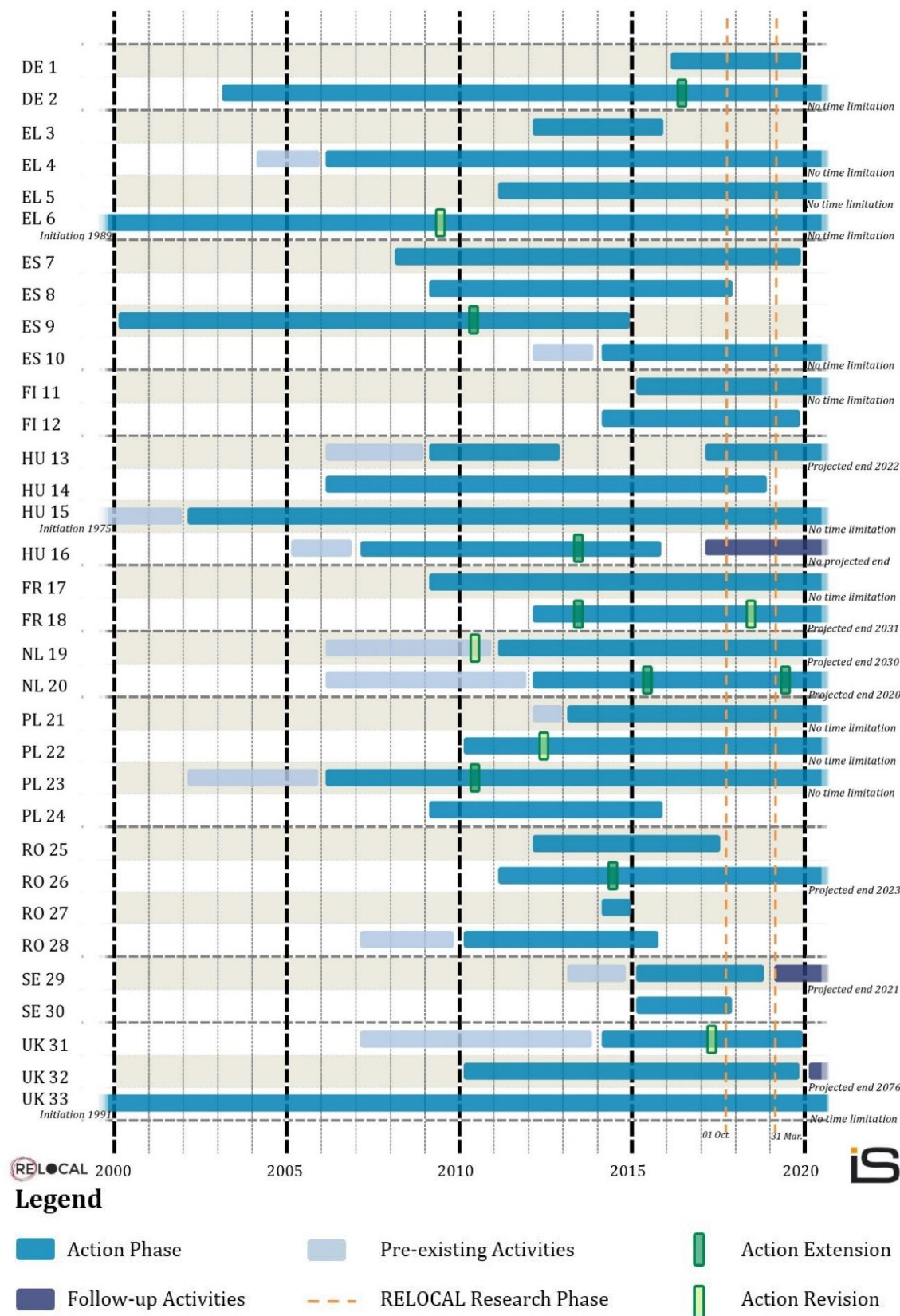
In contrast, other actions, particularly short-term projects, tend to be very focused as they do not pursue over sufficient time to cover a wide range of topics. While this must not always be a disadvantage, some case studies raise the question whether such short-term projects can actually prove sustainable effects on a locality. In the case of a housing legalization project (RO 27) Hossu and Vincze (2019) argue that *“a landmark program with such a short, inflexible duration and one not ready to recognize and acknowledge the variety of situations in the field that would be encountered has no chance to succeed; it simply does not have the means and mechanisms that would make it work”* (p. 25).

Yet, short-term actions that build upon each other might nevertheless be able to achieve learning processes over a longer period of time. This is why pre-existing and follow-up activities were included in Figure 3. These activities are closely connected to the action under study. Without the pre-existing activities, the action would not have taken place, at least not in the same form. Follow-up activities, on the other hand, have the aim to continue what has already been started through the case study action. For example, in the case of ‘Give Kids a Chance’ (HU 13), a pilot project was implemented before the first project cycle to gain experiences and place-based knowledge about the localities and the thematic field.

Hence, the success of an action tackling spatial justice does not only depend on the strategic and thematic focus. The duration of the action, its embeddedness in pre-existing and follow-up activities, its flexibility to adapt to changing circumstances, its maturity in acquiring place-based knowledge and evolving through organizational learning processes as well as its ability to achieve sustainable impact on a locality play a decisive role. It is thus important to integrate the **developmental trajectory of the actions** into case study analysis.

The timeline in Figure 3 shows the diversity of actions regarding their maturity, length and temporal development. Likewise, the overview informs about the researchers’ perspective on the action at the time of case study fieldwork. Researchers have looked at actions at different points in time, some were still ongoing, while others had already been finished several years before. In the first case, case study teams were able to gain in-depth insights into the actual working of a project or institution. In contrast, from an ex-post perspective on an action, case study analysis renders a different picture, as more knowledge about the time following the action and its possible impact in the locality could be gathered. This accounts for about one third of the total case study sample.

## Development Trajectory of the Action



## 4. Context of the Localities

This chapter presents the context characteristics of the RELOCAL case study localities. As argued before, the data presented here can indicate some characteristics of the wider regions but does not allow to draw a complete picture of the localities under study. The most relevant reason for this is that some of the chosen cases are located in small municipalities or regional sub-units, while European-wide comparable data on the geographical and socioeconomic context is available on higher levels of statistical units only, such as NUTS 3 or even NUTS 2 level.

Hence, the data presented here allows to characterise the context of the actions beyond the place they are situated in. In the project's understanding, the chosen localities are constituted through complex geometries of vertical, horizontal and transversal forces. Knowledge about the situatedness of cases in a rural or urban, economically booming or depressed environment helps to understand the wider context as well as commonalities and specificities of the cases. Additionally, examples from the 33 cases are presented to illustrate the case studies' embeddedness in and relation to their wider territorial, political and socioeconomic context. Moreover, these examples provide insights into subjective and relational perceptions of spatial (in-)justice to complement the quantitative data.

### 4.1 Territorial Context of the Case Study Localities

From the outset, rural as well as urban localities were included in the case study sample. No geographical units were pre-defined. Instead, the most important criterion for choosing a case was the existence of obvious challenges of spatial justice in the locality. Thus, our sample of cases is quite diverse regarding the spatial scale and type of case study localities: the sample includes cities, metropolitan areas, peripheral areas, towns, regions, etc. Table 1 shows a balanced sample of cases located in predominantly rural, predominantly urban and intermediate NUTS 3 regions.

	PREDOMINANTLY RURAL	INTERMEDIATE	PREDOMINANTLY URBAN
VILLAGE(S)	(PL 23) Goth Village (PL 24) Rural Public Spaces		
NEIGHBOURHOOD		(HU 14) Urban Regeneration (RO 25) Pata Cluj Project (RO 27) Malin-Codlea Project	(ES 8) Llei de Barris (ES 9) La Mina Transformation Plan (NL 20) Rotterdam South on Course (RO 28) Plumbuita PIDU (UK 32) Homelessness Project
TOWN	(FI 11) Lieksa Development Strategy 2030	(DE 2) Youth Centre (FI 12) Activation of Youth <sup>1</sup>	(ES 7) Local Strategic Plan (PL 22) Social Cooperative <sup>1</sup>
METROPOLITAN AREA/ CITY			(EL 4) Alexander Innovation Zone <sup>1</sup> (PL 21) Participatory Budget Lodz (SE 30) Stockholm Commission
REGION	(DE 1) Smart Country Side <sup>2</sup> (EL 3) Post – Mining Regional Strategy <sup>2</sup> (EL 6) Ecosystem of Collaboration (RO 26) Mara-Natur LEADER <sup>1</sup> (UK 33) Strengthening Communities	(DE 1) Smart Country Side <sup>2</sup> (EL 3) Post – Mining Regional Strategy <sup>2</sup> (EL 5) Overcoming Fragmentation (HU 13) Give Kids a Chance (HU 15) Producer Organisation (HU 16) Balaton LEADER <sup>1</sup> (FR 17) Euralens <sup>2</sup> (FR 18) EPA Alzette-Belval (NL 19) Induced Earthquakes (SE 29) Digital Västerbotten <sup>1</sup> (UK 31) NULAG LEADER <sup>1</sup>	(ES 10) Association of Municipalities (FR 17) Euralens <sup>2</sup>

**Table 1: Rural- urban typology compared to the type of investigated locality<sup>1,2</sup>.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports and Eurostat)

<sup>1</sup> The original description of the NUTS 3 regions within the case study reports differs with the newest data of Eurostat, as the typology of NUTS 3 regions has changed over the course of the RELOCAL Project. The newest data can be seen here:



As can be seen from the rows, most of the RELOCAL case study localities are below NUTS 3 level. Many of these cases still take place in predefined statistical or political units such as a delimited neighbourhood, village, town or district. Others, however, do not: the 'NULAG LEADER' project (UK 31), for example, takes place in a self-defined, rural upland territory within one county. The Spanish case ES 8, on the other hand, takes place in two neighbourhoods that share similar socioeconomic characteristics and even have a common name, yet belong to two different municipalities. In a few cases, the action localities transcend NUTS 3 boundaries (DE 1, EL 3, FR 17, FR 18, NL 19). These actions represent interesting examples of regional cooperation amongst municipalities and districts. In all these cases, the initiators of the action decided to focus on **localities defined by a common identity or shared development challenges** rather than statistically or politically defined units.

Intentionally, the RELOCAL sample includes mostly localities with obvious needs for improving living conditions or achieving a more balanced and sustainable development. These cases fall in three categories: (1) localities which are disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region, (2) those situated in interstitial spaces within a developed region and (3) disadvantaged neighbourhoods within developed cities (see Table 2).

## Disadvantaged in...

### ...a wider underdeveloped region

(DE 2) Youth Centre  
(EL 3) Post - Mining Regional Strategy  
(EL 5) Overcoming Fragmentation  
(FI 11) Lieksa Development Strategy 2030  
(HU 13) Give Kids a Chance  
(HU 14) Urban Regeneration  
(NL 19) Induced Earthquakes  
(PL 21) Participatory Budget Lodz  
(PL 23) Goth Village  
(UK 31) NULAG LEADER  
(UK 33) Strengthening Communities

### ... a developed region

(DE 1) Smart Country Side  
(EL 6) Ecosystem of Collaboration  
(ES 7) Local Strategic Plan  
(ES 8) Llei de Barris  
(ES 9) La Mina Transformation Plan  
(FI 12) Activation of Youth  
(FR 17) Euralens  
(FR 18) EPA Alzette-Belval  
(PL 22) Social Cooperative  
(PL 24) Rural Public Spaces  
(RO 26) Mara-Natur LEADER  
(RO 27) Malin-Codlea Project  
(SE 29) Digital Västerbotten

### ... a developed city

(NL 20) Rotterdam South on Course  
(RO 25) Pata Cluj Project  
(RO 28) Plumbuita PIDU  
(UK 32) Homelessness Project

### Not overall disadvantaged in a national context

(EL 4) Alexander Innovation Zone  
(ES 10) Association of Municipalities  
(HU 15) Producer Organisation  
(HU 16) Balaton LEADER  
(SE 30) Stockholm Commission

**Table 2: Situation of the case study localities within their wider territorial context.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports)

The allocation of case studies in Table 2 is based on the evaluation of local perceptions of spatial (in-)justice through the RELOCAL research teams. Such perceptions are based on the relative perspective of interviewed local actors and the relation of the localities to their neighbouring areas. The Polish cases of Lodz (PL 21) and Brzeziny (PL 22) illustrate this **relational perception of disadvantage**. In the first case, the third-largest city of Poland is characterised as a disadvantaged city which experienced sharp economic decline and growing internal disparities, in a wider underdeveloped region. The small town Brzeziny is located only fifteen kilometres away from Lodz, yet it is described as disadvantaged within a developed region. This might seem contradictory at first, yet from the perspective of Brzeziny's representatives, the neighbouring Lodz is the destination of many young and educated local inhabitants, who seek the more developed social, economic and

[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/RCI/#?vis=urbanrural.urb\\_typology&lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cache/RCI/#?vis=urbanrural.urb_typology&lang=en). The outdated case data can be seen here: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Archive:Urban-rural\\_typology](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Archive:Urban-rural_typology).

<sup>2</sup> Those cases that appear in more than one category examine localities composed of various NUTS 3 regions classified in different typology groups.

cultural infrastructure of the metropolitan area. Consequently, depending on one's frame of reference, a locality can be perceived as disadvantaged and developed at the same time.

In addition to the abovementioned categories, Table 2 indicates **reference cases**, defined as a smaller number of actions that address issues of spatial injustice in localities that are not overall disadvantaged in a national context. Initially in the project, these cases were identified based on the GDP of their NUTS 3 area in relation to the economic performance of the respective country. Case study analysis has shown, however, that such definition based on economic performance on NUTS 3 level has its limitations. Aside from many case study actions taking place below NUTS 3 level, economic performance as an indicator for disadvantage cannot deliver a full picture of the perceptions of (in-)justice within a locality. Hence, five cases have been identified as reference cases that are not overall disadvantaged in relation to their national context. They represent socioeconomically well-performing localities with...

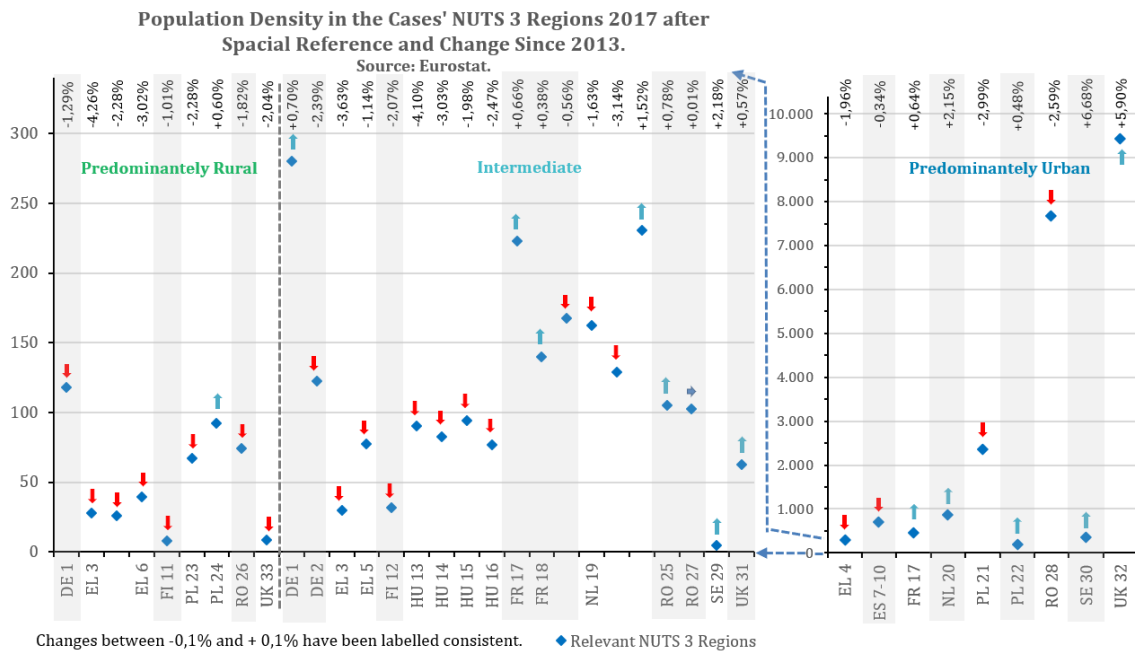
...large internal differences (SE 30, HU 16). While in the city of Stockholm, neighbourhood segregation is high, the Hungarian case investigates a LEADER area composed of both rich lake shore communities as well as peripheral rural villages.  
 ... low self-confidence in comparison to other striving regions and deficiencies in innovation (EL 4) and regional governance (ES 10), through which local assets could be exploited even more.  
 ...a strong agricultural sector and regional assets that compensate negative trends typically experienced by rural areas (HU 15).

A common characteristic is that none of the case study actions in these five localities is focusing on counteracting stigmatisation (see Figure 2).

These observations show that **single indicators are generally little meaningful as markers for a privileged or disadvantaged context**. Rurality may become a potential marker for disadvantage, if it goes hand in hand with difficult access to key infrastructure, to the labour market or to cultural and educational institutions. Sparse population, too, is no marker in itself (see Map 2 and Figure 4 on population density) but may point to disadvantageous dynamics in a region, if going hand in hand with continuing outmigration and ageing. Urban neighbourhoods, on the other hand, may be centrally located and yet individuals or population groups can experience severe limitations in getting ahead or just getting along, as is well-known from segregation and neighbourhood effects literature (Musterd et al., 2016; van Ham et al., 2013).

The following figures thus show how far the chosen localities are situated in a wider context of relative disadvantage or privilege. **A first indicator is demographics** and whether the localities' wider context is characterised by ongoing population shrinkage or growth, or shows a relatively stable population development.





**Figure 4: Population density (NUTS 3 units in 2017) [in Inh./km<sup>2</sup>] and population change (since 2013) in the case study localities.** In some cases, two or more NUTS 3 units constitute the case study area and figures for all respective NUTS 3 regions are represented then. (Own presentation based on data from Eurostat)

Figure 4 shows the wide range between sparsely populated regions (measured in terms of population density below 50 inhabitants/ km<sup>2</sup>), including EL 3, EL 6, both Finnish cases, SE 29, and the Scottish case UK 33, on the one hand, and densely populated regions (above 500 inhabitants/ km<sup>2</sup>), including the Spanish cases, NL 20, PL 21, RO 28 and UK 32. As mentioned above, density in itself is no marker for disadvantage or privilege. More interesting is its combination with population growth or loss over the last year.

Remarkably, among the strongest growing NUTS 3 areas (population growth above 2%) are not only the cities London (UK 32), Stockholm (SE 30) and Rotterdam (NL 20), but also the region of Västerbotten (SE29), a very sparsely populated area. Despite its rural character, the region encompasses a regional centre and coastal municipalities, whose population is increasing, while smaller inland municipalities are experiencing strong outmigration. This disparity illustrates a common difficulty in working with statistical data likewise experienced in other localities. Brooks et al. (2019b) explain the problem in the UK 31 case study report: *“Several of these perimeter towns are well-located for major transport routes [...]. This contributes towards a prosperous overall statistical picture, as is common in rural areas, that masks hidden pockets of deprivation”* (p. 9).

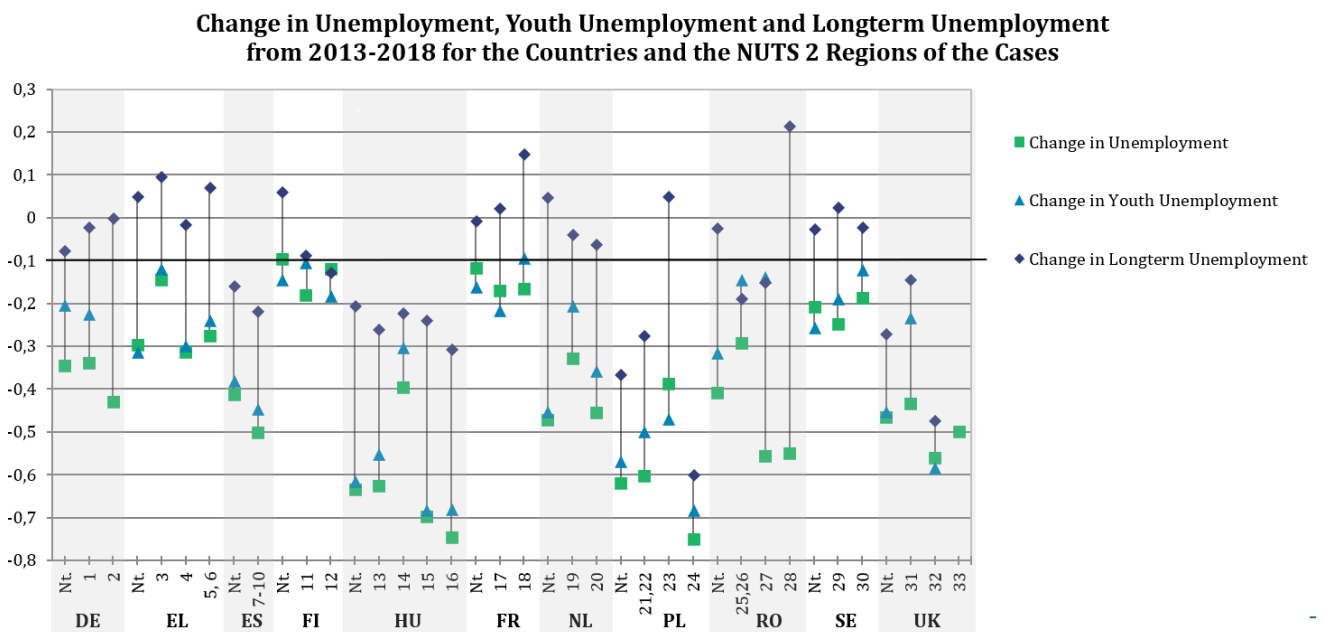
Amongst those regions which have experienced notable population loss (decline rates over 2%) are mostly rural and intermediate areas: DE 2, EL 3, EL 6, FI 12, HU 13, HU 14, HU 16, parts of NL 19, PL 23 and UK 33. However, there are two predominantly urban areas, in which population decline is similarly high: Lodz (PL 21) and Bucharest (RO 28). In the case of Bucharest, the region around the city is strongly increasing in population and in the case of Lodz, municipal strategic documents observe processes of suburbanisation. Hence, an outflux from the centre into the wider metropolitan area can at least partially explain the phenomenon of population decline.

## 4.2 Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Localities' Context

In addition to demographic developments, socioeconomic variables provide various insights into the case studies' context. Figure 5 below shows the change in unemployment, youth unemployment and long-term unemployment (LTU) from 2013 to 2018 for the countries and NUTS 2 regions of the cases. Overall, progress in labour market integration for the regions over the last five years can be observed. Although only slightly, unemployment and youth unemployment rates are declining in nearly all cases, particularly in the Eastern European localities. Interestingly, unemployment rates in the Hungarian, Polish and Romanian cases have declined to a similar level as those in Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden (see

Figure 16 in Annex 10.2). This development can be traced back to general economic growth in these countries. Additionally, in the Hungarian case, public work programmes were and are still to some extent used to bring large numbers of unemployed into labour (see Jelinek et al., 2019).

However, while employment and youth employment rates are equalising in Western and Eastern Europe, this does not account for the levels of income (see Figure 15 in Annex 10.2). Although net income in the Hungarian and Romanian cases has increased considerably, the respective cases still show the lowest levels of income of all RELOCAL case study localities.



**Figure 5: Change in unemployment, youth unemployment & long-term unemployment.** The figure shows the change of the national average (Nt.) and the relevant data for the NUTS 2 regions of the RELOCAL cases comparing the years 2013 and 2017. (Own presentation based on data from Eurostat)

Interestingly,

Figure 5 shows that the NUTS 2 regions of RELOCAL case study localities are not always performing below the national average with regards to employment indicators. For example, unemployment and LTU have decreased stronger in the NUTS 2 area of RO 27 than on the country level. Yet, such overall positive developments might mask the socioeconomic differentiation of regions (see also Chapter 4.1). For example, in the case of the 'Malin-Codlea Project' (RO 27), an informal residential neighbourhood is taken into focus that is socioeconomically isolated from the metropolitan area of an economically growing city. Likewise, the Hungarian case 'Give Kids a Chance' (HU 13) shows that work opportunities

and improved living standards might concentrate in a micro-regional centre, while surrounding villages are shaped by (child) poverty, high rates of unemployment and the socio-economic and political exclusion of the village inhabitants: *“The complex interplay of spatial, social and ethnic exclusion produces a special socio-spatial formation in the rural peripheries: the ghettoized rural villages”* (Keller and Virág, 2019: 7).

Moreover, in contrast to the change in unemployment and youth unemployment, **LTU rates have gone up** or decreased the least over the last years in almost all NUTS 2 regions of the case studies and most notably in the Greek, French and Swedish regions as well as in the Lublin region (PL23) and the larger metropolitan area of Bucharest (RO28). In some countries, like Greece, this development is mainly still a result of the 2008 economic crisis (Duell et al., 2016). In contrast, France and Sweden experience only moderate or low shares of LTU. Nevertheless, despite their good economic standing, it is difficult for these countries to reintegrate long-term unemployed into the labour market. One reason for this is that LTU is particularly an issue of older people, whose hiring rates are generally very low.

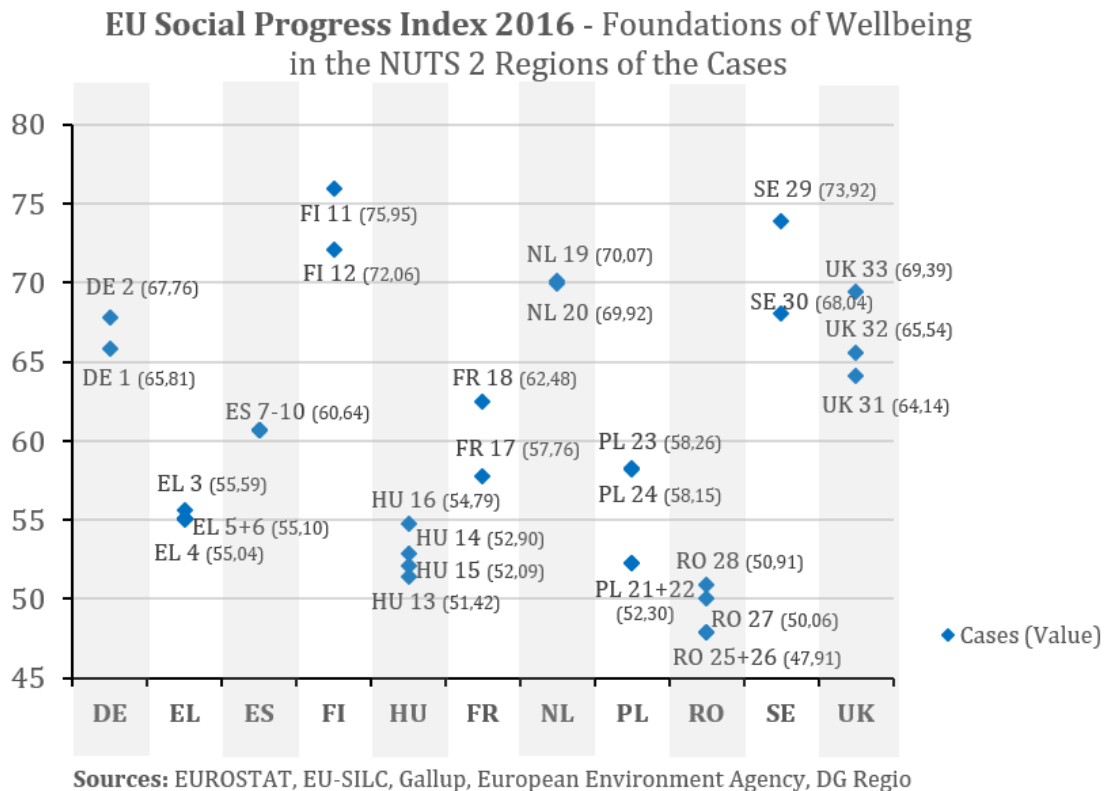
Putting the RELOCAL case studies in a larger context, the **OECD Employment Outlook 2019** reports that unemployment has generally been decreasing in most OECD countries. This is amongst others due to a higher share of women at work as well as a rise in effective retirement ages (OECD, 2019). At the same time, earnings inequality has widened and the decline of major industries such as the manufacturing sector coupled with a trend towards new, non-standard jobs (self-employment, part-time & temporary jobs, etc.) weakened employment security. The study shows that nowadays, employment does not guarantee a secure living standard anymore: *“This has been especially marked for many young people and, particularly, the low-skilled in many countries. They face an increased risk of low-paid employment when in work, and have experienced a rise in underemployment”* (OECD, 2019: 7). Existing labour market and welfare policies often do not account for these parts of the population and do not achieve to provide adequate and secure jobs for the unemployed. Consequently, employment data should not be considered as the sole indicator for socio-economic well-being in a locality.

However, when looking for socioeconomic European-level comparative data on regions, this is mostly available in the form of labour market data. To change that, the 7<sup>th</sup> European Report on Economic, Social and Territorial Cohesion (Dijkstra, 2017) has started to provide data describing living conditions in regions beyond an economic perspective in the so-called **‘EU Social Progress Index’**. A wide range of different indicators – available for NUTS 2 level only – indicate a region’s positioning with regard to quality of life and social sustainability. The scores for each region are allocated on a scale from 0 to 100, with 100 being the best possible score. The national averages for the Social Progress Index among the RELOCAL case study countries range from ca. 47 (RO) to ca. 80.5 (FI; Dijkstra, 2017: 91). Figure 6 below does not show the overall score, yet the chosen localities’ positioning for one of the three sub-dimensions, namely ‘Foundations of Well-Being’. It encompasses the indicators ‘access to basic knowledge’, ‘access to information and communications’, ‘health and wellness’, and ‘environmental quality’<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> The other two sub-dimensions are ‘Basic Human Needs’ including indicators on nutrition and basic medical care, water and sanitation, shelter, personal safety, and ‘Opportunity’ including indicators on personal freedom and choice, personal rights, tolerance, and access to advanced education (see European Commission, 2017: 91).

Figure 6 shows not so much a disparity between cases within a country, but rather reflects disparities between countries. The values for cases within a country tend to cluster relatively narrowly, so there are wider differences between the Nordic and the Eastern as well as Southern European countries. One could argue that the figure points to a link between economic development and the social indicators of well-being, as the 7<sup>th</sup> European Cohesion report does (Dijkstra, 2017). Furthermore, there might be a relation between these values and the characteristics of the welfare regimes across Europe. This will be the focus of Chapter 5.1.



**Figure 6: Foundations of well-being.** The figure shows the respective score for the NUTS 2 regions of the RELOCAL case study localities. (Own presentation based on data from Eurostat, EU-SILC, Gallup, European Environment Agency, DG Regio)

At a closer look, the index shows a narrow, but interesting difference between regions, as in some countries, rural localities score higher in foundations of wellbeing than urban areas (cf. FI 11-12, PL 21-24, SE 29-30, UK 32-33). Especially regarding the factor ‘access to information’, which includes broadband at home, this scoring seems highly unlikely at first. However, the dimension additionally includes variables such as ‘life expectancy’ or ‘satisfaction with air quality’. These factors might balance out challenges of education and information accessibility. Moreover, the observation is supported by case study research, which has shown that inhabitants of some of the rural localities actually emphasise the positive aspects of living in the countryside such as a beautiful landscape, security and tight social communities and try to maintain their current lifestyle (DE 1, SE 29, PL 23).

Lastly, in countries like Finland or Sweden, broadband accessibility is not an important issue of concern. As the case ‘Digital Västerbotten’ (SE29) illustrates, the question is rather on how to bridge the age gap in using and acknowledging digital services. These kinds of social polarisations and perceptions are not registered by the EU Social Progress Index.

In the context of social polarisation, a discussion has sparked recently about the so-called **‘geographies of discontent’** and the rise of populist and extremist parties as an act of ‘revenge’ of places that have suffered from multifarious decline for a long time and feel systematically left behind (Dijkstra et al., 2018; Rodríguez-Pose, 2018). Rodríguez-Pose argues that it is not the poor revolting against the rich, but rather the so-called ‘left-behind’ or ‘lagging-behind places’ who are increasingly showing their discontent with territorial inequality through voting for populist and/ or extremist parties.

Figure 7 shows the voting results for far-right parties<sup>4</sup> in the European Parliament elections 2019 in the voting districts of the RELOCAL case study localities as well as on the national level (for a detailed list of voting districts, see Table 5 in Annex 10.2). Although there are both left and right populist and extremist parties, for this report, it has been decided to focus on the political right. This is mainly based on the observation of a general shift to the right across the EU (Tartar, 2017), rather than a shift to the left. Hence, the focus in this analysis on new and extreme political parties is a convenient shorthand to represent a general increase in anti-immigrant and anti-elite rhetoric also expressed by conservative and liberal parties (The Economist, 2018).

In order to categorise the parties, only those that won a seat in the EP were included. Firstly, the authors of the report considered the self-grouping of parties in the European Parliament. This allocation was cross-checked with the The PopuList, a project by the Guardian that classifies European parties according to the criteria populist, far right, far left and Eurosceptic (Rooduijn et al., 2019). It became visible that most far-right parties belong to either the Identity and Democracy Group (ID) or the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR). Additionally, a few non-attached MEP and the Hungarian Fidesz of the European People’s Party (EPP) were included. Parties belonging to the ECR that are not classified as far right according to The PopuList were excluded from the list. Interestingly, almost all far right parties express populist as well as Eurosceptic views<sup>4</sup> (the only exception is XA in Greece, which is not classified as populist; Rooduijn et al., 2019).

Of course, the classification can only be an approximation of political developments, as parties are not static and parties of the same category might still differ in opinions. For example, the Hungarian and Polish cases show such high turn-outs for right-wing populists, as the governing Fidesz (HU) and PiS (PL) parties have been classified as far right. One might argue that both parties rather count as (right-)conservative. On this, Tröger et al. (2019) explain that *“there are parties that share the core beliefs of the right wing but which, due to tradition or other circumstances, tend to be grouped (if only narrowly) with the conservatives”*.

Despite the indefinite nature of party classifications, several interesting observations can be drawn from Figure 7. A closer look reveals that in some cases, urban areas tend to register significantly less votes for far-right parties than rural areas (see PL 21, SE 30, UK 32). Particularly in the UK, the high voting shares for the new far-right Brexit party reflects a polarised country, whose divisions are exemplified through case study localities in urban London (UK 32), rural England (UK 31) and the partially-devolved Scotland (UK 33; for further information see Brooks et al., 2019a). This observation would confirm that the feeling of being ‘left behind’ and the urge for ‘revenge’ is less prevalent in densely populat-

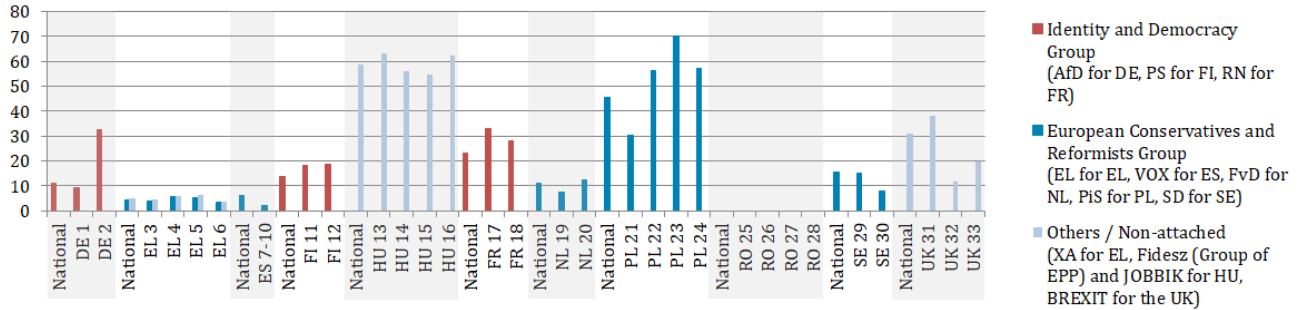
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<sup>4</sup> For a definition of the terms far-right, populist and eurosceptic, see Rooduijn et al. (2019).



ed urban agglomerations with access to key infrastructures. However, the argument does not hold true for all cities (see EL 4, EL 5, HU 14, NL 20).

### Voting Results of the European Parliament Election 2019 in the Case Study Regions in Percent



**Figure 7: Voting results within the case study localities of the European Parliament election 2019 for populist right-wing parties.** (Own presentation based on data from the countries' national ministries of the interior and local councils; For information on the voting results and districts see Table 5 in Annex 10.2)

Regarding the empirical case study work, two localities stick out: Nord-Pas-de-Calais (FR 17), the base of Marine Le Pen's National Front in France, and, most notably, the district of Görlitz (DE 2), where the Alternative for Germany, a far right and Eurosceptic party, lost the mayoral elections in the town of Görlitz by only a few percentage points this year. In both cases, these political developments play an important role for the investigated actions. On the one hand, the localities have gained a negative external (and partly internal) reputation due to the rise of far-right parties. On the other hand, the actions under study deliberately respond to these developments, as they aim to empower young people in democratic engagement (DE 2) and change the negative reputation of a territory through a less institutionalised approach to local development (FR 17).

Ultimately, the RELOCAL case studies show that populations of socioeconomically struggling rural places do indeed show their discontent through voting for far-right parties. For urban cases, this argument does not seem to be equally applicable. Urban-rural divides such as amongst the Polish case studies provide interesting starting points for further research. In that sense, the graph also shows general political developments in the countries of the RELOCAL study. The next chapter follows up on these observations with insights into the case studies' institutional context.



## 5. Institutional Context, Policy Structures and Agency

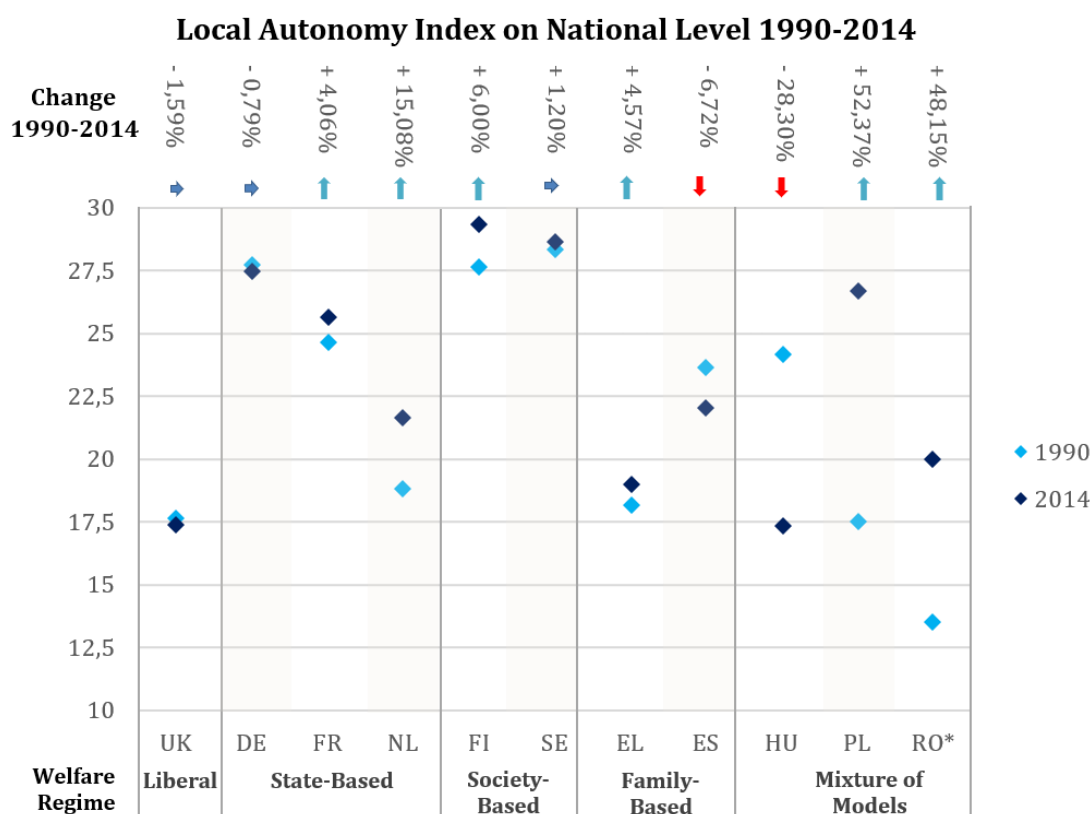
In this chapter, the focus lays on commonalities and differences in the structure (institutional settings of the actions) and agency amongst the chosen actions. The chapter first provides an overview on how the cases are situated according to common European typologies, specifically welfare state characteristics, local autonomy index and territorial governance typologies (see Chapter 5.1). Chapter 5.2 then draws upon evidence from the case study reports. The focus in this second section is on placing the actions according to their characteristics as being primarily top-down or bottom-up implemented, or showing a mix of top-down and bottom-up elements.

### 5.1 Welfare State, Local Autonomy and Territorial Governance Typologies

From the very beginning, the RELOCAL cases were chosen to **represent different welfare state regimes across Europe**. In its proposal, the RELOCAL project has distinguished between five welfare state regimes, based on different levels of state redistribution and decommodification: 1) Individual/Liberal (UK); 2) State-based (Netherlands, France, Germany); 3) Society-based (Finland, Sweden); 4) Familial/Family-based (Spain, Greece) and 5) Transitional/Mixture of Models (the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Hungary, Poland and Romania). It is generally acknowledged that these categorisations can only be an approximation, due to policy changes in the last decades on the national level, but also in the relationship between national and local welfare systems (Andreotti et al., 2012; Taylor-Gooby, 2016). Specifically, the trends of centralisation or decentralisation of policy responsibilities from higher (national) to lower levels of policy (regional, local) are of interest here.

Existing work with respect to classifications of planning and territorial governance across Europe provides further interesting background information. This knowledge is available from the ESPON COMPASS project, which recently investigated changes in territorial governance and spatial planning systems and policies in European member states over the past 15 years. The findings of the project consortium in relation to the distribution of competences among levels of government provide significant insights (Nadin et al., 2018: 19ff.).

With regards to **rescaling processes since 2000**, the COMPASS project sees increased municipal autonomy in Finland and strong tendencies of decentralisation to the local and the neighbourhood level in the case of UK (this is a debatable statement with respect to Figure 8 and findings from the UK case study reports). There is also redistribution of competences among levels of government from the sub-national (regional) to the local level in Hungary, and a slight trend to give municipalities more power in Germany. At the same time, for some countries, including Romania, Spain and Greece, a reverse trend towards centralisation of planning powers to the state, is reported. In France and Poland, the regional level seems to increase its planning competences. There were less strong or multi-directional shifts in the (re-)distribution of competences among levels of government in the remaining countries Sweden and the Netherlands, although in the latter case, municipalities seem to have lost powers to higher decision-making levels. Given the research focus of RELOCAL, specifically those shifts in powers and responsibilities to the local level are of interest.



**Figure 8: Change of Local Autonomy Index on national level from 1990 to 2014.** (Own presentation based on Ladner et al., 2016)

\*In the case of Romania, the data of 1995 is used, as no data for previous years exists.

In this context, the work of Ladner et al. (2016) and their findings on the autonomy of local authorities in a comparative European perspective is of interest here (see also RELOCAL Deliverable 7.1 for in-depth discussion). The so-called **Local Autonomy Index** indicates the level and extent of decentralisation measured in terms of several dimensions, such as legal or financial autonomy of local authorities, as well as vertical influence (Ladner et al., 2016). Figure 8 shows the positioning for the respective RELOCAL countries for 2014 and includes information on the dynamics over the last fifteen years. It needs to be emphasised, that the figures are available for the national level only. In the case of UK, no data is available contrasting Scotland and England.

A group of countries with high levels of autonomy sticks out: local authorities in Germany, France, Finland, Sweden and Poland have a higher degree of local autonomy compared to the rest of the RELOCAL countries. The grouping of countries according to welfare regimes shows no clear picture except for the highest levels of local autonomy for the northern, society-based countries. Looking at the dynamics over the last years, there is a particularly diverse picture for the Central and Eastern European countries, with a remarkable increase of local autonomy between 1990 and 2014 for Poland and Romania, and a particularly strong decrease of local autonomy in Hungary. In parallel to the development in Hungary, but with less strong evidence, there is also a decrease of local autonomy in Spain.

This provides relevant background information for situating the RELOCAL cases. However, as mentioned above, typologies – specifically those which generalise on national level – can give useful indications, but there is no simple or direct connection between national

classifications and the reality on the ground in the investigated localities. Turning more directly to the **evidence presented in the case study reports**, there are more supporting than contradicting arguments with respect to the findings on the autonomy of local authorities (Ladner 2016 et al.). Thus, the limited flexibility and responsibilities at the local level in the case of the 'Balaton LEADER' action (HU 16), due to increased centralisation in the governance system of rural development, is argued to have had negative impact on the local outcomes of this action. The same applies to the 'Give Kids a Chance' programme (HU 13). The (negative) impact of too little flexibility and scope of local authorities is also highlighted within the case of Lewisham (UK 32), where national housing policies limit the building and maintaining of social housing according to local priorities. In a similar vein, the issue of limited autonomy given to municipal councils is discussed as a problem in the Greek case EL 5. For the Romanian case RO 26, it is reported that public administration stakeholders indeed see the devolution of responsibilities to the local level, thus confirming a remarkable increase of local autonomy for local authorities, but saying that this has not been properly coupled with adequate funding to respond to these new responsibilities. Interestingly, even in the Finnish case, with a high level of local autonomy, the limiting framework set by the national level is mentioned as a factor negatively impacting achievements in urban CLLD actions (FI 12).

In the RELOCAL project, the intention from the beginning has been to investigate cases which are shaped, influenced or initiated by local communities. These actions could be either policy-driven, sometimes initiated by higher policy levels, while shaped or influenced by the local level in order to serve local needs or the actions could be initiated by local communities themselves. Thus, most of the actions – according to our selection criteria – take place at the lowest possible decision-making level. The selected actions vary, however, with regards to the origin, implementation and temporal development of the initiative and whether the action has been locally or nationally initiated. In the upcoming section, the actions' characteristics are evaluated out of this comparative perspective.

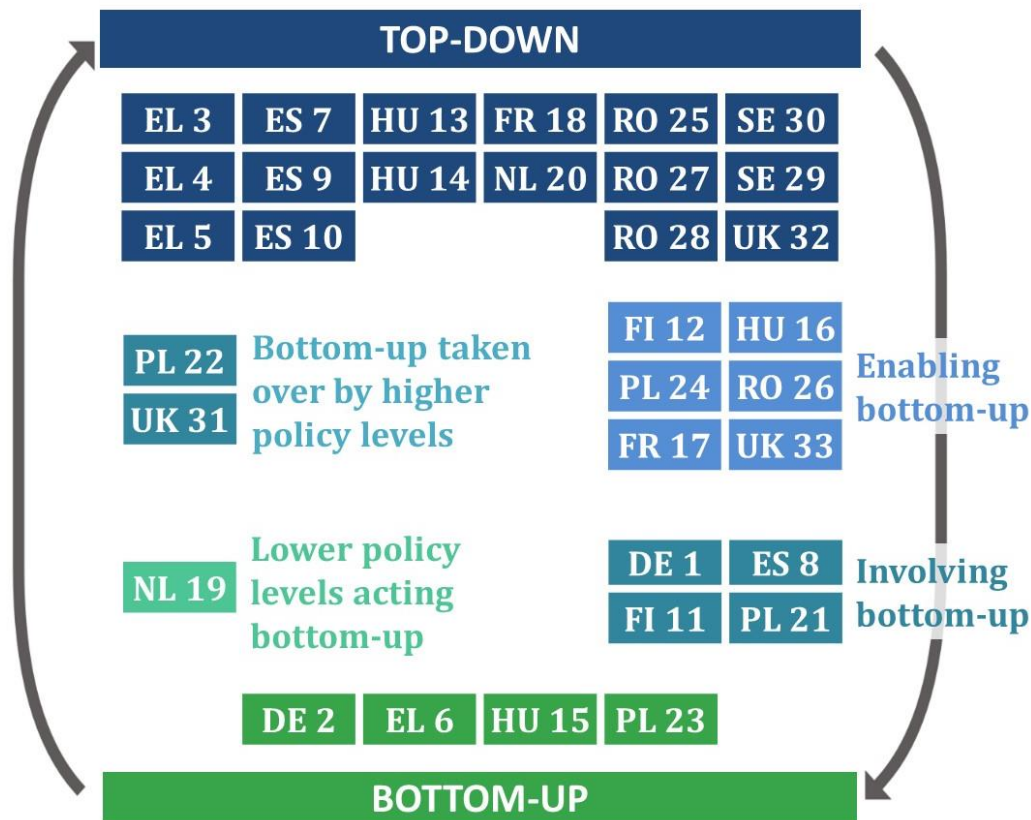
## 5.2 The Case Study Actions in their Top-down and Bottom-up Characteristics

Broadly speaking, **'bottom-up' actions** are promoted by local stakeholders, possibly in collaboration with local administrations. Municipalities are also included in this category as there are cases where local administrations act bottom-up against or independently from higher-level administrations. **'Top-down' actions** are promoted by the national government (or by higher policy levels) with limited involvement of the local actors (see also definitions in Copus et al., 2019: 10). There are many cases in-between these broad categories, i.e. cases which show a mix of bottom-up and top-down elements, as Figure 9 demonstrates.

Our final categorisation of the cases in this figure is based on the factual implementation of the action (rather than the initiation of the action). There are cases, however, where specifically the changing dynamics of top-down and bottom-up elements in the process from initiation to implementation characterise the action and make the case interesting. These dynamics are illustrated in the figure.

As Figure 9 illustrates, there are four actions which are led by a local community or civil society initiative and are thus the clearest examples of 'bottom-up'. These are the 'Youth Centre' (DE 2), Karditsa's 'Ecosystem of Collaboration' (EL 6), the 'Producer Organisation' of Szentes (HU 15), and the 'Goth Village' Association (PL 23). There is also one action in which a province is acting bottom-up against the higher policy level of the central gov-

ernment. This is the case of NL 19, where central governments' policy-making linked to the extraction of natural gas is perceived as spatial injustice by people in the region.



**Figure 9: Types of case study actions: bottom-up vs. top-down.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports)

Sixteen of the 33 cases are implemented by higher policy levels – which could be national as well as regional or local levels – with very little or no evidence of bottom-up elements. Although a diversity of actors might be present, such as in the case of HU 14 (engagement of an NGO), RO 25 (engagement of a United Nations programme) or UK 32 (engagement of private industry), these implement the action without an involvement of civil society.

The remaining cases are interesting in their mix of top-down and bottom-up elements, being national or regional strategies which either involve bottom-up elements (DE 1, ES 8, FI 11, PL 21) or are planned strategically with the intention to enable local bottom-up processes (FI 12, HU 16, FR 17, PL24, RO 26, UK 33). Especially interesting are the dynamics in the process of initiating and implementing the actions. There are two cases of actions which started bottom-up, but were taken over by higher policy levels (PL 22, UK 31). One of them, the 'Social Cooperative' as Part of a Local Revitalisation Program (PL 22), was founded by unemployed citizens and was taken over and revived by the municipality when the initiative started to struggle.

## 6. Funding and Supporting Policies

This chapter provides an analysis of the role of EU, national and regional (funding) programmes for the development of the actions, both in financial and conceptual terms.

The Cohesion Fund, for the period of 2014 to 2020, defines **different types of NUTS 2 regions eligible for funding** aimed at regional development (ERDF) or social and human resource development (ESF), on the basis of GDP per capita of the EU-27 average.<sup>5</sup> Looking at the NUTS 2 areas in which the RELOCAL cases are situated, an overall balanced representation of less developed regions, transition regions and more developed regions can be observed (see Figure 10). As was to be expected, Central-Eastern European cases are overrepresented in regions classified as 'less developed' according to GDP per capita and Central-Western European cases overrepresented in those regions classified as 'more developed'. The member states eligible for funding from the Cohesion Fund in our sample, basically for funding big infrastructure projects in the fields of transport, energy or environment, are Greece, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

(DE 1) Smart Country Side (ES 7) Local Strategic Plan (ES 8) Llei de Barris (EL 4) Alexander Innovation Zone (ES 9) La Mina Transformation Plan (ES 10) Association of Municipalities (EL 5) Overcoming Fragmentation

**MORE DEVELOPED** (FI 11) Lieksa Development Strategy 2030 (EL 6) Ecosystem of Collaboration

(FI 12) Activation of Youth (NL 19) Induced Earthquakes (HU 13) Give Kids a Chance (HU 14) Urban Regeneration

### STRUCTURAL FUNDS ELIGIBILITY 2014 – 2020

(NL 20) Rotterdam South on Course (RO 28) Plumbuita PIDU (HU 15) Producer Organisation **LESS DEVELOPED**

(SE 29) Digital Västerbotten (SE 30) Stockholm Commission (HU 16) Balaton LEADER (PL 21) Participatory Budget Lodz

(UK 31) NULAG LEADER (UK 32) Homelessness Project (PL 22) Social Cooperative (PL 23) Goth Village (PL 24) Rural Public Spaces

(DE 2) Youth Centre (EL 3) Post – Mining Regional Strategy (FR 17) Euralens (RO 25) Pata Cluj Project (RO 26) Mara-Natur LEADER

(FR 18) EPA Alzette-Belval **TRANSITION** (UK 33) Strengthening Communities (RO 27) Malin-Codlea Project

**Figure 10: Structural funds eligibility of the case studies' NUTS 2 regions 2014-2020.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D6.2 Case Study Reports and European Commission, 2014)

Looking more in detail at the actions of the RELOCAL sample, **most of the selected cases are supported by European funds** aimed at regional development (ERDF) or human resource development (ESF), or other relevant European initiatives (such as LEADER) (see Figure 11). EU funding is sometimes 'hiding' in regional or national programmes. Among the nation-wide or regional programmes which are funding local actions, but are financed mainly from the EU, are the nation-wide programme of Rural Renewal in Poland (PL 23, PL 24), the national strategy for the inclusion of Roma (RO 27) or the regional or national programmes for promoting digitalisation in rural areas (DE 1, SE 29). Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) as well as Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) are new tools of the Cohesion Policy 2014-2020, which are deployed in the case of the local development strategy of the City of Lodz (PL 21: ITI) and the Rotterdam-South Programme (NL 20: UIA). Particularly interesting is also EU policy support to the promotion of social economy initiatives (PL 22).

<sup>5</sup> For the period 2014-2020 less developed regions are defined as those with GDP/head  $\leq$  75% of EU-27 average; transition regions are those with GDP/head between 75% and 90% of EU-27 average; and more developed regions are defined as those regions with GDP/head  $\geq$  90% of EU-27 average. For the Cohesion Policy beyond 2020 the allocation method for funds will still largely be based on GDP/head, but with all probability additional new criteria will be added (information as of 31 October 2019; see website of the European Commission, Regional Policy: [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/en/2021\\_2027/](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/2021_2027/)).



Apart from the direct or indirect financial support through EU funds, a range of case study reports refers to the **conceptual influence of EU cohesion policies** in setting up and shaping local or regional approaches (see ES 7, ES 8, ES 10, FI 12, FR 18, PL 23, RO 28, UK 32). In the case of RO 28, for instance, the principles underlying EU cohesion policies are said to have encouraged the development of a place-based approach and the understanding to form a broader approach for local development. For the urban areas, the philosophy of former URBAN programmes and the urban dimension in EU structural funds was particularly often mentioned as a key cornerstone that influenced integrated urban actions (see ES 8, ES 9). For rural areas, the approach of LEADER was mentioned in a similar way, being of key importance in understanding the benefits of community-based actions, horizontal co-operation and place-based approaches (HU 16, RO 26). The philosophy of LEADER has likewise inspired and motivated a local-led development approach in the urban context of Kotka city (FI 12). Thus, these EU programmes have shown wide-ranging influence on local development policies and are important reference points, specifically if compared to the relatively small portions of the respective EU cohesion programmes they are (were) distributing.

For the necessity of co-funding European funds (ESF, ERDF, LEADER), **most of the actions benefit from different funding streams**, linking European funding to national or regional funds. By looking at the funding structures, one can easily see a range of actions which show multi-level funding structures, running from the local and regional to the national and European level, and/or are clearly linked to strategies of higher policy levels. For instance, the Spanish cases (see specifically ES 8, ES 9) show a high level of vertical integration of funding, involving the integrated use of funds from municipalities, the Barcelona province, the Catalan Government and European level. Vertical integration and connection to national and European strategies likewise was reported for the Romanian case RO 26, which responds to national strategies for sustainable, rural development. Other examples are the cases in Germany and Sweden, which deal with digitalisation in rural areas (DE 1, SE 29) and the Polish case on rural village renewal (PL 24), all of them integrated into national state or regional strategies in order to counteract the rural-urban gaps and/or promoting the service offering in sparsely populated rural areas.

**Deficiencies in the vertical or horizontal integration** of policies are reported to lead to the fragmentation of interventions (EL 3, EL 4). There are also cases in Hungary (HU 14) or Romania (RO 25), in which a single actor such as an NGO plans and implements actions, sometimes even without direct involvement of the local authority. This lack of horizontal coordination raises questions about the sustainability of efforts, specifically if the single actor's contribution is not integrated into a long-term development strategy for the locality.

In a similar vein, it is interesting to see, whether project activities are funded by actors, who are constantly situated in the locality (local authority employees, NGOs, civil society organisations), or whether the main facilitators are not permanently anchored in the locality. The respective constellations may again have effects on the sustainability of the action. Place-based knowledge, trust and relationships only develop over time and may get lost with an organisation or partner who is in and out of a place and without a transfer strategy that addresses locally anchored stakeholders. Hereby, the financial and organisational autonomy of local authorities or local society organisations plays an important role, as it allows local players to eventually bridge gaps in time between (partly) externally funded strategic projects for local development and local target groups.



The necessity for local stakeholders to constantly apply for new project funds in order to improve living conditions in the locality is mentioned in the case study reports (HU 13, RO 26). There is always the danger with cycles of externally funded projects that they may create negative side effects, if there is little cohesion between the projects, and if projects are developed independently from what happened before. This is specifically the case if municipalities do not have a clear vision of a just socio-spatial development for the area (HU 14). There is a further downside to relying on repetitive cycles of projects with short-term funding only. As argued in the case of the 'Give Kids a Chance' programme (HU 13), the opportunities for institutional change remain limited within the short time frames of externally funded projects. Such **institutional change calls for longer periods of stable funding and needs sufficient autonomy of local authorities** or local civil society organisations.

Sufficient autonomy of local stakeholders is needed in order to maintain approaches or services which have been tested in experimental projects, once these turned out as success. For example, in the case of DE 1, a model project for testing digitalisation as a tool to promote civic engagement in rural villages is now being mainstreamed across the whole region. Local players with sufficient autonomy may then become important anchors in a locality and promote stability and continuation with regards to locally defined development goals. Of specific interest are hereby the experiences of the local youth initiative in Görlitz (DE 2) and the 'Social Cooperative' in Brzeziny (PL 22).

There is also a smaller number of actions, in which resources of the **private sector** play a role. Funding strategies involving semi-private or private stakeholders are visible in the case of EL 3, where the action is funded through a levy of 0.5% on the turnover of the Public Power Corporation (PPC). In the case of Northeast Groningen Region (NL19), the operations of NAM, the largest gas producer in the Netherlands, and the measures it takes to compensate for the damages caused by gas production in the Groningen field, are of key importance. In the case of UK 32, there was some engagement of industry in the initialisation of the 'Homelessness Project' in Lewisham, though no actual funding provided.

With respect to **not-for-profit companies** (or: social economy/ community enterprises), the 'Social Cooperative' in Brzeziny (PL 22) operates on the principle of a commercial company, and uses the income to self-finance some of its social activities. The same principle of funding community activities generated out of own incomes applies to the case in Görlitz (DE 2), although this action is not led by a company, yet a civil society association.

## Case Study Number



ports and additional information by partners)

## 7. Suggestions for In-depth Comparative Analysis

The previous chapters have shown a highly diverse sample of case study actions in a variety of localities. Uniting these actions is the common aim to improve living conditions and achieve a more balanced and sustainable development in localities with obvious challenges of spatial justice. It is the aim of this report to provide an overview of these 33 cases, their main themes, the localities they take place in as well as the wider socioeconomic and institutional context of these localities. Based on this analysis, this chapter presents clusters which can be taken up by subsequent papers for further in-depth analysis.

Research in the RELOCAL project has been particularly oriented towards the relationship between place-based actions and the localities they take place in. Hence, there cannot be one definite clustering of cases based on one single criterion such as population density or main theme of the action. Instead, several clustering approaches are presented that build upon each other.

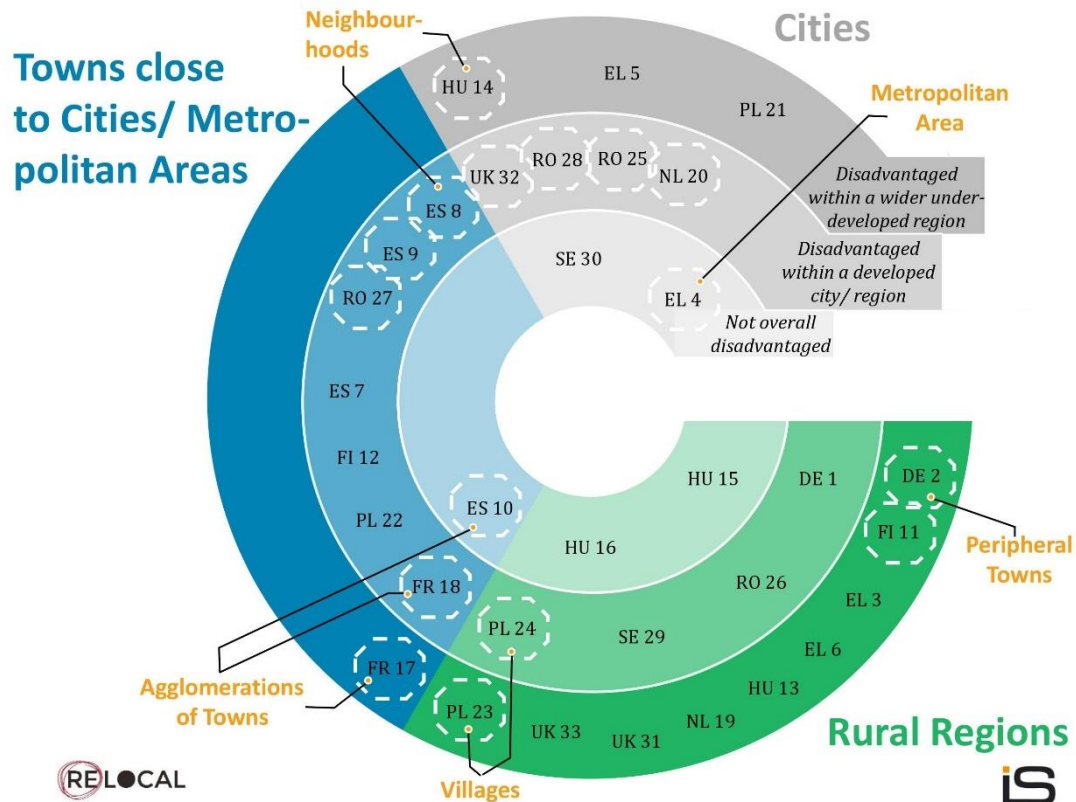
### 7.1 Clustering According to Territorial Types of Case Study Localities

The territorial type of action localities forms the starting point of the first clustering. The aim of this categorization is to display the diversity of urban and rural case study localities, while at the same time showing the type of investigated locality from region to neighbourhood. Hereby, the reference frame is the actual locality the action takes place in, not the next higher statistical or policy level.

To create the clusters, the authors have firstly considered the type of investigated locality in Table 1 and combined it with population size and density of the case study areas. The three main clusters that subsequently emerged represent the case studies on a spectrum from rural to urban, while the sub-categories (e.g. neighbourhoods) specify the spatial scope of analysis:

1. **Cities** (EL 5, PL 21, SE 30), including neighbourhoods of cities (HU 14, NL 20, RO 25, RO 28, UK32) and one Metropolitan Area (EL 4)
2. **Towns situated in short distance to a city or metropolitan area** (ES 7, PL 22, FI 12), including neighbourhoods of such towns (ES 8, ES 9, RO 27) and agglomerations of several small-to middle-sized towns (FR 17, FR 18, ES 10)
3. **Rural Regions** (HU 15, HU 16, DE 1, EL 6, RO 26, SE 29, EL 3, HU 13, NL 19, UK 31, UK 33), including two peripherally located towns, which function as regional centres in rural regions (DE 2, FI 11), and rural villages (PL 23, PL 24)

In a last step, the type of disadvantage of these localities in relation to their wider environment was added to the clustering. Within three clusters, there are disadvantaged places within a wider underdeveloped region, disadvantaged localities within a developed region or city and reference cases, i.e. places that are not overall disadvantaged in their national context (see also Table 2). However, almost all towns and neighbourhoods of towns in proximity to urban agglomerations are perceived as being disadvantaged in a developed region. This shows that economically well-performing cities such as Barcelona (ES 7-9) or Braşov (RO 27) do not necessarily have a knock-on effect on their neighbouring municipalities, especially if these are geographically isolated or concentrate marginalised population groups.



**Figure 12: Clustering n° 1** presents groups of case study localities according to their territorial characteristics. (Own presentation based on D6.2 Case Study Reports)

A closer investigation of case study reports indicates that case study localities within the four groups share common characteristics or challenges beyond their population density or size. These common characteristics provide insights into why a place is (perceived as) disadvantaged and thus struggling with issues of spatial justice. Hereby, it is important to note that the characteristics mentioned here are closely connected to the action under study. If an action focuses on the improvement of public spaces, issues of local businesses and industry have been of less concern for the researchers and are thus not equally covered in the case study reports.

Nonetheless, analytical dimensions 1 (perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality) and 2 (tools and policies for development and cohesion) of the case study reports provide insights into discourses on spatial injustices beyond the direct field of impact of the case study actions. Based on these observations, common characteristics of the three above-mentioned clusters could be assembled. Patterns emerging within the clusters allow to identify commonalities and differences among the cases, which in turn can be used for a more in-depth comparison of (groups of) case studies.

Most cases of the first two clusters belong to the group of neighbourhood effects as described in Deliverable 8.2 of the RELOCAL project (Copus et al., 2019). This form of injustice is mainly expressed in forms of segregation and concentration of disadvantaged population groups.

1. The **cities** under consideration are most often shaped by segregation respectively the concentration of marginalised groups in certain neighbourhoods. Socio-spatial inequality is growing across European cities. Socio-spatial segregation can be defined as the extent of spatial and social distance between population groups with different social background in a city or region (Musterd et al., 2016; Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998; Tammaru et al., 2019). The process of increasing segmentation between population groups may lead to the spatial concentration of social groups with low resources in specific urban neighbourhoods or specific parts of a region and thus their limited or hampered access to material, cultural and social resources of the society.

Such social barriers are accompanied by a lack of services (e.g. educational or cultural institutions). Additionally, housing deprivation and inappropriate provision of social housing through higher-level authorities are mentioned. Many inhabitants of these neighbourhoods experience poverty, low educational levels and health problems (including drug addiction). The main disadvantaged population groups pointed out in the reports are youth, migrants and refugees as well as certain ethnic groups. In some cases, the polarisation between neighbourhoods is accompanied or deepened by built isolation or large distance from the urban and economic centre (HU 14, NL 20, RO 25, RO 28). When looking at the production of space, three case study localities experienced a decline of industrial activity with negative effects on former working-class quarters (EL 5, HU 14, NL 20, PL 21).

The cases 'Overcoming Fragmentation' (EL 5) and 'Alexander Innovation Zone' (EL 4) form outliers in this group. The first is the case of a territorial reform, whereby small towns were merged with the city Volos to improve the provision of municipal services. The latter focuses on improving the standing of Thessaloniki in the fields of research and innovation. The case is also classified as a reference case (see Chapter 4.1). Issues of segregation and housing might occur in the two cities, yet they are less of an interest for these two studies and thus not discussed in Dimensions 1 and 2 of the case study reports.

2. The second group of cases are small- and middle-sized **towns close to a city or metropolitan area**. Case study research shows that they experience similar challenges as larger cities. Most notably, many towns show socio-spatial segregation of neighbourhoods, often aggravated through physical barriers such as highways (FI 12, PL 22, ES 8, ES 9, RO 27). Additionally, some of the towns themselves are poorly connected or in other ways isolated from the close-by economic centre (ES 7, FI 12, PL 22). Just as in cities, these issues come along with multiple vulnerabilities amongst the population: poverty, stigmatisation, low education levels, unemployment and health problems. Again, the main disadvantaged population groups are youth, migrants and certain ethnic groups.

Moreover, there are various forms of fragmentation amongst neighbourhoods, which might hinder a positive development of these localities. These issues range from the lack of a common vision for the whole municipality (ES 7, FI 12) to the disconnection of an informal neighbourhood from urban development plans (RO 27). Additionally, it can be more difficult for smaller municipalities to access funding, despite their central location (ES 7, RO 27).

The cluster includes three cases, in which several towns close to a larger city have been under study (ES 10, FR 17, FR 18). The actions investigated in these localities focus on the interplay and cooperation of these smaller municipalities. According to Co-



pus et al. (2019), ES 10 and FR 18 represent ‘disempowered places’ with “ineffective, or inappropriate, multi-level governance structures” (p. vi). For the case of ‘Euralens’ (FR 17) this challenge is less prominent, but likewise locals experience insufficient regional governance, accompanied by an inadequate provision of SGI and lack of economic strength. These challenges are at least partly rooted in industrial decline (FR 17, FR 18). As a consequence, narratives around ‘low self-confidence’ and the feeling of not being in charge of one’s own development emerge, although to varying extents.

All localities in this cluster have share a location in the shadow of a larger city. This location might provide certain advantages such as a diverse labour market and access to political, economic and cultural institutions. Yet, as mentioned above, case study research shows that the economic strength of a nearby city does not always have a knock-on effect on the municipalities. The three latter cases ES 10, FR 17 and FR 18 suggest that increased cooperation amongst such towns might strengthen their standing and decrease their dependency on the larger economic centre.

On a side note:

The case of Kotka (FI 12) sticks out in this group, as it is after all 130 kilometres away from the next larger city and Finish capital Helsinki. In contrast, the town of Görlitz (DE 2), which is around the same size as Kotka and equally far away from the next economic centre, Dresden (ca. 110 kilometres), has been classified as a peripheral town in a rural region. The comparison of the two cases illustrates the subjective nature of perceptions of disadvantage. Unlike Germany, Finland is generally very sparsely populated and distances between cities are perceived differently. Moreover, Kotka is described as centrally located in Finland, while Görlitz is located directly at a national border in East Germany, which as a whole is perceived as disadvantaged in the national context, notwithstanding the relative economic strength of cities such as Dresden. This shows that the geographic distance to larger cities alone does not define peripherality.

3. **Rural regions** form the largest cluster. In accordance with Copus et al. (2019) they represent localities with territorial disadvantages that make it more difficult for the population to maintain and/or achieve the same living standard as comparable regions in the same country. Most of these cases experience demographic decline, out-migration and ageing, trends that come along with declining infrastructure and service provision. Local actors experience difficult access to political decision-making and consider top-down policies to be ‘space-blind’. In turn, the role of civic and third sector actors increases in importance, as they provide SGI and support the community. Main disadvantaged population groups are elderly, youth, unemployed, people with health issues (e.g. disabled) as well as migrants and refugees. Additionally, women, who stay at home to take care of their children, are pointed out as particularly disadvantaged.

Moreover, the gap between regional centres (taken into focus in case studies DE 2 and FI 11) and their surrounding periphery persists or even widens. Nevertheless, the rural areas strongly differ in economic strength. While, for example, the districts in the case of DE 1 still profit from a strong base of SME and mostly struggle with a shortage of high-skilled labour, other localities are shaped by a general economic decline and high unemployment (EL 3, RO 26, EL 6, HU 13, PL 23, PL 24). Despite these challenges, there are important narratives around the positive sides of living in rural areas (DE 1, SE 29, PL 23; see also Chapters 4). These aspects are often neglected by the media, according to local actors.

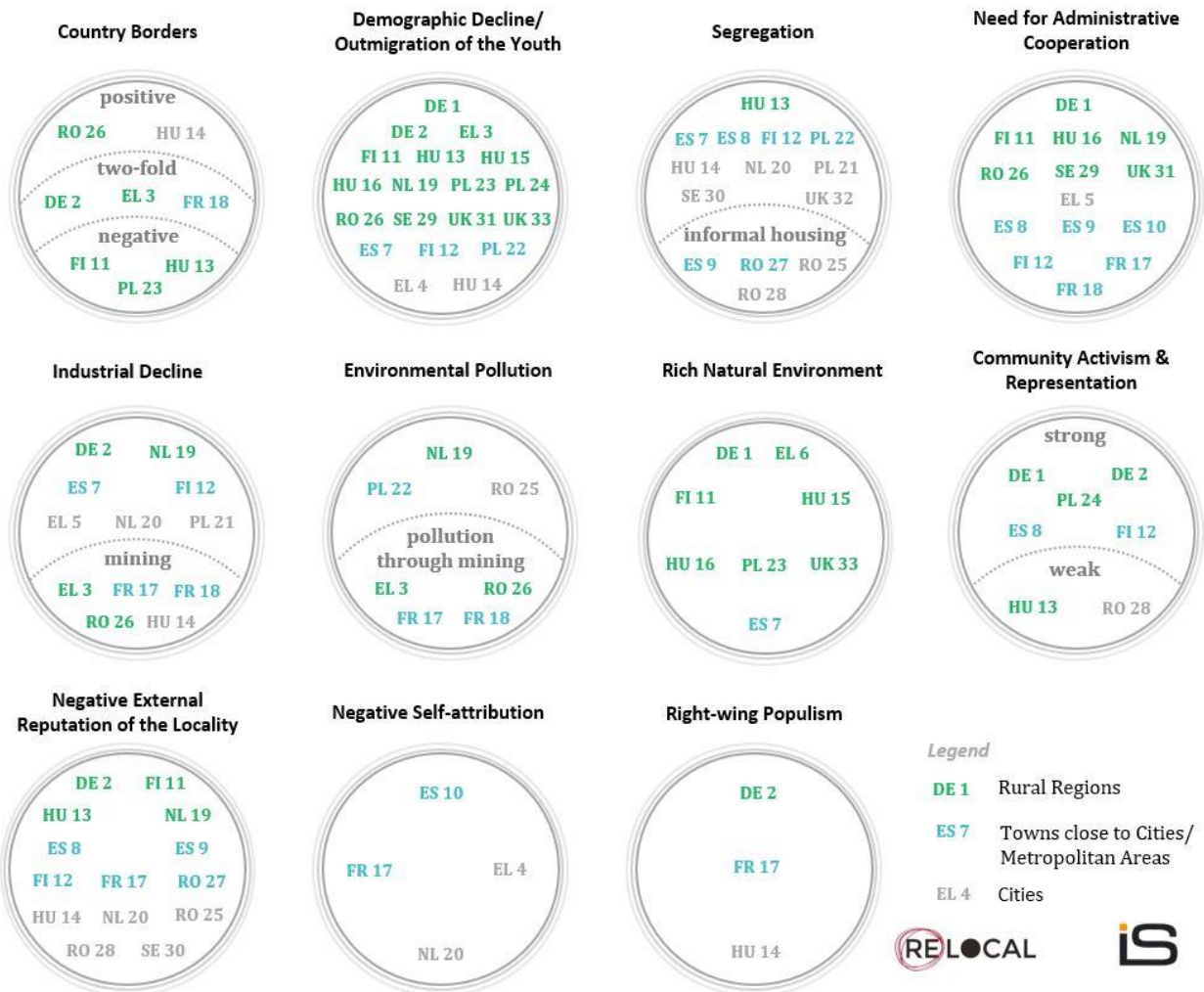
## 7.2 Clustering According to Territorial Challenges of Case Study Localities

The previous chapter has shown that case study localities of similar size and demographic character often share similar challenges. Segregation, for example, seems to be a specific problem of urban agglomerations, while the rural regions in the case study sample struggle with outmigration and ageing. Yet, a closer look at the localities reveals that there are some exceptions to this observation. Most territorial challenges are not restricted to one of the three abovementioned clusters. Moreover, there are challenges (and assets) that occur largely independently from the territorial type of the localities (e.g. negative external reputation). The second clustering in Figure 13 presents **eleven groups of territorial challenges and assets** experienced by the RELOCAL case study localities. The colour of case abbreviations within the clusters allows to compare this figure with the clustering in Figure 12.

According to the research focus of this study, most localities in the case study sample are (perceived as) disadvantaged places with obvious issues of spatial injustice and researchers were particularly interested into which injustices are perceived by local stakeholders and how they aim to tackle them. Due to this initial bias in investigating the localities, there are more challenges listed than assets.

As in the previous chapter, the identification of territorial challenges and the allocation of case studies is based on analytical dimensions 1 and 2 of the case study reports. To identify reoccurring territorial challenges and assets, the respective chapters of the reports have been read and coded by the authors multiple times. Hence, the clusters below represent only those territorial characteristics that interviewed stakeholders within the localities and RELOCAL researchers identified as challenges and assets relevant to questions of spatial (in-)justice. The list is not conclusive and could be further extended, yet the presented challenges and assets were considered the most relevant by the authors due to either their frequent appearance or their importance for EU-wide discourses on spatial injustice (e.g. right-wing populism, see also Chapter 4.2).

For example, there are many more localities, whose NUTS 3 region is located at a **country border** (see Table 7 in Annex 10.2). Yet, only those cases are included in Figure 13, in which the border is being discussed as an advantage (HU 14, RO 26) or disadvantage (FI 11, HU 13, PL 23) for the locality and its population. In three cases (DE 2, EL 3, FR 18), the perception is two-fold as the country border represents both an opportunity and a barrier for socioeconomic exchange and administrative cooperation. Yet, even within each cluster, the challenges or assets are more important in some localities than in others. As these differences are not easily quantifiable, they have not been highlighted in Figure 13. Yet, illustrative examples shall point out specific cases. For example, the issue of a country border is most central to the case 'EPA Alzette Belval' (FR 18), which is located at the French-Luxembourgish border. Although the metropolitan area of Luxembourg provides benefits to the neighbouring region through a large labour market, the French municipalities struggle to provide adequate public services to their citizens, as the high number of commuters pay their taxes at their place of work in Luxembourg instead of their place of residence.



**Figure 13: Clustering n° 2** presents groups of cases according to the localities' territorial challenges. (Own presentation based on D6.2 Case Study Reports)

Apart from the geographic attribute of **country borders**, the first row shows three territorial challenges typical for the clusters of Chapter 7.1: **demographic decline and/ or the outmigration of mainly young people** for rural regions, **segregation** for cities and the **need for administrative cooperation** for towns close to cities. At the same time, these clusters show that there are exceptions to every rule. For example, the case of 'Give Kids a Chance' (HU 13) investigates the segregation of rural villages from a micro-regional centre.

The other way around, cities are not safe from outmigration, particularly if they experienced strong industrial decline (FI 12, HU 14). And the need for administrative cooperation is by far not limited to densely populated regions. Likewise, rural municipalities as in the case of Groningen (NL 19) can strengthen their position towards the central government by joining forces and coordinating activities together.

Furthermore, **industrial decline** represents a challenge faced by more than a third of the localities, as it produces or aggravates issues of spatial injustice. In these cities and regions, the decline of a major industrial sector came along with rising unemployment, outmigration, socioeconomic problems and an increasingly difficult provision of public ser-

vices. Additionally, in localities with a history of mining, **environmental pollution** is a common issue and hinders local development. For example, in a former mining region in Romania (RO 26), the shutdown of the mines cannot be compensated by agricultural projects, as many lands are polluted.

Generally, environmental sustainability and climate protection are not the focus of the RELOCAL project. Nevertheless, the clusters '**environmental pollution**' and '**rich natural environment**' show that environmental conditions are strongly intertwined with local development and that environmental sustainability can contribute to achieving more spatial justice. The marginalisation of the neighbourhood in case RO 25, for example, is linked to the location of the dwellings close to the city's landfill. In contrast, in localities with a rich natural environment such as a pleasant landscape (DE 1, ES 7, FI 11, HU 16, PL 23) or economically valuable natural resources (EL 6, HU 15, UK 33) the aim is to preserve these to foster the agricultural or tourism sector and provide an overall positive living environment.

The clusters mentioned so far mainly focus on distributive aspects of spatial justice, linked to the economic strength or natural territorial characteristics of case study localities. In contrast, the last four clusters point towards procedural aspects of spatial justice. '**Community activism and representation**' shows, in how far an active civil society is present in the locality and whether different population groups are represented in territorial governance. In the case of RO 28, civil society is strong at the level of Bucharest, yet the population of the investigated neighbourhood Plumbuita is not equally represented as other population groups. Thereby, it must be noted that this category pictures community activism before the case study action started. It does not take into account changes in participation structures produced by the actions themselves.

However, not only the actual number of civic associations and representation of local leaders at higher policy levels influence the perception of spatial (in-)justices. Additionally, **external and internal perceptions of the locality and its population** play an important role. Such feelings are highly subjective and often difficult to grasp, yet they can have great effect on the development of the locality. Most illustratively, the case of Nord-Pas-de-Calais (FR 17) shows how the external stigmatisation and negative media coverage of a locality are partly internalised by the population, leading to feelings of low self-efficacy and frustration (see also Chapter 3.2). In this case, the **voting share for the far right** is also particularly high (see also Chapter 4.2). In other cases, this vicious circle is far less strong. Yet, even in the reference cases EL 4 and ES 10, the comparison with other, economically stronger cities and regions has led to negative self-attributions and a certain pessimism that inhibits the full utilisation of the localities' potential.

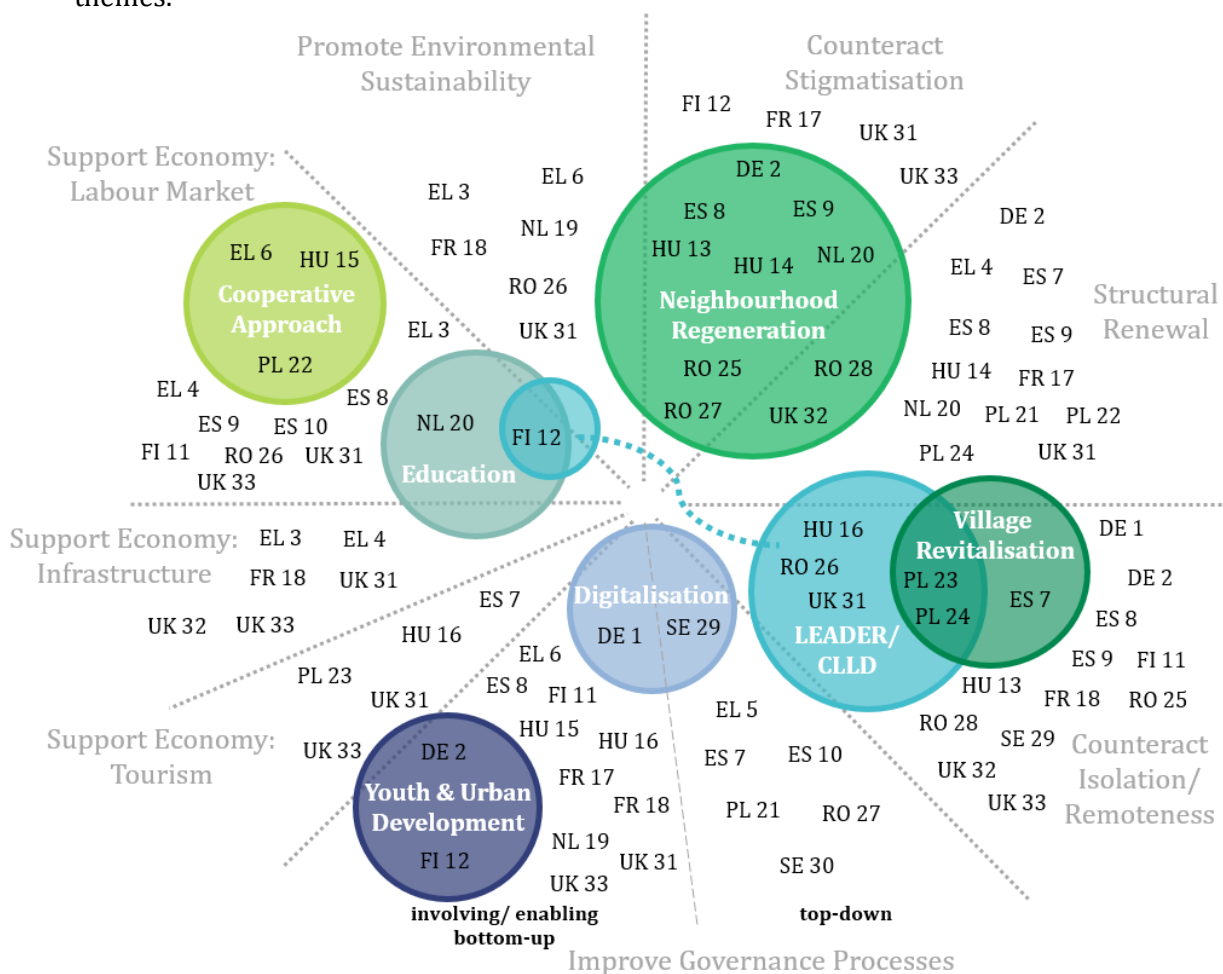
Eventually, this clustering presents the most important territorial challenges and assets experienced in the RELOCAL case study localities. In many cases, the actions under study directly respond to these characteristics to achieve a more positive local development. However, not all challenges can be fully tackled by the actions under study, especially if structural deficits that go beyond the local sphere of influence are of concern. Chapter 7.3 provides an in-depth look at the different approaches of case study actions.

### 7.3 Clustering According to Topics of Case Study Actions

In a third and last type of clustering the RELOCAL cases, clusters of action topics are presented to highlight the different approaches taken in tackling spatial injustices. As applied to the clusters above, clustering here is the result of perceived similarities across cases – which seem interesting for further in-depth research – when writing this report, rather than the clusters being based upon and used as a research method.

This clustering draws upon information presented in Chapter 3.2 and particularly Figure 2. In Chapter 3.2., we grouped cases together which fell into one or more of the following categorisations: supporting the economy (in terms of infrastructure, labour market or tourism), promoting environmental sustainability, counteracting stigmatisation, structural renewal, improving governance processes, and counteracting isolation or remoteness.

Figure 14 shows this grouping of cases in the (black & white) background. In addition, it presents, partly within these categories, partly crossing them, a range of (coloured) clusters which highlight similar thematic approaches in tackling spatial injustice. The largest of these are linked to integrated EU policy approaches for the urban resp. rural context. A further in-depth analysis of the cases in these groups might be specifically interesting for policy development and responses. There are a set of smaller clusters then, which are interesting for their innovative approach towards education, digitalisation and further themes.



**Figure 14: Clustering n° 3** presents groups of case study actions according to their thematic foci. (Own presentation based on D6.2 Case Study Reports). Note: most of the cases appear more than once in the figure, as most actions address several topics.



Neighbourhood regeneration and LEADER/CLLD form a particularly interesting cluster in the sample of RELOCAL cases, as they are directly linked to funding and programme philosophy of the respective EU policies for urban or rural areas (see Chapter 6), which have emphasised the needs of an integrated and place-based approach.

In terms of **neighbourhood regeneration**, the ten actions forming this cluster share specific features: in the context of intra-urban inequalities, they focus on smaller localities within towns, cities or micro-regions which are particularly disadvantaged in socio-economic terms and/or stigmatised; and place-based approaches have to deal with a complex overlapping of spatial, social and ethnic exclusion. Within the cluster, the case studies then show a broad portfolio of different neighbourhood development aspects to focus on. There are those with an institutional focus on a more integrated service development approach to reach out for most vulnerable population groups (HU 13, RO 25) and the legislation of informal settlements (RO 27). There are other cases with a greater emphasis on the materiality and built infrastructure of the neighbourhoods, such as the establishment of a 'Youth Centre' (DE 2), the modular housing scheme for homeless persons (UK 32) and the physical regeneration measures in RO 28. The rest of cases (ES 8, ES 9, HU 14, NL 20) is less dealing with both, counteracting stigmatisation as well as structural renewal. A comparative perspective on promoters and inhibitors provides insights into what limits and promotes integrated, place-based neighbourhood development approaches. Among the critical factors – impacting positively as well as negatively - are

- place-based capital and local social relations (presence of strong actors, associations, civic networks, see DE 2, ES 8, ES 9),
- political-administrative settings (backing of the municipality, see DE 2, HU 13, HU 14, RO 25, RO 27, RO 28, UK 32; support from upper-level governments, see ES 9, NL 20; the role of investment from the central state in public policies, see HU 13, HU 14, RO 25),
- as well as factors related to the set-up of the neighbourhood programme (flexibility of the implementation, see ES 8, RO 28; time-horizon for achieving (social) aims, see ES 9, HU 13, NL 20, RO 27; mobilise sufficient funds, see ES 8, RO 28).

This listing of critical factors, as mentioned in the case study reports, seems promising indeed for further in-depth analysis by subsequent papers, specifically in the context of the urban dimension in EU structural funds.

A further large cluster or group of clusters can be defined by cases which are either financed by **LEADER**, or influenced by its intervention logics and philosophy. This cluster is composed of mainly rural cases, but includes also a local-led development approach in Kotka city (FI 12). LEADER has been reported in various case study reports to be a particularly important programme for promoting community-based, place-based approaches and encouraging a broader, comprehensive approach for the local development (see Chapter 6). The illustration in Figure 14 shows the overlapping of those actions which are directly financed by LEADER (HU 16, PL 23, PL 24, RO 26, UK 31) with those actions which show quite similar intervention logics (FI 12) or are carried out in parallel to or following LEADER actions in the localities (see the cluster of **village revitalisation**: ES 7, PL 23, PL 24). The cases show an integrated socio-economic perspective on local development and some of them foster the innovative exploitation of territorial assets.

As mentioned above in Chapter 3.2, most of the case study areas categorised under the key topic 'Counteract Isolation/Remoteness' are rural villages or small towns within remote regions (for the LEADER/CLLD cluster these are: HU 16, PL 23, PL 24, RO 26, UK 31), with a second group of cases representing localities which are not necessarily peripheral in

geographic terms, but in social, economic or political terms (for the LEADER/CLLD cluster these are ES 7, FI 12). Closely linked to these challenges are actions which focus on halting processes of population loss and strengthen quality of life in these places.

In this context, three actions (DE 1, EL 4, SE 29) have a focus on **digitalisation** and two of these in the context of remote locations (DE 1, SE 29). In these last cases, digitalisation is seen as a means to overcome some of the demographical and economic challenges linked to small population sizes and distances. Both cases show the importance to go beyond the technological dimension of digitalisation and focus on the social and organisational aspects of digitalisation in rural areas. In the case of SE 29, the action's focus is on digital infrastructure of local administrations using digital tools for service provisions to local populations. In the case of DE 1, the focus is on digital literacy of citizens and digital services, which are developed by rural communities themselves. The two cases thus deal with different, complementary elements of digitalisation in rural areas in 'a more connected Europe' (one of the five planned priority objectives of regional development and cohesion policy beyond 2020; see also the EU actions for smart villages), while the case of EL 4 shows the role of digitalisation for innovative entrepreneurship in a metropolitan context.

A second, small cluster can be defined by the two cases of Görlitz and Kotka, both of them middle-sized towns that experienced industrial decline. Small towns with low economic development are often struggling with maintaining young population groups in the town, if these – specifically in comparison to larger urban areas – lack places, infrastructure or vibrant neighbourhoods that young people value. The case of Görlitz (DE 2) is specifically interesting here as it is an example for the involvement of **young people in urban development processes** which helped to create new places for young people and attach them to the town. This has been less the intention and outcome in the case of the city of Kotka (FI 12), yet likewise there is evidence that giving young people an active role in local decision-making needs more consideration in local development strategies for small towns facing the outmigration of young population groups. The case of the city of Kotka (FI 12) is also interesting because of actions which are targeting young unemployed or youth at risk of marginalisation through low-threshold services and activities. Organisations from the field of **education** are being involved to some degree in these actions.

As an interesting counterpart to the Finnish case, the **role of educational actors** is particularly strong in the case of Rotterdam South (NL 20), a network organisation that aims to enhance education (amongst many other aims) in a segregated neighbourhood and has a strong focus on supporting children and youngsters in their educational trajectories.

A further and last one of these smaller clusters, which seem promising for a comparative in-depth analysis, is defined by actions that are based on **cooperative thinking and acting**. This small cluster includes the 'Ecosystem of Collaboration' (EL 6), which founded a bank that gives credits to local cooperatives, the 'Producer Organisation' in Hungary (HU 15), which provides jobs in the agricultural sector, and the 'Social Cooperative' in Poland (PL 22), through which local actors took care of public spaces before being taken over by the municipality. Their grouping in a cluster is based on their role as a platform for collaboration and coordination between different stakeholders (local population groups, enterprises, municipality) for local and economic development in the respective regions and towns.

## 8. Conclusions

This report has highlighted specificities of the 33 actions as well as patterns of commonalities and differences across the cases. In order to provide such an overview, work was based on two main sources: the statistical data which is available for describing socio-economic or territorial characteristics of the localities and, more importantly, the case study reports on the 33 actions, as issued in March 2019 (see RELOCAL homepage [relocal.eu](http://relocal.eu)).

In several rounds of discussions among a core group of researchers and interacting with the case study researchers, classifications and clusters of cases were developed. Interesting patterns across the cases emerged. These descriptive classifications and clusters allow to situate single cases within the larger sample. They form background knowledge or starting points for in-depth analytical research as documented in other reports (see RELOCAL Deliverables 3.2 & 3.3, 4.2, 7.1). Therefore, this report is part of a wider sample of reports, including Deliverables 8.2 and 8.3, which all take up and work with the results and findings from the 33 RELOCAL case studies.

### 8.1 Key findings with Respect to Spatial Justice

The main aim of this report is to provide an overview of the characteristics of the total sample of cases. As the title of this report indicates, the focus here is also on identifying country-specific perspectives on spatial justice. We see a country-specific clustering of cases in relation to net income, or unemployment rates. There is also a relation between the positioning of a set of national cases and the respective values in the EU Social Progress Index (see Figure 6). Nation-wide classifications or values for the respective national NUTS 2 regions can thus deliver relevant background information for situating the RELOCAL cases. Evidence presented in the case study reports generally supports the findings of the Local Autonomy Index (see Figure 8) regarding the change of (national) values over time (Ladner et al., 2016). The limited flexibility and responsibilities at the local level are specifically highlighted for the Hungarian cases, herewith confirming the strong decrease of local autonomy in Hungary according to the Local Autonomy Index. However, there are not always or not necessarily simple or direct **connections between (sub-)national classifications and the reality on the ground** in the investigated localities.

The use of information from the case study reports as a source for classifications and clusters has been quite important. The inductive way of clustering, based upon the findings from the case studies, has provided insights into deviations from national classifications for single cases. This clustering also shows patterns and trends across national borders, thus overlapping country-specific patterns. For instance, the RELOCAL case studies show that populations of some socioeconomically struggling rural places do indeed show their discontent through voting for far-right parties. For urban cases, this argument does not seem to be equally applicable (see Figure 7).

The same applies to **urban-rural classifications**. With respect to the territorial types of case study localities, the clustering shows the diversity of urban (cities or towns) and rural case study localities in the RELOCAL sample, with actions taking place from region to neighbourhood (see Figure 12). In terms of similarities, there are distinctive forms of injustices, which are likely to be reported by local actors in urban localities (e.g. segregation), respectively in rural areas (e.g. outmigration and ageing). At the same time, as a range of cases demonstrates, there is no predictable or simple link between perceived forms of injustices and territorial types of case study localities. Challenges, such as an ex-

ternal negative reputation, might occur largely independently from the territorial type of the localities. Furthermore, the reports point to the relevance of individual or group-based perceptions as an intermediating factor, as local actors in some rural areas, for instance, also emphasised the positive sides of living in rural areas despite the reported challenges, such as ageing or declining infrastructure.

**Statistical data** can help to identify localities with issues of spatial injustice. It can indicate potential challenges such as ageing and patterns of outmigration in a rural context or high levels of unemployment in an urban context. Yet, it cannot, even if available at very local level, provide a full image of local challenges, problems and needs. In addition, these challenges and needs greatly vary between specific sub-areas or population groups. A multi-scale approach, as explored in a quantitatively oriented RELOCAL work package (Melo et al., 2019) provides new opportunities for dealing with scale barriers and generating data on inequalities at lower territorial levels. Hereby, socioeconomic differences below-local level can be detected more easily. Nevertheless, the perception of local people is equally important. Therefore, qualitative research, as done in the 33 RELOCAL case studies, is essential to understand why the locality is perceived as disadvantaged and what (different groups of) locals think can be done about that.

Looking across the 33 cases, the perception of spatial (in-)justices is always based on the experience of multiple challenges and vulnerabilities as well as the comparison to the direct surrounding. Perceptions of spatial injustices are thus based on the relative perspective of local actors and the relation of the respective localities to their neighbouring areas. For instance, in the European context, Swedish regions might generally perform better on socioeconomic indicators than, for example, Romanian regions, but inner-country inequalities and injustices are more relevant to the perception of local actors than EU-wide differences. In terms of **research needs**, further research on spatial justice needs to find ways of including such socially constructed perceptions, whether individual or collective ones, in order to analyse challenges concerning spatial justice as well as the effects of approaches aimed at promoting procedural and distributional justice in specific localities. In addition, what is defined as success of a project may vary. In some cases, the success of a project might be in stabilising (rather than actually improving) a local economy, or arresting a decline in population. Therefore, there is a need to systematically include local perceptions in the design and implementation, but also the evaluation of respective place-based projects or actions.

Research in the RELOCAL project has been particularly oriented towards the relationship between place-based actions, which strive for achieving better spatial justice, and the localities they take place. A wide range of different territorial challenges and assets experienced by the case study localities can be defined on the basis of case study findings (Figure 13). Among those territorial challenges which were reported as relevant to questions of spatial (in)justice in the locality are the location at a country border, industrial decline, environmental pollution or external stigmatisation, apart from the abovementioned challenges such as outmigration or segregation. Again, there often is, although not necessarily, a link between material conditions and perceived challenge. Being located at a country border might be perceived both as a risk or an asset in one and the same case, depending on the perception of (different groups of) actors, or might not be perceived at all as a challenge in other cases. The findings thus show that there are quite different approaches in tackling spatial injustice in localities which seem to experience 'similar' challenges (similar in terms of territorial challenges or socio-economic indicators). Also, localities may be quite different in terms of local challenges and yet show similar project-based, thematic or strategic approaches to deal with these. Therefore, there is not necessarily a link between

perceived forms of injustice and territorial type of case study locality or between material conditions of localities and perceived challenges (see also RELOCAL Deliverable 4.2 in this context, as it specifically deals with the perceptions of spatial injustice within the locality).

Interestingly, there is also a visible pattern of 'learning over time' with regards to the design of integrated and place-based approaches in localities. Most case study actions have a broad thematic approach, covering several different topics and aims, rather than being focused on one single goal in response to the multifarious dimensions of spatial injustice (see Figure 2). Likewise, more than half of the actions integrate a mix of hard and soft measures. This is partly due to the conceptual influence of EU cohesion policies in setting up and shaping local or regional policies (see Chapter 6). For urban areas, the philosophy of former URBAN programmes and the urban dimension in EU structural funds was particularly often mentioned in case study reports as a key cornerstone that influenced integrated urban actions. For rural areas, the approach of LEADER was mentioned in a similar way, being of key importance in understanding the benefits of community-based actions, horizontal co-operation and place-based approaches. Thus, these **EU programmes** have shown wide-ranging influence on local development policies and **are important reference points for local or regional policies** and local learning processes, specifically if compared to the relatively small portions of the respective EU cohesion programmes they are (were) distributing.

The RELOCAL project aims to test in how far a place-based approach and a stronger focus on localities would be able to deliver the demands of spatial justice in a better way (Madanipour et al., 2017: 72). An emphasis on a place-based approach has been advocated in recent years (see Barca, 2009) and has received prominent attention in EU Cohesion policy reform. There certainly is great merit in the perspective that local knowledge needs to influence the design of policies and that policies need to be tailored to the specificities of places. However, a place-based approach as adopted by higher policy levels, in its current forms of implementation, does not automatically go along with enhanced local capacities to act according to perceived local needs. In political decision-making, the place-based knowledge of local stakeholders and citizens is not adequately represented, as case study research shows. Thus, in terms of implementation, 16 out of the 33 cases are implemented by higher policy levels – which could be national as well as regional or local levels – with very little or no evidence of bottom-up elements (see Figure 9). Therefore, there is a need to include and bring into the policy arena the perceptions of those who are to a large extent still left outside in the design and implementation of actions – the people, citizen groups and civil society initiatives.

## 8.2 Policy Implications

There is no best-practice approach in tackling spatial injustice, as what would promote or inhibit spatial justice is always context-specific. Yet, at the level of intervention logics and general promoters or inhibitors to spatial justice, conclusions can be derived. Our research has focussed on understanding the logics of cases, and how localised action might influence (inhibit or promote) spatial justice in a specific context of time and space (see RELOCAL Deliverables 3.2 and 3.3 in this context).

There is need for more decision-making power on the lower level, even in countries where the Local Autonomy Index is already on a high level. Bottom-up and civil society initiatives are not only insufficiently empowered, but often left to dealing with structural challenges on their own. Local knowledge is important for positive development, yet it needs to be



vertically integrated in territorial governance structures. A useful distinction could be made between knowledge in place (place-generated knowledge) and knowledge of place (place-focused knowledge; Lowe et al., 2019). Some responsibilities have to be fulfilled by higher-level political decision-making (e.g. broad band supply, road infrastructure, housing documents, the quality of public education and child welfare). This does not mean however, that these higher (or formal, professional) levels cannot integrate place-generated local knowledge (sometimes called informal, tacit, vernacular or location-based knowledge) into their decisions to a higher degree (RELOCAL Deliverable 7.1 is specifically interesting here for further reading).

To briefly sum up the findings in terms of **policy implications**, there is a need to include and bring into the policy design and implementation of local policies the perceptions, the knowledge and the energies of local communities to address spatial injustice. In the design and implementation of the investigated actions, these are to a large extent still not considered and need to be included more systematically, also in the evaluation of respective policies or actions in order to achieve more spatial justice.

There is a role for the EU here, as evidence from the case study reports shows that cohesion policy has quite some influence in terms of providing important reference points for conceptual thinking in localities on how to design place-based approaches. This conceptual influence should be used for promoting more determined actions towards including bottom-up elements in the funding of respective local and regional policies. Local communities must be part of the entire policy-making process. **Engagement of citizens and local communities in policies**, driven by the knowledge of local needs, is most likely to occur at the local level, which is an accountable level of governance close to citizens. Thus, there is reason to 'localise' policy-making to the lowest local level and create a policy space for local democracy.

In order to raise and maintain community involvement and participation in projects addressing spatial injustices, the **project duration and the sustainability of action outcomes** needs more consideration. Place-generated knowledge and energies, trust and relationships between local or regional stakeholders develop over time and may get lost if action outcomes are not integrated into longer-term local strategies, once the funding period ends. There is thus a major downside to relying on repetitive cycles of projects with short-term funding only. For this reason, the financial and organisational autonomy of local authorities plays an important role, as it allows local players to eventually bridge gaps in time between (partly) externally funded strategic projects and, quite importantly, allows for the integration of project outcomes into long-term strategies, addressing spatial injustice.

This is not to say that bottom-up approaches are always suitable or are the best approach towards achieving spatial justice. As argued above, some responsibilities, specifically in terms of structural policies, have to be fulfilled by higher-level political decision-making. In the end, the question is how to better balance and integrate the two approaches.

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## 10. Annexes

### 10.1 List of Case Study Reports and National Reports, NUTS 3 Regions and Authors

	Action / Title	NUTS 3 Regions	Authors
DE 1	Smart Country Side Ostwestfalen-Lippe Digitalisation as a Tool to Promote Civic Engagement in Rural Villages, Germany	DEA44 Höxter DEA45 Lippe	Felix Leo Matzke, Viktoria Kamuf, Sabine Weck (ILS Dortmund)
DE 2	Local Youth as Urban Development Actors the Establishment of a Centre for Youth and Socioculture in Görlitz, Germany	DED2D Görlitz	Viktoria Kamuf, Felix Leo Matzke, Sabine Weck (ILS Dortmund)
DE	National Report: Germany	Germany	Viktoria Kamuf, Felix Leo Matzke, Sabine Weck, and Lisa Warnecke (ILS Dortmund)
EL 3	A Post-Mining Regional Strategy for Western Macedonia, Greece	EL531 Grevena, Kozani EL 532 Kastoria EL533 Florina	George Petrakos, Lefteris Topaloglou, Aggeliki Anagnostou, Victor Cupcea (UTH Research Team)
EL 4	The Establishment of the Alexander Innovation Zone in the Metropolitan Area of Thessaloniki, Greece	EL522 Thessaloniki	George Petrakos, Lefteris Topaloglou, Aggeliki Anagnostou, Victor Cupcea (UTH Research Team)
EL 5	Overcoming Fragmentation in Territorial Governance. The Case of Volos, Greece	EL613 Magnisia	George Petrakos, Lefteris Topaloglou, Aggeliki Anagnostou, Victor Cupcea, Vasiliki Papadaniil (UTH Research Team)
EL 6	Karditsa's Ecosystem of Collaboration, Greece	EL611 Karditsa, Trikala	George Petrakos, Lefteris Topaloglou, Aggeliki Anagnostou, Victor Cupcea (UTH Research Team)
EL	National Report: Greece	Greece	Lefteris Topaloglou, George Petrakos, Victor Cupcea (UTH Research Team)
ES 7	Monistrol 2020. Local Strategic Plan in a Small-Scale Municipality, Spai	ES511 Barcelona	Andreu Ulied, Oriol Biosca, Marite Guevara, Laura Noguera (MCRIT – Multicriteria)
ES 8	Transformation Plan for La Mina Neighbourhood in Barcelona Metropolitan Region, Spain	ES511 Barcelona	Andreu Ulied, Oriol Biosca, Rafa Rodrigo, Laura Noguera (MCRIT – Multicriteria)
ES 9	Llei de Barris in Premià de Dalt Action Plan for the Promotion of Quality of Life in a Segregated Neighbourhood, Spain	ES511 Barcelona	Andreu Ulied, Oriol Biosca, Rafa Rodrigo, Sally Guzmán, Laura Noguera (MCRIT – Multicriteria)
ES 10	Eix de la Riera de Caldes Association of Municipalities for a Coordinated Local Development, Spain	ES511 Barcelona	Andreu Ulied, Oriol Biosca, Albert Solé, Laura Noguera (MCRIT – Multicriteria)
ES	National Report: Spain	Spain	Oriol Biosca & Laura Noguera (MCRIT)
FI 11	Liekka Development Strategy 2030, Finland	FI1D3 Pohjois-Karjala	Matti Fritsch, Patrik Hämäläinen, Petri Kahila, Sarolta Németh (University of Eastern Finland)
FI 12	Civil-Action-Based Local Initiative for the Activation of Youth in the City of Kotka, Finland	FI1C4 Kymenlaakso	Matti Fritsch, Patrik Hämäläinen, Petri Kahila, Sarolta Németh (University of Eastern Finland)
HU 13	Give Kids a Chance: Spatial Injustice of Child Welfare at the Peripheries. The Case of Encs, Hungary	HU311 Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Judit Keller, Tünde Virág (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS Budapest)
HU 14	György-telep. Ten Years of Urban Regeneration in a Poor Neighbourhood, Hungary	HU231 Baranya	Csaba Jelinek, Tünde Virág (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS Budapest)
HU 15	May a Producer Organisation prevent Mass Pauperisation? An Example from Hungary	HU333 Csongrád	Katalin Kovács, Melinda Mihály, Katalin Rácz, Gábor Velkey (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS Budapest)
HU 16	The Balaton Uplands. LEADER Local Action Group, Hungary	HU213 Veszprém	Katalin Kovács and Gusztáv Nemes (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies HAS Budapest)
HU	National Report: Hungary	Hungary	Csaba Jelinek, Judit Keller, Katalin Kovács (KRTK)
FR 17	Euralens. An Innovative Local Tool to Redevelop Pas-de-Calais Former Mining Basin? France	FRE11 Nord FRE12 Pas-de-Calais	Cyril Blondel (University of Luxembourg)
FR 18	The EPA Alzette-Belval. A National Tool to Address Spatial Disparities at the Lorraine-Luxembourg Border, France - Luxembourg	FRF31 Meurthe et Moselle FRF33 Moselle	Estelle Evrard (University of Luxembourg)
FR	National Report: France	France	Estelle Evrard, Cyril Blondel (University of Luxembourg)
NL 19	Northeast Groningen. Confronting the Impact of Induced Earthquakes, Netherlands	NL111 Oost-Groningen NL112 Delfzijl en omgeving NL113 Overig-Groningen	Jan Jacob Trip, Arie Romein (Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment - Delft University of Technology)
NL 20	National Program Rotterdam South. Neighbourhood Development in a Large Deprived Urban Area, Netherlands	NL33C Groot-Rijnmond	Kees Dol, Joris Hoekstra, Reinout Kleinhans (Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment - Delft University of Technology)
NL	National Report: The Netherlands	Netherlands	Reinout Kleinhans (Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment - Delft University of Technology)

	Action / Title	NUTS 3 Regions	Authors
PL 21	The Participatory Budget for Lodz, Poland	PL711 Miasto Łódź (since January 2018)	Karolina Dmochowska-Dudek, Tomasz Napierała, Paulina Tobiasz-Lis, Marcin Wójcik (University of Lodz)
PL 22	Communal Service. A Social Cooperative as Part of a Local Revitalisation Program in Brzeziny, Poland	PL712 Łódzki (since January 2018)	Pamela Jeziorska-Biel, Anna Janiszewska, Marcin Wójcik, Karolina-Dmochowska-Dudek, Paulina Tobiasz-Lis, Tomasz Napierała (University of Lodz)
PL 23	A Thematic Village in Masłomęcz as an Anchor for New Local Identity and Multifunctional Development of Rural Areas, Poland	PL812 Chelmsko-Zamojski (since January 2018)	Paulina Tobiasz-Lis, Karolina Dmochowska-Dudek, Marcin Wójcik, Pamela Jeziorska-Biel, Tomasz Napierała, Anna Janiszewska (University of Lodz)
PL 24	The Development of Rural Public Places in the Villages of Domachowo, Potarzyce and Stara Krobia, Poland	PL417 Leszczyński	Pamela Jeziorska-Biel, Anna Janiszewska, Marcin Wójcik, Karolina-Dmochowska-Dudek, Paulina Tobiasz-Lis, Tomasz Napierała (University of Lodz)
PL	National Report: Poland	Poland	Karolina-Dmochowska-Dudek, Pamela Jeziorska-Biel, Anna Janiszewska, Tomasz Napierała, Paulina Tobiasz-Lis, Marcin Wójcik (authors of the Polish RELOCAL case study reports) (University of Lodz)
RO 25	The Pata Cluj Project Residential Desegregation of the Landfill Area of Cluj-Napoca, Romania	RO113 Cluj	Cristina Bădiță, Enikő Vincze (Foundation Desire for Social Reflection and Openness)
RO 26	Micro-Regional Association Mara-Natur in Maramures County, Romania	RO114 Maramures	George Iulian Zamfir (Foundation Desire for Social Reflection and Openness)
RO 27	Mălin-Codlea Legalization of an Informal Settlement in Braşov County, Romania	RO122 Braşov	Iulia-Elena Hossu, Enikő Vincze (Foundation Desire for Social Reflection and Openness)
RO 28	Plumbuita PIDU. Regenerating a Micro-Urban Area in Bucharest, Romania	RO321 Bucureşti	Ioana Vrabiescu (Foundation Desire for Social Reflection and Openness)
RO	National Report: Romania	Romania	Enikő Vincze (Foundation Desire for Social Reflection and Openness)
SE 29	Digital Västerbotten. Promoting Equal Standards of Living for Inland Municipalities through Digital Technologies, Sweden	SE331 Västerbotten län	Linnea Löfving, Gustaf Norlén, Timothy Heleniak (NORDREGIO)
SE 30	The Stockholm Commission. Measures for an Equal and Socially Sustainable City, Sweden	SE110 Stockholm	Thomas Borén (University of Stockholm)
SE	National Report Sweden: Comparing Västerbotten and Stockholm from a spatial justice perspective	Sweden	Linnea Löfving, Thomas Borén, Timothy Heleniak, Gustaf Norlén (NORDREGIO; University of Stockholm)
UK 31	The Northumberland Uplands Local Action Group (NULAG) LEADER in Sparsely Populated Northern England, United Kingdom	UKC21 Northumberland	Elizabeth Brooks, Mark Shucksmith, Ali Madanipour (University of Newcastle)
UK 32	Homelessness Project in Lewisham, Borough of London, United Kingdom	UKI44 Lewisham and Southwark	Elizabeth Brooks, Ali Madanipour, Mark Shucksmith (University of Newcastle)
UK 33	Strengthening Communities on the Isle of Lewis in the Western Isles, United Kingdom	UKM64 Eileanan Siar (Western Isles)	Mags Currie, Annabel Pinker, Andrew Copus (The James Hutton Institute)
UK	National Report: United Kingdom	United Kingdom	Elizabeth Brooks, Mags Currie, Ruth Wilson, Andrew Copus, Annabel Pinker, Ali Madanipour, Mark Shucksmith (University of Newcastle; The James Hutton Institute)

**Table 3: List of the 33 case study actions**, corresponding NUTS 3 regions and authors. (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D2.2 Data Availability Report and D6.2 Case Study Reports)

## 10.2 Additional Data

- I. Intervention Characteristics
- II. Net Income
- III. Unemployment Rates 2018
- IV. Voting Districts
- V. Party Categorisation
- VI. Typologies of the Case Studies' NUTS 3 Regions

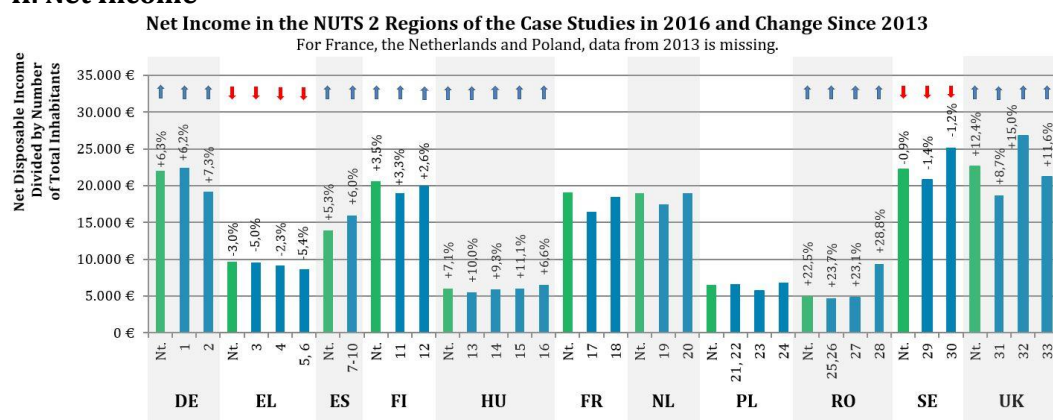


## I. Intervention Characteristics

Soft Infrastructure	Hard Infrastructure	Mix
DE 2, EL 5, EL 6, FI 11, FI 12, HU 13, HU 15, HU 16, FR 17, PL 22, RO 27, SE 30, UK 31	PL 24, RO 28, UK 32	DE 1, EL 3, EL 4, ES 7, ES 8, ES 9, ES 10, HU 14, FR 18, NL 19, NL 20, PL 21, PL 23, RO 25, RO 26, SE 29, UK 33

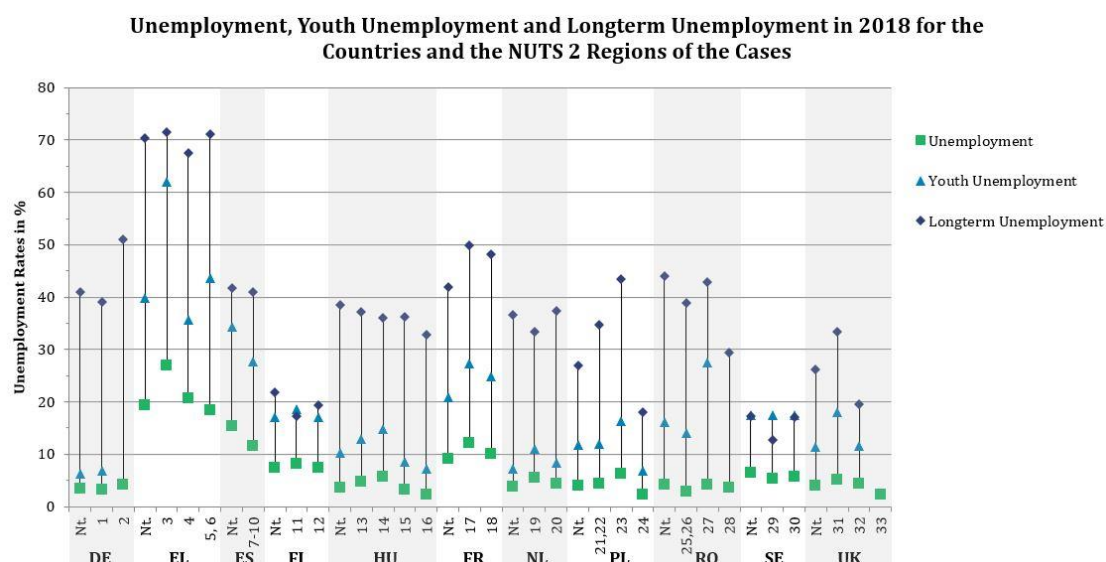
**Table 4: Intervention characteristics: soft infrastructure or hard infrastructure.** (Own presentation based on RELOCAL D 6.2 Case Study Reports.)

## II. Net Income



**Figure 15: Net income in the NUTS 2 regions of the case studies in 2016 and change since 2013.** (Own presentation based on data from Eurostat. For France, the Netherlands and Poland, data from 2013 is missing, so that no change can be indicated.)

## III. Unemployment Rates 2018



**Figure 16: Unemployment, youth unemployment and long-term unemployment in 2018 for the countries and the NUTS 2 regions of the cases.** (Own presentation based on data from Eurostat. Unemployment in percent of the population aged 15-74, youth unemployment in percent of age class 15-24 and long-term unemployment (more than one year) in percent of total number of unemployed people.)

#### IV. Voting Districts

	NUTS 3 Area of Case Study Locality	Voting Districts of Case Study Localities	Sources of Voting results
DE 1	DEA44 Höxter, DEA45 Lippe	Höxter & Lippe (2x NUTS 3/district), combined	<a href="https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse.html">https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/europawahlen/2019/ergebnisse.html</a>
DE 2	DED22 Görlitz	Görlitz (NUTS 3, district)	
EL 3	EL531 Grevena, Kozani, EL532 Kastoria, EL533 Florina	Western Macedonia (NUTS 2), all four districts/NUTS 3 combined	<a href="https://ekloges.yves.gr/current/e/home/en/">https://ekloges.yves.gr/current/e/home/en/</a>
EL 4	EL522 Thessaloniki	Thessaloniki (NUTS 3), Voting districts A & B combined	
EL 5	EL613 Magnisia	Magnisia (NUTS 3)	
EL 6	EL611 Karditsa, Trikala	Karditsa & Trikala (NUTS 3), the two districts combined	
ES 7	ES511 Barcelona	Barcelona Region (NUTS 3)	<a href="https://resultados.eleccioneslocalesuropeas19.es/#/es/eu/resultados/provincias/barcelona">https://resultados.eleccioneslocalesuropeas19.es/#/es/eu/resultados/provincias/barcelona</a>
ES 8	ES511 Barcelona	Barcelona Region (NUTS 3)	
ES 9	ES511 Barcelona	Barcelona Region (NUTS 3)	
ES 10	ES511 Barcelona	Barcelona Region (NUTS 3)	
FI 11	FI1D3 Pohjois-Karjala	Lieksa (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	<a href="https://tulospalvelu.vaalit.fi/EPV-2019/en/kutulos_422.html">https://tulospalvelu.vaalit.fi/EPV-2019/en/kutulos_422.html</a>
FI 12	FI1C4 Kymenlaakso	Kotka (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	<a href="https://tulospalvelu.vaalit.fi/EPV-2019/en/kutulos_285.html">https://tulospalvelu.vaalit.fi/EPV-2019/en/kutulos_285.html</a>
HU 13	HU311 Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén (NUTS 3, district)	<a href="https://www.valasztas.hu/osszesített-eredmények-nyek-ep2019?eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_et_formDate=32503680000000&amp;p_id=eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet&amp;p_p_lifecycle=0&amp;p_p_state=normal&amp;p_p_mode=view&amp;p_p_col_id=column-2&amp;p_p_col_pos=1&amp;p_p_col_count=2&amp;eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_searchSortColumn=SORSZAM&amp;eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_searchSortType=desc">https://www.valasztas.hu/osszesített-eredmények-nyek-ep2019?eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_et_formDate=32503680000000&amp;p_id=eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet&amp;p_p_lifecycle=0&amp;p_p_state=normal&amp;p_p_mode=view&amp;p_p_col_id=column-2&amp;p_p_col_pos=1&amp;p_p_col_count=2&amp;eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_searchSortColumn=SORSZAM&amp;eplistaseredmenyadatlap_WAR_nvvinrportlet_searchSortType=desc</a>
HU 14	HU231 Baranya	Baranya (NUTS 3, district)	
HU 15	HU333 Csongrád	Csongrád (NUTS 3, district)	
HU 16	HU213 Veszprém	Veszprém (NUTS 3, district)	
FR 17	FRE11 Nord, FRE12 Pas-de-Calais	Nord-Pas-de-Calais (NUTS 2), the two districts/NUTS 3 combined	<a href="https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Europeennes/election_europeennes-2019/(path)/europeennes-2019/index.html">https://www.interieur.gouv.fr/Elections/Les-resultats/Europeennes/election_europeennes-2019/(path)/europeennes-2019/index.html</a>
FR 18	FRF31 Meurthe et Moselle, FRF33 Moselle	Meurthe-et-Moselle & Moselle (2x NUTS 3/district), combined	
NL 19	NL111 Oost-Groningen, NL112 Delfzijl en omgeving, NL113 Overig-Groningen	Part of Groningen region as described in CS Report, districts Appingedam, Delfzijl, Groningen, Het Hogeland, Loppersum, Midden-Groningen combined	<a href="https://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/verkiezingen/detail/EP20190523/685726">https://www.verkiezingsuitslagen.nl/verkiezingen/detail/EP20190523/685726</a>
NL 20	NL33C Groot-Rijnmond	Rotterdam (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	
PL 21	PL711 Miasto Łódź (since January 2018)	Łódź (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	<a href="https://pe2019.pkw.gov.pl/pe2019/en/wyniki/pl">https://pe2019.pkw.gov.pl/pe2019/en/wyniki/pl</a>
PL 22	PL712 Łódzki (since January 2018)	Brzeziny (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	
PL 23	PL812 Chelmsko-Zamojski (since January 2018)	Gmina wiejska Hrubieszów (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	
PL 24	PL417 Leszczyński	Krobia (district, smaller than NUTS 3)	
RO 25	RO113 Cluj	Cluj (NUTS 3, district)	<a href="https://prezenta.bec.ro/europarlamentare26052019/romania-pv-final">https://prezenta.bec.ro/europarlamentare26052019/romania-pv-final</a>
RO 26	RO114 Maramures	Maramures (NUTS 3, district)	
RO 27	RO122 Braşov	Braşov (NUTS 3, district)	
RO 28	RO321 Bucureşti	Bucuresti Sector 2 as described in CS Report, voting district smaller than NUTS 3 and district	
SE 29	SE331 Västerbotten län	Region 10 as described in CS Report (Part of NUTS 3 Västerbotten), districts Arjeplog, Arvidsjaur, Dorotea, Lycksele, Malå, Norsjö, Sorsele, Storuman, Vilhelmina, Åsele combined	<a href="http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/STA_RT_ME_ME0109_ME0109A/EUvalA/">http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/STA_RT_ME_ME0109_ME0109A/EUvalA/</a>
SE 30	SE110 Stockholm	Stockholm (district)	
UK 31	UKC21 Northumberland	Northumberland (NUTS 3, district)	<a href="https://www.northumberland.gov.uk/NorthumberlandCountyCouncil/media/Councillors-and-Democracy/Notice%20of%20Elections/Statement-of-Results-Northumberland-European-Election-May-2019.pdf">https://www.northumberland.gov.uk/NorthumberlandCountyCouncil/media/Councillors-and-Democracy/Notice%20of%20Elections/Statement-of-Results-Northumberland-European-Election-May-2019.pdf</a>
UK 32	UKI44 Lewisham and Southwark	Lewisham (council area, smaller than NUTS 3)	<a href="https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/elections/results/election-results-2019/european-election-2019-results/european-election-2019-lewisham-results">https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/elections/results/election-results-2019/european-election-2019-results/european-election-2019-lewisham-results</a>
UK 33	UKM64 Eileanan Siar (Western Isles)	Eilean Siar/Western Isles (NUTS 3, district)	<a href="https://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/your-council/elections-and-voting/european-parliament-election/result/">https://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/your-council/elections-and-voting/european-parliament-election/result/</a>

**Table 5: Voting districts of the case study localities.** (Own presentation based on voting districts indicated by the national ministries of the interior and local councils. Combined, if relevant, to correspond to the localities in the RELOCAL D 6.2 Case Study Reports.)

## V. Party Categorisation

Party Categorisation for the European Parliament Election Results 2019			
Country	Identity & Democracy Group	European Conservatives & Reformists Group	Others / Non-attached
Germany	Alternative für Deutschland (AfD)		
Greece		Elliniki Lisi (EL)	Chrysi Avgi (XA)
Spain		VOX	
Finland	Perussuomalaiset (PS)		
Hungary			Fidesz (attached to European People's Party) JOBBIK
France	Prenez le pouvoir, liste soutenue par Marine Le Pen – Rassemblement National		
Netherlands		Forum voor Democratie (FVD)	
Poland		Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS)	
Romania			
Sweden		Sverigedemokraterna (SD)	
United Kingdom			Brexit
Categorisation after attachment to EP party groups and <i>The PopuList</i> (Rooduijn et al., 2019) with updated party names, addition of Brexit Party for the UK, Forum for Democracy (NL) and Vox (ES) and omission of the Conservative Party for the UK, the Family Party for Germany (both not far right after Rooduijn et al. (2019)) and the Reformed Political Party (SGP) for the Netherlands (as it formed a list with Christian Union (CU), a larger party not classified as far right). European Party Groups: <a href="https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/search/advanced">https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/search/advanced</a>			

**Table 6: Party categorisation for the European Parliament election results 2019.** (Categorisation after EP party groups and *The PopuList* (Rooduijn et al., 2019))

## VI. Typologies of the Case Studies' NUTS 3 Regions

RELOCAL Case No.	NUTS 3 EU					
	Code	Label	Metropolitan Typology	Border Region	Coastal Typology	Mountain Typology
1	DEA44	Höxter				
1	DEA45	Lippe				
2	DED2D	Görlitz	Metropolitan Region	Border Region		
3	EL531	Grevena, Kozani		Border Region		Mountainous Region
3	EL532	Kastoria		Border Region		Mountainous Region
3	EL533	Florina		Border Region		Mountainous Region
4	EL522	Thessaloniki	Metropolitan Region		Coastal Region	Mountainous Region
5	EL613	Magnisia			Coastal Region	Mountainous Region
6	EL611	Karditsa, Trikala				Mountainous Region
7,8,9,10	ES511	Barcelona	Metropolitan Region	Border Region	Coastal Region	Mountainous Region
11	FI1D3	Pohjois-Karjala		Border Region		
12	FI1C4	Kymenlaasko		Border Region	Coastal Region	
13	HU311	Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén	Metropolitan Region	Border Region		
14	HU231	Baranya	Metropolitan Region	Border Region		
15	HU333	Csongrád		Border Region		
16	HU213	Veszprém				
17	FRE11	Nord	Metropolitan Region	Border Region	Coastal Region	
17	FRE12	Pas-de-Calais		Border Region	Coastal Region	
18	FRF31	Meurthe-et Moselle	Metropolitan Region	Border Region		
18	FRF33	Moselle		Border Region		
19	NL111	Oost-Groningen		Border Region	Coastal Region	
19	NL112	Delfzijl en omgeving	Metropolitan Region	Border Region	Coastal Region	
19	NL113	Overig-Groningen	Metropolitan Region	Border Region	Coastal Region	
20	NL33C	Groot-Rijnmond	Metropolitan Region	Border Region	Coastal Region	
21	PL711	Miasto Łódź	Metropolitan Region			
22	PL712	Łódzki	Metropolitan Region			
23	PL812	Chelmsko-zamojski		Border Region		
24	PL417	Leszczyński				
25	RO113	Cluj	Metropolitan Region			Mountainous Region
26	RO114	Maramures		Border Region		Mountainous Region
27	RO112	Braşov	Metropolitan Region			Mountainous Region
28	RO321	Bucureşti	Metropolitan Region			
29	SE331	Västerbottens län		Border Region	Coastal Region	
30	SE110	Stockholms län	Metropolitan Region		Coastal Region	
31	UKC21	Northumberland	Metropolitan Region		Coastal Region	
32	UKI44	Lewisham and South-wark	Metropolitan Region			
33	UKM64	Eileanan Siar (Western Isles)			Coastal Region	

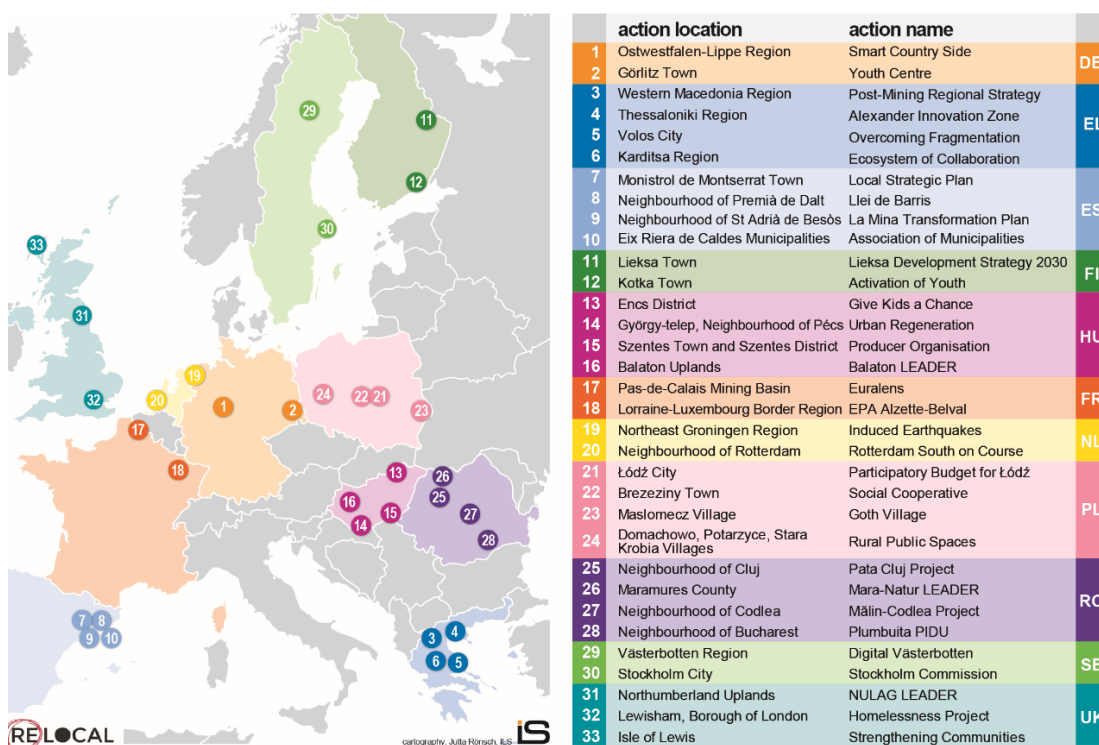
**Table 7: Territorial typologies of the NUTS 3 regions of RELOCAL case studies.** (Own presentation based on European Union, 2019)

## 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.

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>

Project Coordinator:



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