

Research Report

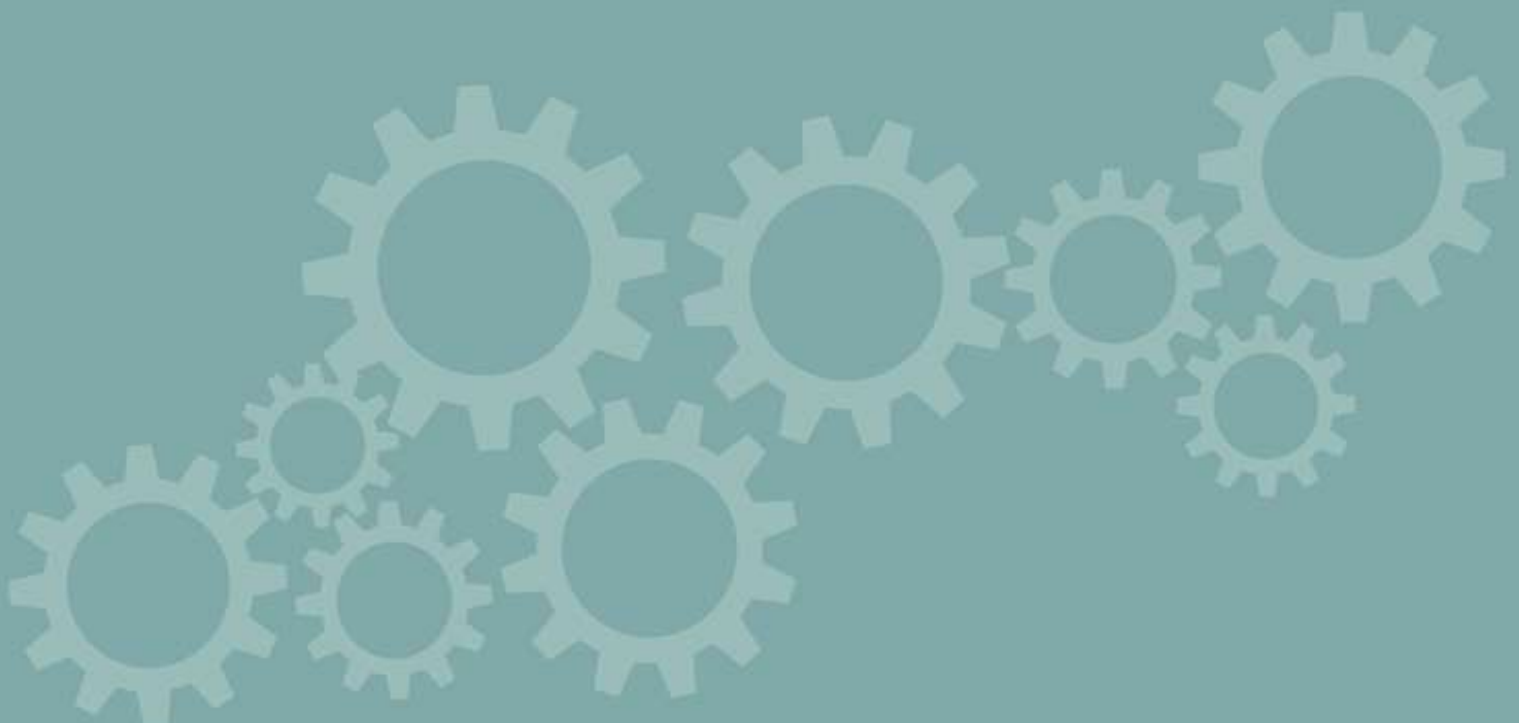
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Economic Regeneration in Scotland

Past Lessons; Current Practice; Future Challenges

A Report for What Works Scotland

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What Works Scotland (WWS) aims to improve the way local areas in Scotland use evidence to make decisions about public service development and reform. We are working with community planning partnerships involved in the design and delivery of public services (Aberdeenshire, Fife, Glasgow and West Dunbartonshire) to:

- learn what is and what isn't working in their local area
- encourage collaborative learning with a range of local authority, business, public sector and community partners
- better understand what effective policy interventions and effective services look like
- promote the use of evidence in planning and service delivery
- help organisations get the skills and knowledge they need to use and interpret evidence
- create case studies for wider sharing and sustainability

A further nine areas are working with us to enhance learning, comparison and sharing. We will also link with international partners to effectively compare how public services are delivered here in Scotland and elsewhere. During the programme, we will scale up and share more widely with all local authority areas across Scotland.

WWS brings together the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, other academics across Scotland, with partners from a range of local authorities and:

- Glasgow Centre for Population Health
- Improvement Service
- Inspiring Scotland
- IRISS (Institution for Research and Innovation in Social Services)
- NHS Education for Scotland
- NHS Health Scotland
- NHS Health Improvement for Scotland
- Scottish Community Development Centre
- SCVO (Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations)

This is one of a series of papers published by What Works Scotland to share evidence, learning and ideas about public service reform. This paper relates to the What Works Scotland **Governance** workstream.

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Authors and acknowledgements

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Summary

Economic regeneration, broadly defined, relates to the importance of tackling the causes of economic decline through the development of targeted area-based regeneration strategies. Area-based approaches to regeneration in Scotland have been positioned as an effective method for tackling concentrations of poverty¹, based largely on an understanding of self-reinforcing processes of area deprivation². What Works Scotland (WWS) in partnership with the University of Glasgow's Training and Employment Research Unit (TERU) and the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF), developed this research study, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Scottish Government, to share insights for future learning regarding economic regeneration in Scotland, reflecting on the use of area-based regeneration approaches to tackling physical, economic and social deprivation.

Economic regeneration in Scotland - Main messages

- Despite much research on aspects of area-based regeneration in the last 20 years and more, the evidence base remains patchy and conclusions provisional at best. Large-scale evidence reviews have found housing-led investments to be significant (if often modest in scale) across a range of outcome domains but often with associated costs (e.g. gentrification and displacement).
- Local and national context matters: economic development and regeneration are not statutory functions, but instead compete for resource and priority across different local authority spending headings in a context of austerity and challenge. Nonetheless, and in partnership with national bodies and other local institutions and communities, local government is normally critical to the success of area-based initiatives.
- Commit to long term commitment and capacity: regeneration, to be truly effective, may well take decades. It needs to be planned, resourced and supported politically on this basis. Otherwise problems will re-emerge and without political commitment and consensus over multiple electoral cycles, the most pressing difficulties will remain unresolved.
- Provide blended funding and delivery mechanisms: within an environment of reduced public sector funding, there is evidence that supports the value of diversity of funding to resource regeneration activity; and the increasing role of communities and the involvement of the private sector were apparent in the delivery of economic development across all three case studies.

¹ For useful policy discussion of the area-based approach in Scotland, see Bynner, C. (2016).

<http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/publications/rationales-for-place-based-approaches-in-scotland>

² Refer to Hsu et al (2017) for a useful discussion on the perspectives of area-based and path dependent self-reinforcing nature of deprivation.

- Simplify strategic, governance and economic regeneration delivery mechanisms: there is a lack of shared knowledge and understanding of how best economic development policy should be delivered (i.e. people-centred; development-centred) and what constitutes success (i.e. what should be measured, how it should be measured). Simplification of Scotland's strategic approach and institutional arrangements is required to achieve a consistent and transparent approach across all levels of government.
- Support greater facilitation of the community-agency policy development and implementation process: the importance of leadership in delivering successful regeneration projects is apparent, through the role of independent area-based agencies in facilitating and driving the regeneration opportunity (i.e. based outside of government structures).
- Promote simplified, community-centred, innovative funding models: within the context of reduced public sector funding and greater focus on private funding opportunities, there is the need to maintain the appropriate focus on funding for 'people' as opposed to 'places'. More research and evidence is required on funding opportunities that maximize the facilitation of both physical and people-centred funding models, including greater mandatory use of Community Benefits Clauses.

What Works Scotland background and research methods

The focus of What Works Scotland (WWS) is broad: public service reform and development across Scotland. A distinctive feature of What Works Scotland is that whereas some aspects of public service reform link readily to evidence of intervention outcomes that allow for conventional assessments of what does or does not work, in other areas this is not always the case. The 'Scottish approach' to public policy embodies a range of new initiatives and ways of working that are being attempted in highly context-specific settings. Consequently, a major concern is with policy processes such as community empowerment and placed-based service delivery through community planning partnerships (CPPs) working with CPP teams in order to infuse working with evidence, data and analysis locally. The focus on partnership, locality, professional practice and community engagement means that considerable effort has gone into understanding and seeking to improve processes of public service reform, as well as, where supported by evidence, it is possible to make stronger claims about what does and does not work in public service reform. Examples of What Works Scotland process-based work would include extended collaborative action research in four Scottish CPPs, and developing evaluability approaches to embedding cost-effective tailored evaluation into policy interventions. At the same time, What Works Scotland has carried out a number of rigorous evidence reviews on, for example, partnership working and the use of outcomes³.

³ See the What Works Scotland website <http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/>

The context, breadth and nature of the What Works Scotland work programme, has specific implications for the present study on economic regeneration. While the purpose of this report is to share insights and general lessons about ‘what works’ in area-based approaches to economic regeneration in Scotland, the research undertaken here reflects a three-fold approach. First, where there is robust evidence of previous research or evaluations of area-based regeneration, we provide analysis of outcomes (to the extent that this is warranted by the evidence). In particular, we draw on previous academic and other relevant UK findings and also one of our case studies, Clyde Gateway URC, is sufficiently established (ten years plus) to be able to support outcomes analysis. Second however, we draw on two case studies of current regeneration thinking that reflect the Scottish Government’s approach to locality-based regeneration. These studies (Rothesay, Bute, and Broomhill, Greenock) are more process-focused in terms of what works. However, as with other areas of What Works Scotland’ programme, it is important that we engage with and understand these models and how they are supposed to operate. A third element of the research asked a range of consultees their views about past lessons, current practice and future challenges for economic regeneration in Scotland. This more illustrative exercise acts as something of a sense-check of our findings, as did a workshop in Glasgow in June 2017 which was attended by around 50 people from the regeneration and What Works Scotland professional communities. We are grateful to everyone who assisted us.

Past lessons, current practice and future challenges

Three case studies were selected for in-depth analysis in line with the focus in the Scottish Government’s regeneration strategy⁴ across three key areas: town centre regeneration; community-led regeneration; and physical regeneration.

- Town centre regeneration: the Bute Island Alliance (refer to Annex A), centred on the town of Rothesay on the east side of the Island of Bute and less than two hours from the city of Glasgow, experiencing social and economic decline, depopulation and lack of investment.
- Community-led regeneration: a social housing area of Broomhill in Greenock, (refer to Annex B), with a history of economic decline, antisocial behaviour and community unrest.
- Physically-led regeneration: the Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC) (refer to Annex C) in the centre of the Dalmarnock community in the East End of Glasgow, historically known for its legacy of social and economic deprivation and derelict land.

⁴ Scottish Government (2011). Achieving a Sustainable Future: Regeneration Strategy. <http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2011/12/09110320/6>

Table 1 indicates – and does so subject to the different stages and natures of these quite different case studies – a number of key commonalities and future challenges across quite different settings and mechanisms.

Common characteristics across Bute, Broomhill and Clyde Gateway case studies				
Socio-economic challenges	Community-engagement approach	Project challenges	What is working	Future challenges
Falling population Larger proportion of adults with no qualifications Low levels of economic activity Large number of Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) claimants Large number of out-of-work claimants	Early engagement/consultation with local community Community focussed strategy Ongoing consultation and community involvement Overcoming community resistance Achieving community ownership/involvement	Overcoming initial scepticism Lack of previous projects to build experience from	Holistic approach to a long-term commitment Initial leverage funding Lead organisation Political and wider stakeholder involvement Community engagement strategy focus Strategic alignment with wider policies and strategies	Maintaining long-term commitment Leveraging future funding in a tight funding environment Maintaining area-based focus in light of needs of other areas Sustaining profile and interest Evidencing long-term economic and social impacts attributed to the approach

Table 1: Case Study Common Characteristics

Specific encouraging features in the different case studies were, respectively:

Clyde Gateway

- A clear lead organisation
- High quality and committed staff
- Excellent partnership working, often facilitated by Clyde Gateway staff
- Effective and meaningful involvement of the community
- Desire to learn from elsewhere
- Informed, evidence-based decisions
- Prepared to be a pioneer

Rothsay, Bute

- A clear leadership remit and lead/impartial organisation
- Clarify of purpose
- High quality and committed people
- Seedcorn/catalytic funding
- Connectivity/partnership working across key agencies and partnerships
- Meaningful community involvement
- Committed community
- Learning from elsewhere

Broomhill, Greenock

- Distinct community strategy and focus on measuring outcomes
- Development of new strategic partnerships
- Strengthened partnership working
- Strengthening links with the community through engagement
- Widening community and third sector involvement
- Strategic alignment with wider policies and strategies
- Seedcorn funding helping to leverage additional resources

The future

Given the financial and political constraints facing area-based economic regeneration, the future for this vital area of public policy in Scotland will present multiple challenges. These will include:

- Increasing the role of the private sector as investor and partner, and seeking out new funding routes compatible with long term economic regeneration and the interests of local communities.
- Developing programmes committed to a genuinely long term, holistic and multi-sectoral outlook from the outset.

- Designing programmes tailored to both local needs and circumstances, and a detailed analytical understanding of how local communities are situated in wider sub-regional economies.
- Providing strong and stable leadership with clear accountability is vital and should make effective use of cross-sector partnership working, both in investment and in shaping ideas, but also following through in terms of operational management and implementation.

1. Introduction

What Works Scotland (WWS) is a four-year programme of work funded by Economic and Social Research Council and the Scottish Government. The focus of its work is broad: public service reform and development across Scotland. What Works Scotland is concerned with what works in Scottish public policy and what does not, as well as indicating where evidence on delivery and impact does not exist. A distinctive feature of the subject matter covered by What Works Scotland is that whereas some aspects of public service reform link readily to existing evidence bases that allow for conventional assessments of what does or does not work, in other areas this is not always the case. In fact, it often cannot because the Scottish approach to public policy embodies a range of new initiatives and ways of working that are being attempted in a series of highly context-specific settings. What Works Scotland is closely concerned with policy processes, as opposed to just policy outcomes, such as community empowerment, placed-based service delivery through community planning partnerships (CPPs) and efforts to engage and embed collaborative action research working with CPP teams in order to infuse working with evidence, data and analysis locally.

The What Works Scotland focus on the evolving dynamic of partnership, locality, professional practice and community engagement means that considerable weight has gone into understanding and seeking to improve processes of public service reform, as well as, where supported by evidence, it is possible to make stronger claims about what does and does not work in public service reform. Examples of What Works Scotland process-based work would include extended collaborative action research in four Scottish CPPs; developing evaluability approaches to embedding cost-effective tailored evaluation into policy interventions; and applying what works in participatory budgeting internationally to Scotland. At the same time, What Works Scotland has carried out a number of rigorous evidence reviews on, for example, partnership working and the use of outcomes⁵.

This distinction, arising from the context, breadth and contemporary nature of the What Works Scotland work programme, has specific implications for the present study on economic regeneration. While the purpose of this report is to share insights and general lessons about 'what works' in area-based approaches to economic regeneration in Scotland in recent years with a focus on regeneration activity of relatively small areas, the research undertaken here reflects a three part approach. First, where there is robust evidence of previous research or evaluations of area-based regeneration, we provide analysis of outcomes). In particular we draw on previous academic and other relevant UK findings and also one of our case studies, Clyde Gateway URC, is sufficiently established (ten years plus) to be able to support outcomes analysis. Secondly however, we draw on two case studies of current regeneration thinking infused by the Scottish Government's current approach to locality-based regeneration. These studies (Rothesay, Bute, and Broomhill, Greenock) are

⁵ See the What Works Scotland website: <http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/>

more process-focused in terms of what works, and also reflect that they are both too early to produce evidence of outcomes. However, as with other areas of What Works Scotland's programme, it is important that we engage with and understand these models and how they are supposed to operate. A third element of the research involved asking a range of consultees about their views about what works in economic regeneration. This more illustrative exercise acts as something of a sense-check of our findings, as did a workshop in Glasgow in June 2017 which was attended by around 50 people from the regeneration and What Works Scotland professional communities. We are grateful to everyone who assisted us.

The term "regeneration" is "almost seamlessly interchangeable with a broader family of labels" and most often prefixed by the term "urban". Economic regeneration relates to policies targeted at dealing with economic, physical and social decline, commonly referred to as a "holistic" approach to regeneration, seen as the "solution to remedy problems: a repair kit for places that are considered to be damaged".⁶

There are different approaches to tackling economic regeneration, either focusing on individuals specific to places (i.e. via area-based initiatives) or targeting individuals irrespective of place (i.e. via national/city/local strategic partnerships/community planning partnerships), resulting in an inherent tension between policies for places versus those for people. Area-based initiatives (ABIs) are largely regarded as "exemplary instruments for combating intertwined social, economic, and environmental issues in an integrated manner", although their effectiveness "remains contentious and continues to provoke divergent views"⁷. It has been argued that national regeneration policy should focus on place if to ensure "the right spatial economic governance structure through which to achieve objectives and policies"⁸. A Scottish Government evidence review suggests that although area-based regeneration is "important and does improve places", these policies "should be regarded as being in support of policies that more directly target people"⁹. ABIs thus tend to be used as part of a broader suite of urban policies that are usually administered to help combat complex socio-economic processes¹⁰.

Whilst understanding that the underlying nature, causes and extent of area-based deprivation are important for helping to design strategies for tackling economic decline, part of the policy learning and development process is understanding 'what works' in practice regarding tackling economic regeneration. Furthermore, identifying what is not working in the local or regional context is essential to help to secure a better understanding of the types of interventions to avoid or even replace in specific contexts.

⁶Pugalis, L. (2016). (see page 69).

⁷ Pugalis, L., (2013)(see page 617).

⁸ Martin, R., et al (2017) (see page 10).

⁹ Dodd, S., (2011).

¹⁰ Pugalis, L., and D. McGuinness., (2013).

Drawing on the extensive Scottish networks of What Works Scotland, the Training and Employment Research Unit (TERU) and the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF), the research approach was based on a largely qualitative and quantitative case study methodology, one-to-one interviews and a literature review. However, given the focus on only three case studies, clearly the research findings cannot reflect fully the wider Scottish picture.

Methods

TERU undertook an evidence review of ‘what works’ in economic regeneration in 2010¹¹. In addition to an updating of this evidence review, the research team interviewed a range of experienced practitioners and activists with extensive knowledge of Scottish economic regeneration (refer to Annex E for a list of interviewees) using a semi-structured interview format. These interviews were carried out to gather the experiences, understanding and perceptions of economic regeneration interventions over the last 25 years (refer to Annex D for an outline of questions). Interviews were conducted and analysed using standard qualitative methodology¹².

Three case studies selected for in depth analysis reflect the Scottish Government’s regeneration strategy¹³. The projects represent each of the three priorities highlighted in the Scottish Government’s current strategy, *Achieving a Sustainable Future*, in terms of: town centre regeneration, community-led regeneration and capital investment:

- Town centre regeneration: The Bute Island Alliance (refer to Annex A), centred on the town of Rothesay on the east side of the Island of Bute and less than two hours from the city of Glasgow, experiencing social and economic decline, depopulation and lack of investment.
- Community-led regeneration: a social housing area of Broomhill in Greenock, (refer to Annex B) with a history of economic decline, antisocial behaviour and community unrest.
- Physical regeneration: Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC) (refer to Annex C) in the centre of the Dalmarnock community in the East End of Glasgow, historically known for its legacy of social and economic deprivation and derelict land.

The three case studies cover diverse area-based projects within communities which have experienced a range of economic and social challenges. They rank within Scotland’s 15% most deprived communities according to the latest Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD, 2012). The case studies provide examples of current dedicated area regeneration approaches, with a range and type of investment and each representing different stages of development.

¹¹ Sutherland, V., McTier, A. and McGregor, A. (2010).

¹² Silverman, D., (2013).

¹³ Scottish Government (2011).

As we indicated above, we distinguish between the Clyde Gateway project which has been running for more than ten years and allows for reasonable outcomes-focused analysis, contrasted with the other two more recent initiatives which are more representative of the preferred processes and modes of intervention associated with post-Christie Commission¹⁴. Scottish approaches to public service reform are based on local communities' needs and partnership working in tune with the specific local context. Here the focus is more on the development of new working methods situated in different spatial and socio-economic contexts. The diverse nature of the three area-based economic regeneration projects underlines the complexity in defining and delivering economic regeneration within a changing Scottish institutional context and the importance of sharing practical experience and learning towards informing the development of effective policy delivery in the future.

Purpose of the report

Recognising from the outset the need to locate economic regeneration within a long-term holistic area-based approach, the research provides insights on a range of perspectives including communities, third sector and public service organisations. The research was able to explore area-based approaches in practice to reveal:

- policymakers' understanding of what constitutes economic regeneration in Scotland
- factors characterising success and failure in practice
- barriers or facilitators underpinning the process
- key factors underpinning project rationale, development and success
- key policy and funding mechanisms, and approaches to resource allocation
- how success should be measured
- the role and extent of partnership working and community leadership

The research is situated within the challenging public spending and constitutional reform context confronting Scotland in recent years, and likely to remain so over the course of this Parliament. As with all of What Works Scotland's programme, this work is also shaped by the post-Christie Commission context of scarce public resources, and the urgent need for greater efficiency, partnership working, collaboration and preventative spending – all of which is at the heart of the Scottish approach to public policy. The report starts with a brief overview of the national policy context at the outset of the report, followed by a discussion of the purpose, meaning and rationale of economic regeneration policy.

Section 2 outlines an understanding of economic regeneration drawing on this contextual understanding, based on existing evidence, illustrated additionally by the perspectives of consultants we interviewed.

¹⁴ Christie (2011)

Section 3 draws on the different research instruments to ask what we can say about what works in economic regeneration and identify key generalisable themes

Section 4 asks what the evidence means for the future of urban regeneration policy and practice in Scotland.

Section 5 draws together key conclusions.

Background: Economic regeneration in context

Institutional reconfiguration and policy complexity are commonly associated with the delivery of economic development in the UK, and the extent and nature of different approaches to economic regeneration are subject to much debate. Regeneration policy is largely devolved to local government across the UK, with some key policy areas remaining centralised, for example, welfare spending and aspects of labour market policy. Within the wider context of austerity government, there has been an increasing devolution of powers to local government through an increasing localism agenda in England post-2010. At the Scottish level, there exists a complexity of devolved policy structures across various sectors, including for example, NHS health boards, regeneration companies and an array of local authority-led initiatives (e.g. UK/Scottish/local funded and bespoke city deals). Hence, an understanding of economic regeneration in the UK must be positioned and understood within the context of a complex policy environment of differing policy levels and powers.

National policy framework

The UK Government's approach to social and economic regeneration policy is based largely on a market-led, laissez faire approach¹⁵. Alongside the Scottish Government's overall focus on "sustainable economic growth"¹⁶ is an emphasis on tackling deprivation and inequality in part through economic regeneration. The current Scottish Government approach to economic regeneration involves largely the devolution of regeneration policy leadership to local government and a renewed emphasis on a holistic community-led approach, linked to wider Scottish Government policies focused on the local community including National Performance Frameworks and community planning partnership (CPP) delivery vehicles. The Scottish Government's regeneration focus is self-described as a community development, asset-based approach, in terms of a collective focus on the assets of communities (as opposed to deficits), including economic, physical and social assets.

*Achieving a Sustainable Future*¹⁷ defines economic regeneration in Scotland as "a holistic process of reversing the economic, physical and social decline of places", with the focus on place-based regeneration integral to, and interdependent with, regeneration across four

¹⁵ Milne and Rankine (2013)

¹⁶ Scottish Government. (2015b).

¹⁷ Scottish Government (2011). (refer to page 2).

principal areas: community-led regeneration¹⁸; town centre regeneration¹⁹; capital investment²⁰; and Business Improvement Districts (BIDs)²¹.

The Scottish Government's regeneration strategy is an attempt to achieve improved policy clarity and strategic focus for the delivery of economic regeneration through other Government policies and, mainly, local government's community planning role, including: the *Community Empowerment Act*, the *Economic Strategy*, and the national *Community Planning Partnerships Framework*. *Achieving a Sustainable Future* provides a renewed focus on key areas of economic regeneration in Scotland, including disadvantaged communities; reforming mainstream services; community-led regeneration; and refocused funding, within the context of reduced funding in terms of "preventative spending in support of community regeneration" across Scotland²². Box 1 below provides a summary of Scotland's economic development policy focus in recent years.

BOX 1: Scotland's economic regeneration policy approach

From 2008, local government in Scotland was made responsible for delivering local economic development, but with little commensurate increase in funding, for example:

"Scotland has maintained a strategic approach to community regeneration, but with a more grassroots-driven, place-based emphasis" ... "maintaining some level of regeneration funding via the People and Communities Fund, a £7.9 million per annum fund (2012–15) to support community regeneration"

(McGuinness et al, 2015: 32).

The various policy strategies relevant to economic regeneration in Scotland include:

- *National Regeneration Strategy - Achieving a Sustainable Future* (2011), including the People and Communities Fund (2012-15), focussed on community-led regeneration and CPPs
- *Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015*, emphasising increasing engagement and capacity of local communities and delivery at a local level
- *Christie Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services* (2010), recognising that acute levels of deprivation are highly localised, promoting the idea of holistic service

¹⁸ Scottish Government website <https://beta.gov.scot/policies/regeneration/community-led-regeneration/>

¹⁹ Scottish Government website <https://beta.gov.scot/policies/regeneration/town-centre-regeneration/>

²⁰ Scottish Government website <https://beta.gov.scot/policies/regeneration/capital-investment/>

²¹ Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) are one potential mechanism for encouraging continuous investment and promotion of town centres through the delivery of a sustainable financial model to local businesses who collectively invest in local improvements (Scottish Government, 2011, page 30). Scottish Government website <https://beta.gov.scot/policies/regeneration/business-improvement-districts-bids/>

²² SURF (2011). (refer to page 1).

provision, preventative approaches and measuring success based on tangible outcomes

Community planning in Scotland has gone through a number of changes in recent years, focussed on joint service delivery, placing emphasis on aligning local and national priorities through the 2007 Concordat between central and local government. The focus on strategic partnership approaches to regeneration of community planning is:

“thought managerial and spatial, where CPPs identifies the role of a neighbourhood in the wider city systems and brings public sector agencies together to focus and tailor their services”

(Mathews, 2012: 155).

‘there is no one Scottish model of community planning but an explicit attempt by individual authorities to interpret the statutory duty to produce a community plan involving a mosaic of (variously titled) neighbourhood-level community-based plans’

(Pemberton, et al, 2015: 11).

Therefore, Scottish Government policy post-2011 signals a focus on area-based community-planning approaches to economic regeneration policy, focusing on neighborhoods and tackling socio-economic change.

Local government and economic development

Local economic development is not a statutory responsibility of local government in the UK and Scotland, although there are signs in recent years of a shifting focus (inconsistently and unevenly) towards a model of greater sub-regional autonomy²³, accelerated from 2016 with a range of City Deals across the UK. In Scotland, a single tier of local government means local economic development policy is delivered via 32 unitary authorities as a product of the *Local Government (Scotland) Act 1994*. It has been argued that Scottish local government has to “operate in a fragmented, complex and interconnected policy and service delivery environment characterised by associational and joint arrangements”²⁴ including a reduction in local government autonomy relative to both funding discretion (reduced tax powers) and the accretion of central control over powers and duties. Historically, local government has been restricted in its powers, largely functioning on behalf of central government and acting in accordance and within the powers of the *Local Government Act 2003*, providing services largely in relation to infrastructure, environmental services, education, and social work. However, much of this is in flux with a number of City Deals agreed or planned, and with

²³ Lowndes, V., & Gardner, A. (2016).

²⁴ Pugh, M., & Connolly, J. (2016). (refer to page 321).

work ongoing to develop Regional Economic Partnerships in some areas outside of city regions.

The realignment of local authorities' responsibilities and their role in delivering economic regeneration since 2011, has been a recent attempt to rebalance local regeneration activity, given the background context of complex funding and governance arrangements and reduced autonomy of local government over the last decade. However, this has not been without contention. The responsibility for the delivery of local economic regeneration functions is devolved to Scotland's local authorities (LAs), characterised by the emphasis on partnership working, reflected in their community planning role, to ensure the coordination of local policy in line with national priorities. Area-based approaches are partnerships comprised of key actors at the regional, sub-regional and local levels, aimed at collectively tackling the causes of deprivation, formalised by recent legislation in Scotland including the *Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2013* and the *Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015*.

Although the Scottish Government's Regeneration Strategy includes making available funding for community-led regeneration, this is to a lesser extent than in previous years. As a result, it is thought "local authority-led Community Planning Partnerships may result in substantial loss of direct financial support for community led initiatives in the most disadvantaged areas...and a shift towards market-based funding systems" for the delivery of economic regeneration in Scotland.²⁵

Public sector finances

Local government's traditional role in delivering economic development through a "redistributive approach to economic development, historically relying on subsidies" is increasingly being replaced by "neoliberal investment approaches"²⁶ involving the private sector. The increasing role of market-based systems is consistent with recognised asset-based approaches²⁷ aimed at incentivising growth.

In Scotland, the 2014 Scottish referendum provided "fresh momentum to a formerly moribund debate"²⁸ about the spending and tax raising powers available to Scottish local authorities. Within a historically centralised fiscal and governance structure, constitutional change since the 2014 Scottish independence referendum has brought increasing devolution of national fiscal and policy powers via legislation that followed the Smith Commission²⁹. New tax and social security powers for Scotland are thought to have resulted

²⁵ SURF (2011). (refer to page 2)

²⁶ Bentley, G., & Pugalys, L. (2013). (refer to page 258).

²⁷ Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2012).

²⁸ Lowndes, V., & Gardner, A. (2016). (refer o page 6)

²⁹ Commission, S. (2014). 1

in an increasing range of “largely uncoordinated local and city-based economic development policies”³⁰ further contributing towards complex delivery structures across Scotland.

Overall, the Scottish context to local government policy and structure of local government finances can be seen to be contributing towards a new spatially devolved model of political-economic governance in Scotland, albeit “relatively ad hoc and piece-meal reform”³¹. New devolved fiscal powers for Scotland have been described as “highly uneven, unequal and potentially destabilising for promoting further spatial imbalance” across Scotland’s structure of local government policy³².

The economy and labour market

A long-run approach to bringing about positive change of an area requires fuller appreciation of the wider economic and social factors influencing the design, delivery and impact of regeneration policy over time. Some of the significant factors characterising the UK’s economy in recent years and their likely influence on policy design and delivery³³ relate to:

- **Accelerating technological change:** mismatch between supply and demand for skilled labour; increasing demand for high skilled workers; reduced demand for medium skills; increasing polarisation of jobs; reduced opportunities for progression; increased earnings inequality.
- **Increasing globalisation:** increased overseas competition for labour, goods and services; increased migration (and reliance on immigrant labour); falling manufacturing jobs base; reduced demand for semi-skilled workers; the 2008 global recession switched the balance of power from employees to employers (with a larger pool of international labour to choose from).
- **The rise of neo-liberal policies:** reducing power of trade unions; increasing de-regulation of the labour market; reduced employment protection; positive impact on collective bargaining; minimum wage legislation; increasing upward pressure on wages.

A key implication of the above economic trends relates to the implications for the growth in self-employment, part-time working, in-work poverty, zero hours contracts, all contributing to persistent flat earnings growth. A key question relative to the above economy-wide trends and impacts in recent years is “the extent to which the private sector can create the range of desired jobs and generate a socially just sustainable economic recovery with

³⁰Martin, R., et al (2015). (refer to page 348),

³¹ Martin, R., et al. (2015). (refer to page 348).

³²Martin, R., et al. (2015). (refer to page 348).

³³ Felstead, A., Gallie, D., and Green, F. (2015).

minimalist state support”, relative to the “quality of jobs being created, the differential levels of pay and their spatial distribution”.³⁴

Overall, a key implication of the broad decline in the quality of work across various dimensions is the need to focus on both the availability of jobs and their value for residents in area-based approaches to regeneration with a strong focus on increasing employment rates.

The cumulative effect of UK economic trends for regeneration policy in Scotland over time, especially at a time of austerity, is significant especially relative to the balance of demand and supply at the lower end of the labour market. The Scottish Government’s civil servants talk of “scissors of doom - of rising demand for public services and falling revenue expenditure”³⁵. At the same time, Scotland has witnessed a stubborn persistence of unemployment in some deprived areas, founded on strong concentrations of poverty and self-reinforcing processes of decline. Evidence from 2012 on persistent poor statistical outcomes in deprived areas across Scotland supports the idea that “neighbourhoods play a key role in creating and sustaining poverty and associated problems”³⁶. As a result, Scottish policy focus has returned to place-based or area-based initiatives (ABIs) and community planning in recent years, to help tackle deprivation at the neighbourhood level.

However, the return to an area-based policy focus in Scotland, to date, is thought to have had little impact on key outcomes, including income, health and employment, as well as signs of an increasing inequality gap.^{37 38} Therefore, a fuller discussion of the meaning of economic regeneration, and the role of ABIs within that, is provided in the following section.

³⁴ Pugalis, L., and G. Bentley. (2013). (see page 943)

³⁵ Matthews, P. (2012). (see page 9)

³⁶ Matthews, P. (2012). (see page 13)

³⁷ Bynner, C. (2016). <http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/publications/rationales-for-place-based-approaches-in-scotland>

³⁸ See also, McCartney, G, Hearty, W, Taulbut, M Mitchell, R, Dryden, R and Collins, C (2017) and Thomson, H, Atkinson, R, Petticrew, M and Kearns, A (2006)

2. What is economic regeneration?

This section provides a fuller discussion of the rationale and understanding of economic regeneration and area-based approaches, compared with the perceptions and experiences of communities and practitioners involved in developing and delivering economic regeneration in practice. There is a strong focus across our case studies, in the regeneration literature, and from respondent interviews, concerning the importance of understanding the specific causes of economic decline within an area, to allow an effective strategy for that locality to be developed. Taking an overview of different approaches to tackling deprivation, the approach in Scotland currently highlights the value of area-based approaches to regeneration³⁹, thought to be the most effective at dealing with strong concentrations of poverty and the self-reinforcing processes of decline experienced in deprived areas⁴⁰. This section begins with an overview of key evidence from the UK literature, before reflecting on a selected set of responses from one to one interviews with economic regeneration practitioners and activists.

Evidence on economic regeneration

The empirical evidence on ‘what works’ in economic regeneration is mixed in terms of outcomes, the quality of the evidence, the relative absence of evidence in specific relevant areas and in terms of process-focused evidence⁴¹. For instance, there are relatively few studies that commit to long term holistic and longitudinal evaluation (Go Well’s decade-long investigation of the health and wellbeing impacts of investment in Glasgow social housing neighbourhoods is a worthy exception to the rule, see: <http://www.gowellonline.com/>).

There is little evidence of regeneration impacting positively on health or socio-economic outcomes, with small positive outcomes found to be offset by other adverse impacts⁴². For example, there is evidence to suggest that area-based initiatives are less able to deliver sustained positive outcomes for people-based services such as employment, and only modest positive gains or place-oriented benefits (i.e. physical change)⁴³. A more recent structured literature review found that the only areas of well-evidenced positive outcomes from urban regeneration originated in housing-led programmes, in terms of housing improvement and refurbishment, but again, to an extent offset by evidence of the displacement of local people arising from gentrification and by residualisation⁴⁴.

³⁹ See Scottish Government’s Regeneration Strategy focus on area-based approaches:

<https://beta.gov.scot/publications/achieving-sustainable-future-regeneration-strategy/pages/5/>

⁴⁰ Matthews, P. (2013)

⁴¹ see: Thomson et al, 2006; Foden et al, 2010; Fordham, et al, 2010; Sutherland, et al, 2010; McCartney, et al, 2017

⁴² Thomson, et al (2006)

⁴³ Lawless, P. (2012)

⁴⁴ McCartney, et al, (2017).

Taking the above recent literature findings into account, alongside additional evidence, it is possible to derive a number of lessons of different kinds and with different degrees of confidence. We identify ten broad areas below⁴⁵.

1. People versus place- and area-based Initiatives

The range of reported perspectives on why we need economic regeneration and how it should be tackled includes:

- Targeting market failures, such as long-term effects of adverse economic shocks on an area, so as to improve social cohesion and long-run economic growth⁴⁶.
- Targeting eligible individuals irrespective of where they live (local/city-wide strategic partnerships), based on the view that deprivation is not an area problem, but a structural problem that finds its place locally⁴⁷.
- Focusing on the residents of specific neighbourhoods (i.e. area-based initiatives), based on the view that deprivation is thought to be associated with certain areas, due to a self-perpetuating cycle of deprivation and social exclusion.

The predominant area-based initiative (ABI) approach “remains contentious and continues to provoke divergent views”⁴⁸. For example, the notion that place-based, people-focussed policies may simply empower people to leave an area, may potentially further disadvantage certain groups and further exacerbate the cycle of deprivation. As a result, ABIs are usually part of a range of policies targeting complex socio-economic processes believed to produce specific spatial manifestations⁴⁹.

There is some large-scale evidence to suggest “there is little mileage in pursuing area-regeneration schemes... although having ABIs, even if they are associated with only marginal change, is better than nothing...especially in the UK”⁵⁰. The academic evidence concerning the rationale of different approaches to economic regeneration are based on multiple different and sometimes overlapping views of the specific causes of area deprivation. However, the predominant area-based approach in Scotland is founded largely on the view that strong concentrations of poverty areas across Scotland are due to the self-reinforcing processes of decline experienced in small deprived areas, supporting the idea that “neighbourhoods play a key role in creating poverty and associated problems”⁵¹.

⁴⁵ This builds on and adds to Sutherland, et al, (2010)

⁴⁶ See Scottish Government (2011)

⁴⁷ Shaw and Robinson (2010)

⁴⁸ McArdle, K. (2012).

⁴⁹ Pugalis, L., and D. McGuinness. 2013.

⁵⁰ Lawless, P. (2012).l. (refer to page 324).

⁵¹ Matthews, P. (2013). (see page 13)

2. Long-term approach

A long-term approach is preferred⁵² reflecting the likely lengthy duration of time required for regeneration and renewal to be embedded, and also to spread fixed costs over a longer payback period. Longer term commitment helps remove local scepticism over ‘yet more’ intervention and encourages community involvement. A long term approach encourages proper evaluation of processes and outcomes, preferably from the outset⁵³. However, even long-term interventions come to an end, necessitating succession strategies to be developed at the outset so that the benefits of the programme don’t end when the intervention ceases.

3. Holistic/partnership approach

No one activity will transform a deprived area and no one agency can address complex, multiple place-based challenges. A partnership of all key themes at a regional, sub-regional and local level is required if deprivation is to be addressed and silos overcome⁵⁴. SPICe (2014) suggest that the shifting focus to a community-led regeneration approach in Scotland should “not be seen as an opportunity to absolve [agencies] from their responsibility to address problems of a structural nature and invest in, and generally contribute to, community-led regeneration efforts”⁵⁵. Therefore, purposive partnership structures should ensure there is effective decision-making and joint working at all partnership levels (e.g. the strategic, operational and frontline delivery levels), including strong integration of mainstream and local service delivery to reduce service duplication⁵⁶, and alignment of local regeneration investments to help maximize potential multiplier effects.

Recent What Works Scotland research implies that there is little evidence that partnership working makes an identifiable difference to outcomes. This is not to say that it does not work, just that there is not much unambiguous evidence that partnership working contributes directly to delivering outcomes⁵⁷. However, as the focus falls on community-led regeneration, it is important that public sector agencies do not believe this absolves them of their responsibilities to address structural problems, but instead focuses attention on effective decision-making and joint working at all partnership levels.

4. Connecting with wider sub-regional / regional opportunities

Deprivation is often driven by the loss of local jobs. It is unrealistic to believe that jobs lost in traditional coal-mining and manufacturing communities will be replaced to anything like the same level. Instead the focus needs to be on connecting with the wider sub-region and

⁵² Fyfe, et al, (2009); Sutherland, et al, (2010)

⁵³ Brunner et al, 2017

⁵⁴ See: North and Syrett, (2008); McArdle, (2012); Lawless, (2012); Matthews, (2012), (2013); Pugalis, (2013); SPICe, (2014)

⁵⁵ SPICe (2014).

⁵⁶ North and Syrett, (2008)

⁵⁷ Cook, (2015)

region (i.e. local economic change must go with the grain of the wider regional economic context and most likely on the provision and delivery of training opportunities to meet employment demand)⁵⁸. The causes of deprivation are often long term and deep rooted⁵⁹, meaning it is unrealistic to expect local organisations and communities to provide solutions on their own. National, regional and sub-regional partners' involvement is crucial given their wider perspective and remit. There is some disagreement regarding the appropriate spatial scale for policy intervention. The shift towards ABIs in Scotland (post-2011) are largely reflective of persistent small area deprivation figures, regardless of evidence to suggest that small area problems "often find their roots outside of the neighbourhood"⁶⁰.

5. Local community involvement

While the regional and sub-regional levels are important, it is vital that the local community, whether through local residents or groups, is involved in policy development and delivery, but some limitations must be acknowledged⁶¹. Local groups have been found to engage poorly in addressing worklessness⁶², make relatively few decisions, poorly manage expectations of results and lack the resources and skills to contribute fully. At the same time, many commentators are sceptical about the new wave of interest in recent years in empowering local residents. The "new localist discourse" of government policy language may be "providing a thin veil for public sector cuts" ... "It is naive to assume that small, local groups can either articulate or garner the resources to meet their requirements". Furthermore, there is an evolving "disconnect between strategic growth priorities ... and entities negotiating City Deals with central government, and sub-local or neighbourhood focussed priorities"⁶³. Therefore, at the very least, careful consideration and proper investment in effective community involvement is a pre-requisite of success.

6. Effective client engagement

Engaging clients in services, especially given the high worklessness rates, poor health and low skills found in deprived areas can be a challenge but is essential⁶⁴. Strategies such as working with existing trusted organisations⁶⁵, using a range of outreach mechanisms to engage with locals and channelling services through comfortable and non-threatening local environments, can all improve participation.

⁵⁸See: Hall, (1997); IDOX, (2006); Turok and Robson, (2007); Sutherland, et al, (201)

⁵⁹See Meen, et al, (2005) and Taylor, (2008),

⁶⁰Rae (2011)

⁶¹See Meadows, 2008; ERS, 2009, Fordham, et al, 2010

⁶²North, D. and Syrett, S. (2008). .

⁶³Pugalis, (2017), see page 66).

⁶⁴Sutherland, et al, (2010)

⁶⁵See for example, ALGAR Projects (2005).

7. Personalised service delivery

Once the challenge of engaging clients in local services has been overcome, provision is most effective where support is sufficiently well-resourced to be individually tailored and joined-up, making the link between organisations and clients as efficient and user-friendly as possible. Research suggests that national community planning priorities in Scotland have a degree of flexibility to be able to develop area-based initiatives that are “interpreted and implemented locally”⁶⁶.

8. Skilled regeneration frontline workers

Given their crucial role in delivering a personalised service and building relationships with clients, frontline staff should be empathetic, good communicators, familiar with the local area and skilled at partnership working and networking⁶⁷.

9. Effective employer engagement

Effective engagement with employers to determine their needs and availability of jobs for local residents is highly important in tackling deprivation because spatial concentration of exclusion from the labour market continues⁶⁸. The benefits of employer engagement can be maximised by encouraging the public sector to support the local economy through procurement and employment, by focussing on quality rather than quantity of employer relationships, by the provision of appropriately skilled liaison staff, and, by exploring the potential of community based economic initiatives⁶⁹.

10. Ability to measure improvements in local area

Research suggests that the necessity of taking a broader or more holistic approach to area-based regeneration makes evaluation more complex to evaluate and “raised concerns about existing models for capturing outcomes”⁷⁰. It is important that appropriate evaluation and measurement indicators are developed to determine whether interventions are working and making a difference⁷¹. Measurement should be regular and make use of local data as well as national indicators, baseline analysis and commitment to principles such as evaluability⁷².

⁶⁶ Pemberton (2015) (see page 11)

⁶⁷ Sutherland, et al, (2010)

⁶⁸ Rae (2012).

⁶⁹ Meadows, (2008); Sutherland, et al, (2010)

⁷⁰ Pugalis (2013, page 618)

⁷¹ Foden, et al, (2010); Fordham, et al, (2010); Pugalis, (2013)

⁷² Brunner, et al, (2017)

Consultee views

Individual consultations were held with 18 experienced practitioners and activists involved in economic regeneration in Scotland. The main perspectives were organised around 12 questions (Annex D) used in all the consultations. It is worth noting at the outset that there are relatively few comments about rural and town centre regeneration. Economic regeneration is a highly contested term with limited consensus as to its meaning, often used interchangeably with economic development. One of the first questions posed to interviewees was therefore: “What is regeneration?”:

*“Regeneration is the overall process which sees the renewal of a system. It is about concerted social, economic and physical **action to help people, often, but not always, in areas experiencing multiple deprivation**, reversing decline and creating sustainable communities.”*

*“Regeneration implies that there is decline that needs to be addressed and promote the economic status of the community, **starting from an asset-led position** and focus on the potential for economic and social development and done so **holistically**.”*

*“Regeneration of the wider economy, **as opposed to specific neighbourhoods**. Without this, there is no significant and sustainable change.”*

(Excerpts from interviews – emphasis added)

What is economic regeneration?	How would we recognise economic regeneration if we could see it?	Are there good examples of economic regeneration?
- The need to address the factors that had led to the decline of the area in the first instance. - The regeneration process is instrumental in creating new sustainable economic activity to replace what had been lost during the period of decline. - The need to improve the attractiveness of areas so that not only would they retain households but bring new ones in to help drive on with the regeneration of the area. - The importance of economic regeneration	- There would simply be more activity and areas would exude a confident air, but this would also be reflected in economic indicators, including private sector investment levels. - Regenerated areas would look better in terms of the quality of buildings, housing and general physical environment. - Regenerated areas would be more popular and so there would be queues for housing rather than empty houses, and similarly for business premises and retail	- The importance of local economic development agencies, such as those evident around the UK, including: Glasgow (e.g. Glasgow’s Local Economic Development Agencies: now closed), Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds and Bristol. - The importance of flagship regeneration projects focused, at least initially, on physical regeneration in high profile areas (e.g. Dundee and Liverpool Waterfront projects). - The importance of bottom up approaches to regeneration for small

encompassing physical, economic and social renewal of an area. • It was important to identify areas of economic opportunity and then build effective 'bridges' between areas of opportunity and areas of need. These 'bridges' would involve physical infrastructure but also educational skills and similar investments.	outlets. • The best way to find out that an area has been regenerated is to talk to people living in the area, including those engaged in community groups.	areas (e.g. Castlemilk) and town centre regenerations (e.g. Barrhead, Ardrossan, and Wigtown).
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Table 2: Consultee Responses to Definitional Questions

* Responses are based on respondents' 'perceptions' rather than empirical 'evidence', and should be viewed within this context.

In the context of the above quotes taken from consultees and Table 2 providing a summary of their views on what constitutes economic regeneration in Scotland, it is apparent that economic regeneration is "characterized by conflicting perspectives that do not [always] speak to or with each other"⁷³, including disagreement of the required focus on neighbourhoods or wider economy. There is also a tension between policy certainty versus the advantages of local policy customisation, in terms of whether a local discretionary approach requires latitude in definition and coverage, or whether 'rational' national policy requires specific definitions of scope and coverage.

The range of perspectives on what constitutes successful economic regeneration echoes the predominant view that it relates to "entrenched and intertwined social, economic, and environmental issues"⁷⁴, with an emphasis on social and community aspects of regeneration⁷⁵, to provide a self-sustaining cycle of economic progress.

There has been an increasing focus in the UK since the 1970s, with tackling increasing geographical concentrations of deprivation largely resulting from adverse structural economic shocks (e.g. de-industrialisation). There are different views and approaches to tackling economic regeneration and deprivation, where Table 3 provides a summary of respondents' views on the essential ingredients of successful regeneration and what needs to happen to be successful.

⁷³ Feiock, R. C. (2002). (see page 123)

⁷⁴ Pugalís, L. (2013) (see page 617).

⁷⁵ Percy, R. (2001)

The variation in responses include:

*“A holistic rounded vision. There must be a long run commitment and a willingness to **focus on the towns left behind**”*

*“Investment needs to go to the **areas where it will work best in terms of long term returns**. Effective regeneration requires a whole state approach and **not just a discrete project**”*

*“To involve local people and ask what it is they want and what they feel needs to change...provide **authentic community ‘buy in’ (if not ownership)** to flexible and creative responses in identifying and **building on local assets** relevant to local needs”.*

(Excerpts from interviews – emphasis added)

What are the essential ingredients in the examples of successful regeneration?	Why do we not see more successful examples?
• Community support and buy in. It is really important to ask and keep on asking local people what it is they want and what do they feel needs to change. • A sustained effort over a long period of time is critical, and Greater Manchester is a good example of this as well Leith where regeneration efforts date back to the mid-1980s. • The regeneration process needs to be managed and led, and engage all the key organisations whose input is needed to create sustainable regeneration. • The process needs to be driven by a clear vision for the area or areas being regenerated and a number of strategic objectives that need to be fulfilled before the vision can be realised. • Transport and connectivity are critical, both to raise the attractiveness of private sector investment of a locality, but also to connect poorer neighbourhoods to areas of employment opportunity. • Proximity to major assets, such as developable land, are key factors. • Overall management of the regeneration process is best placed in the hands of a regeneration vehicle such as a	• Too many regeneration initiatives lack a vision which is sufficiently well scoped out to guide the process. • Regeneration is a very long term process – politicians, and consequently those that work to politicians - are more interested in quick wins. There are no quick wins in the regeneration business. • Regeneration needs sustained levels of investment from the public sector over a long period of time to create the conditions whereby private developers will come in and continue and hopefully accelerate the investment process. When there are crises in public finances, all forms of public investment tend to suffer because they are postponable. • Too many regeneration approaches are essentially top-down. Despite rhetoric about community engagement, too often this is not carried out with any sense of commitment. • The economic forces which have led many urban and rural areas to fall into decline are often ongoing structural changes. This means regeneration initiatives are having to run very hard to match and overcome the drivers of decline. • In relation to rural locations, infrastructure investments of all kinds, (for example,

development company of some kind or another, as large partnerships trying to work in a coordination basis don't meet the bill.	transport, digital, housing, etc) are absolutely central to the process – but look costly from a Scottish government viewpoint.
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Table 3: Consultee Responses regarding essential ingredients and 'what is required for success?'

* Responses are based on respondents 'perceptions' rather than empirical 'evidence' and should be viewed within this context.

Having considered the latest evidence on economic regeneration and area-based approaches, alongside practitioners' perceptions of economic regeneration in practice, the following section draws upon the range of research instruments to ask what do we know about what works in economic regeneration, to help identify key generalisable themes.

3. What can we say from case studies about ‘what works’ in economic regeneration in Scotland?

The previous section provided a sense of what works in the existing evidence and the extent to which we can discern reliable findings from that body of work. In this section of the report, the focus is on the case studies introduced in the first section of the report. The case studies are set within their specific context, before highlighting the main lessons and challenges faced. The section also notes the key points made by our consultant interviews; though more perceptual and illustrative, the interview evidence is used as a form of ‘sense checking’ rather than representing more formal and rigorous evidence. It is also worth reiterating that the Clyde Gateway case study has been sufficiently long-lived to allow for the observation of delivery outcomes, whereas the other two more contemporary and recent case studies, provide greater opportunity for insight of policy process effectiveness in the context of working with the current grain of regeneration thinking by Scottish Government.

Physical-led regeneration

There has been substantial political and financial investment by the Scottish Government in Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs) since their establishment in 2004. Clyde Gateway URC (see Annex C) was one of the last URCs to be established (and now the only one remaining), now eight years into its 20-year programme.

The regeneration of the Clyde Gateway is a 20-year approach and the case study has been undertaken at the mid-point of its timeframe. Strong progress has been made since 2007 but this is only the half way stage of the 20-year programme of regeneration. The positive physical, economic and social change aspired to means that continued commitment and resources are needed to lever in further business and housing investment (particularly from the private sector) and facilitate partnership working that can bring about the sustainable improvements to the education, health and wellbeing and employment in the Clyde Gateway’s communities. However, justifying the application of such a dedicated and resource intensive approach to a number of localities across Scotland is becoming increasingly difficult when other disadvantaged areas are demanding investment and public sector funding budgets are under increasing pressure.

The ‘what works’ in terms of economically regenerating the Clyde Gateway is largely known and the ‘what works’ features need to continue being implemented – but in a more financially self-sustaining model. In the coming year(s), Clyde Gateway URC and partners need to continue developing the financially self-sufficient model that it now has in place. This includes generating more income itself (e.g. through land sales and commercial rents) and maximising the value of existing community assets. With a financially sustainable model

in place, the ‘what works’ from a 20-year project being fully implemented can hopefully be seen and evidenced in 10-15 years’ time.

Community-led regeneration

The Broomhill case study represents a focus on a housing-led regeneration project involving a distinct community asset-based approach. The asset-based community development approach using co-production as a way of effectively agreeing outcomes and activities for the area, show early indications of improved community cohesion and reduced anti-social behavior. However, although the physical investment programme is nearing completion, the achievement of wider social and economic outcomes over the long-term are still relatively unknown. Therefore, the future success of improving the social outcomes for the residents of the area will rely much upon a continued commitment to a focused approach for Broomhill, through on-going work with the community beyond the investment programme.

Key to the project’s current success has been the alignment of ambitions with surrounding strategies and policies, achieving wider stakeholder buy-in. Over the longer-term, the ongoing commitment of stakeholders to facilitating and resourcing a dedicated Broomhill approach will be key to its success. The continued focus on community outcomes over and above the physical investment, is being supported by a dedicated community development worker. The ability to leverage additional resources beyond the physical investment programme is key to future on-going community development focus.

Town centre-led regeneration

The Bute Island Alliance (BIA) case study represents a focus on a small town centre-led regeneration project, largely steered by community aspiration and involvement. The project is still in the relatively early stages in terms of producing long-term outcomes. However, as is often the case with many regeneration projects, achieving effective engagement between community and public sector agencies can be challenging, and key to achieving sustainable regeneration outcomes. Aside from an initial lack of community and stakeholder resistance concerning the project, considerable local community, political and policy commitment for the area has been achieved, ultimately ensuring an open, enthusiastic and proactive engagement process across a range of key stakeholders.

A substantial part of the work in Rothesay has also been the facilitation provided via SURF, in overcoming and promoting increased cross-sector collaboration and enhanced mutual understanding of respective perspectives, priorities and capacities. Indeed, the committed, collaborative participation of the local authority in supporting community-led regeneration has been a particular outcome for the project, as well as involvement of wider partners and networks. As a result, the BIA will be integral to achieving Argyll and Bute Council’s (ABC) continuing efforts to improve community engagement as a priority for the

area⁷⁶, building on community involvement towards growing the communities previous lack of trust.

Going forward, aside from the extensive efforts of the project to grow community and wider stakeholder involvement, a clearer set of KPIs (key performance indicators) and governance arrangements for the BIA will be required, to ensure a sustainable strategic focus on delivery over the longer term and to ensure a clearly articulated, transparent and aligned strategy with wider public policy and strategies for the area as a whole.

A summary of the common characteristics associated with the three case studies are summarised in Table 4 below.

Common characteristics across Bute, Broomhill and Clyde Gateway case studies				
Socio-economic challenges	Community-engagement approach	Project challenges	What is working	Future challenges
Falling population	Early engagement/consultation with local community	Overcoming initial scepticism	Holistic approach to a long-term commitment	Maintaining long-term commitment
Larger proportion of adults with no qualifications	Community focussed strategy	Lack of previous projects to build experience from	Initial leverage funding	Leveraging future funding in a tight funding environment
Low levels of economic activity	Ongoing consultation and community involvement		Lead organisation	Maintaining area-based focus in light of needs of other areas
Large number of Jobseekers Allowance (JSA) claimants	Overcoming community resistance		Political and wider stakeholder involvement	Sustaining profile and interest
Large number of out-of-work claimants	Achieving community ownership/involvement		Community engagement strategy focus	Evidencing long-term economic and social impacts attributed to the approach
			Strategic alignment with wider policies and strategies	

Table 4: Case Study Common Characteristics

⁷⁶ Audit Scotland Best Value Review of Argyll and Bute Council, (2015).

What is working in the case studies

Clyde Gateway

The Clyde Gateway approach is a 20-year project and this case study has been completed approaching the mid-point of that timeframe. One cannot be definitive on what works but there are features of the approach taken that can be identified as ‘working’ in bringing about sustainable economic regeneration. Beginning with the **wider ‘what works’ features** across the whole Clyde Gateway approach:

- **Holistic vision of regeneration** – the vision of all partners has been to bring about the physical, economic *and* social transformation of the area. Each of the three strategic goals are of equal importance and the success of the Clyde Gateway approach is dependent on progress being made across all of these.
- **Long-term commitment** – to achieve the vision for the Clyde Gateway given the levels of contaminated and derelict land and its longstanding socio-economic challenges, a long-term commitment was required. All partners agreed and supported the 20-year timeframe.
- **Substantial levels of funding** – to address the challenges outlined above requires substantial levels of investment. Already approaching £1 billion has been invested in the Clyde Gateway.
- **Early catalysts and wins** – to build momentum and demonstrate that the Clyde Gateway approach was a force for good, there were a number of early developments that helped secure local community support and act as catalysts for further change. Most notably these developments included the M74 extension, the East End Regeneration Route and the Emirates Arena and Velodrome. Alongside these large-scale developments, local communities much valued small-scale ‘early wins’ such as the public realm and shop frontage works in Bridgeton.

More specifically, with respect to **Clyde Gateway URC**:

- **Clear lead organisation** – Clyde Gateway URC was specifically established as the lead organisation in the delivery of the *Clyde Gateway Business Plan*. Furthermore, it was established by the other key public sector partners (i.e. Scottish Government, GCC, SLC and SE) and they handed the ultimate responsibility for the Clyde Gateway’s regeneration to the URC with its strategic goals and targets agreed from the very outset.
- **High quality and committed people** – from Board level down throughout the organisation, Clyde Gateway URC is widely seen by partners to have high quality people in place who are all committed to achieving the positive change aspired to.
- **Excellent partnership workers** – from Board level down throughout the organisation, there is recognition that Clyde Gateway URC is not only a land and property developer but also a facilitator and enabler of positive change. It therefore

invests significant time and resources to help build and maintain strong relationships across public, private and third sector partners.

- **Effective and meaningful involvement of its communities** – learning from the legacy of the GEAR project, Clyde Gateway URC wants to be viewed as part of the community. In the main its collaborative approach is widely praised by the Clyde Gateway's communities. The communities recognise that Clyde Gateway URC has no agenda other than to achieve positive change in the area and, to achieve that, working in partnership with the community is needed.
- **Keen to learn from elsewhere** – from the initial work undertaken in 2007 to develop the right URC model for the area, Clyde Gateway URC has always been keen to learn from other regeneration projects and from academics and policymakers in related fields to ensure that it is adopting best practice where it exists.
- **Informed, evidence-based decisions** –Clyde Gateway URC has consistently sought to have the evidence base in place to support decision-making. It invests time and resources to ensure it has the most robust socio-economic indicators available for the Clyde Gateway. It commissions external research studies and it is keen to learn from good practice examples elsewhere.
- **Prepared to be a pioneer** – Clyde Gateway URC is also prepared to be a pioneer in adopting new approaches. An example of this is its use of Community Benefit Clauses. Clyde Gateway URC has embraced them, incorporating them as 'business as usual', and is advancing their use in terms of making their delivery mandatory, hence creating opportunities for local SMEs and social enterprises.

As noted earlier, Clyde Gateway is still only around half way through a 20-year programme of regeneration, with a continued need for commitment and resources to lever in further business and housing investment, as well as resources to improve further health, qualification and skill levels.

Bute/Rothesay

Focusing first on the broader Alliance for Action (AFA) approach, one should recognise the repeated success of the SURF model and its positive impact regarding community engagement, involvement, design, leverage and ownership of town planning of the Rothesay area. Key **success features** across the overall SURF AFA approach, can be identified:

- **Facilitating the community engagement** process and improving community capacity, an approach that has now received wider programmatic government support
- **Progressing the guiding principles** emerging from the community engagement process
- **Access to established networks** of national organisations
- **Better connecting the community** with public sector organisations of interest
- **Securing charrette funding** from Scottish Government

- **Catalyst for change** - as the work of the Rothesay AFA concluded with the establishment of the Bute Island Alliance (BIA), the process led to the development of a similar approach for Dunoon and completion of a feasibility study in August 2016.

The key features of the Bute Island Alliance Charrette are sustainable community involvement combined with a holistic approach to town centre development which seeks to maximise the opportunities for community participation.. Indeed, the BIA Charrette is thought to be one of the largest community engagement projects in the area in recent years, capturing the ambitions for the town's future development potential. Key **'what works' features** relating to the Rothesay BIA specifically include:

- **Clear leadership remit and lead/impartial organisation** – SURF was initially appointed to initiate and lead the establishment of AFA and the development of the charrette and eventual BIA. A key advantage was their impartial, non-political nature; ability to bring together disparate voluntary/community groups; ability to facilitate bridging of public and private sector bodies into constructive dialogue; clarity of purpose on driving things forward; and clear national and local public sector support for SURF's involvement.
- **Clarify of purpose** - A key element was the formal constitution and branding of the AFA through the publication of a 'declaration of intent for Rothesay', helping to increase the visibility and credibility of the process, leveraging in additional involvement of other agencies and community.
- **High quality and committed people** – feasibility work identified key constraints relating to community capacity and lack of leadership for driving things forward. From the start of the process, there was Highlands and Islands Enterprise and ABC commitment for the establishment of a AFA, with the appointment of a SURF officer to lead the work. At the Steering Group level, the community representatives and national partners all expressed commitment, which facilitated the ability to leverage funding for the establishment of the BIA and eventual hand-over.
- **Seedcorn/catalytic funding** - was initially contributed by HIE, which acted to leverage funding from further sources, including the Scottish Government and the council.
- **Connectivity/partnership working across key agencies and partnerships.**
- **Meaningful community involvement** – learning from SURF's earlier work on the AFA meant SURF emphasised the importance of putting the communities' ambitions at the forefront of the planning process for a town plan, and as such, enhanced their credibility with the community and facilitated community involvement in project events.
- **Committed community** – there was strong sense of commitment for 'doing something different' for Rothesay from the outset of the AFA process. A key asset in

the area was an already active community. Locally-based facilitation was also important to the process.

- **Learning from elsewhere** – from the earlier work from SURF’s AFA and from the work of the feasibility study, SURF was keen to draw upon and build on previous SURF-funded research into the availability of, access to, and use of, community regeneration resources by initiatives and individuals in previous case study areas.

Broomhill, Greenock

In 2014, Riverclyde Homes (RCH) agreed to commit £26 million to the regeneration of the Broomhill area. The evolving Broomhill investment plans are regularly updated at the Inverclyde Alliance (IA) Community Planning Partnership (CPP) meetings, who highlighted “the need to better assess the requirements of the local community in line with investment plans”, to help plan and prioritise activities and resources to target those in most need. RCH ambitions for a community-centred approach to its investment programme include:

- Raising the profile of a community-centred approach to social housing investment.
- Developing community involvement of residents in the area, including progressing volunteering, mentoring, art classes and improvements to the overall management of the area.
- Achieving improved employability through the use of Community Benefit Clauses during their investment programme, as well as improving the delivery of neighbourhood services (e.g. cleaning; environmental objectives etc).

Key **effective features** across the RCH approach, can be identified:

- **Distinct community strategy and focus on measuring outcomes** – the strategic ambitions for a community-centred approach to the planned investment in Broomhill resulted in the development of the Getting It Right for Broomhill (GiRfB) strategy in 2016. A key priority for the strategy is to improve outcomes and reduce inequalities for those living in Broomhill, with the aims and objectives of the GiRfB strategy aligned to Inverclyde’s CPP structures.
- **Development of new strategic partnerships** – in partnership with House Mark, the project has promoted key innovations for house building in the social housing sector, through its energy partnership and centralised heating system, promoting RCH as a leader in smart house building technology.
- **Strengthened partnership working** – the role of community wardens and the police have been valuable in dealing with the legacy of anti-social behaviour (ASB) associated with the area. The creation of a drop-in service at the local office and a communications strategy has been key to relationship-building and rebuilding trust with the community
- **Strengthening links with the community through engagement** – The Arts Project has been successful in helping to build relationships with the community and ensure

the community is at the centre of investment decisions, helping boost the community's confidence 'that change can happen' and Broomhill can have a prosperous future.

- **Widening community and third sector involvement** – A key outcome from the successful Arts Project in Broomhill and partnership between RIG Arts and RCH was that socially-engaged arts projects can be used to demonstrate how “positive partnership engagement on creative projects can provide a positive impact on the relationship between the community and places”. The project evolved into a larger, more ambitious programme of community engagement and workshops, and also helped secure additional funding from Creative Scotland, RCH and British Gas over 2016-18.⁷⁷
- **Strategic alignment with wider policies and strategies** – as a result of the GiRfB approach being embedded within IA CPP structures and aligned with Inverclyde's CPP objectives⁷⁸, the opportunity for greater stakeholder buy-in and engagement on the strategy across Inverclyde is thought to have been achieved.
- **Seedcorn funding helping to leverage additional resources** – the planned spend on physical investment in Broomhill amounting to £26million of direct public funding over a three-year period up to 2017, is thought to have helped leverage wider additional resources and funding for community-based projects. A dedicated community development officer is thought to be key to leveraging future funding to help progress a set of planned initiatives in line with the GiRfB strategy.

The in-depth case studies suggest, despite their diversity, a number of common themes. First of all, the centrality of a holistic approach to regeneration embedded in a long-term commitment. Clyde Gateway is clear that it takes generations to turn an area round in a sustainable way. The political system needs to support and facilitate that longevity over several electoral cycles; otherwise, we will be doomed to repeat programmes. Second, the initial leverage funding of regeneration is critical, not least because it provides purpose, opportunity and scale. Third, the three case studies point to the importance of leadership, both personal and, critically, in the form of the lead accountable organisation. Fourth, there must be genuine and sustained political and wider stakeholder involvement which reflects both a strategic focus on genuine and lasting community engagement, and thought-through and credible alignment with wider strategic policies.

Table 5, acting as a sense check, provides a summary of the responses from the interviews with individual practitioners and activists to questions concerning what needs to happen in future approaches to regeneration.

⁷⁷ Icecream Architecture. A Vision of a Creative Inverclyde: DRAFT. (Nov 2016)

⁷⁸ Inverclyde Alliance Single Outcome Agreement 2013 – 2017 Inverclyde Together (June 2013)

What are the main things that need to happen to do better going forward?

- To sustain a regeneration effort over the long term – and only in the long term can this be successful – there needs to be policy stability and political consensus about the need for regeneration and about the best way to bring it about.
- At the outset there needs to be a process whereby a clear vision and strategic objectives are set out for the regeneration of a specific area – and all key stakeholders including, very importantly, communities need to be involved in the process of generating the vision and objectives, and a plan for achieving these.
- Someone needs to be responsible for managing the regeneration process which involves coordinating the efforts of the key players whose services and investment resources are needed to realise the objectives and vision. A number of consultees favour this process being managed through a bespoke regeneration vehicle. The advantages here are seen to be the capability to make more intelligent investment decisions, and to make these more quickly.
- Investment in key physical infrastructure is essential to stimulate subsequent private sector investment.
- The community must be much more involved at various stages of the process. As regeneration is in large measure ostensibly intended for their benefit, they need to be consulted on what they feel is needed in their area and what needs to be changed in order to bring this about.
- There also needs to be an ongoing dialogue with developers and employers so that a sound economy is being built within the area to be regenerated, but more appropriately in the best locations for creating sustainable economic development with transportation infrastructure linking areas of opportunity and need.
- All the major relevant service providers (education, skills, health, housing, etc) need to be brought together to create a coordinated service improvement plan which will support the regeneration process on an ongoing basis.
- The power of public procurement of capital works and services needs to be mobilised to provide momentum to the regeneration process, and to maximise the targeting of opportunities for employment, for small businesses and for social enterprises in or close to regeneration areas.
- Local assets of all kinds need to be identified, built up and built upon to create a base for sustainable regeneration. This means investing in community based organisations as well as physical projects – and should include investing in raising the capacity of key service providers.
- Specifically in relation to town centre regeneration, there is advocacy for the ‘town centre first’ approach. For example, if a public facility (such as a police station) is being constructed the town centre should be the default location.
- In relation to rural regeneration, the feeling was that there is insufficient evidence base in terms of what works and what does not work, so regeneration decisions tend to be based on flimsy foundations.

Table 5: Consultees Responses: What is required to improve?

The people interviewed were asked how best resources should be allocated for economic regeneration, suggesting:

- the focus should be on those areas most in need
- target areas with significant need but where there are realistic opportunities for economic development

- the need for a small number of transparent criteria to prioritise key issues: economic opportunity; quality of local partnerships; agency commitment; identify strategic objectives

Both the consultees and delegates from the June 2017 workshop also indicated common ‘what works’ lessons for economic regeneration:

- There has to be genuine and maintained community support and buy-in, to enable overcoming any community scepticism from the outset.
- The required long-term effort needs to be balanced by a stable political, strategic and operational environment.
- The regeneration project needs to be strongly and consistently managed and led by a dedicated regeneration vehicle across all participating agencies, and to do so requires a clear vision of what is achievable and shared.
- In many settings, the private sector and its investment role should be supported and facilitated, for example, through supporting transport and connectivity, which are often critical for private sector investment.
- An assessment of an area’s proximity and availability of major assets must be undertaken at an early stage in planning (e.g. developable land is critical).
- As well as the leaders and ‘experts’ working to a shared goal, we also need the key frontline professionals in schools, the NHS and social work, to name just three, to be fully on board.
- A long-term approach and commitment to baselining, evaluation and measurement must be built into the process of strategic planning for the area, in order to continue to assess what is and is not working.

4. Future of economic regeneration

So far, the report has highlighted both the difficult context for area-based economic regeneration in Scotland and the different methods used to build a picture of past lessons and current practice. We turn now to the future of economic regeneration in Scotland.

Table 6 provides a summary of respondents' views when asked about the future of economic regeneration.

What are the main things that need to happen to do better going forward?	Who needs to take the prime responsibility for making these happen?
• To sustain a regeneration effort over the long-term there needs to be policy stability and political consensus about the need for regeneration and about the best way to bring it about. • There needs to be a clear vision and strategic objectives for the regeneration of a specific area – and all key stakeholders, including communities, need to be involved in the process of generating the vision and objectives, and a plan for achieving these. • Someone needs to be responsible for managing the regeneration process which involves coordinating the efforts of the key players whose services and investment resources are needed to realise the objectives and vision. A number of consultees favour this process being managed through a bespoke regeneration vehicle. The advantages here are seen to be the capability to make more intelligent investment decisions, and to make these more quickly. • Investment in key physical infrastructure is essential to stimulate subsequent private sector investment. • The community must be much more involved at various stages of the process. As regeneration is in large measure ostensibly intended for their benefit, they need to be consulted on what they feel is needed in their area and what needs to be changed in order to bring this about. • There also needs to be an ongoing dialogue with developers and employers so that a	• The lead players will depend on the nature of the area being regenerated. For example, in inner city areas it will be essential to engage major private investors, large businesses, universities, local authorities and head offices of government and its agencies. • The natural lead organisations are the local authorities. They are geographically close to communities, businesses, the infrastructure – and have a central role in community planning partnerships. They also have important planning powers. The Scottish Government is the lead player. It leads the development of policy and strategy in relation to regeneration, through its resourcing it can influence decisions of many public sector players as well as the actions of key agencies relevant to regeneration such as Scottish Enterprise, Scottish Funding Council and Skills Development Scotland. However, a number of consultees commented on the significant reduction in Scottish Government's contribution to regeneration over a long period of time. This is reflected in the fact that Scotland no longer has a national agency charged with regeneration. • The need to both clarify leadership and find new ways of financing and resourcing regeneration with the significant reduction in financial contribution from the Scottish Government, allied with the competing pressures on declining budgets in local

sound economy is being built within the area to be regenerated, but more appropriately in the best locations for creating sustainable economic development with transportation infrastructure linking areas of opportunity and need. • All the major relevant service providers (education, skills, health, housing, etc) need to be brought together to create a coordinated service improvement plan which will support the regeneration process on an ongoing basis. • The power of public procurement of capital works and services needs to be mobilised to provide momentum to the regeneration process, and to maximise the targeting of opportunities for employment, for small businesses and for social enterprises in or close to regeneration areas. • Local assets of all kinds need to be identified, built up and built upon to create a base for sustainable regeneration. This means investing in community based organisations as well as physical projects – and should include investing in raising the capacity of key service providers. • Specifically in relation to town centre regeneration, there is advocacy for the ‘town centre first’ approach. For example, if a public facility (such as a police station) is being constructed the town centre should be the default location. • In relation to rural regeneration, the feeling was that there is insufficient evidence base in terms of ‘what works’ and what does not work, so regeneration decisions tend to be based on flimsy foundations.	government. • The community needs to be at the centre of the process of driving regeneration. • Get the right balance between top-down and bottom-up leadership of the process to ensure that all key stakeholders are fully engaged.
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Table 6: Consultees Views on Future of Economic Regeneration

* Responses are based on respondents ‘perceptions’ rather than empirical ‘evidence’ and should be viewed within this context.

What are the themes that emerge in terms of future requirements for area-based economic regeneration?

More a challenge for regeneration models than an example of what works, is sustaining financial support over the necessarily long haul that is required to make area-based regeneration work. This is very clearly demonstrated in the Clyde Gateway case study. The URC has a 20-year planned life in a context of completion for scarce public resources.

In practice there is always a danger that policy and political commitment will begin to wane. Why?

- **Increasingly tight funding environment** – all public sector budgets are under increasing pressure and their ability to commit significant amounts of funding over a multi-year period is being reduced. Clyde Gateway URC funding is now typically received on an annual basis only.
- **Balancing needs of other areas** – for councils in particular, there is the challenge of justifying the distinct, targeted approach taken in the Clyde Gateway compared to the mainstream approaches and lower funding levels in other, similarly deprived parts of their local authority areas.
- **Sustaining profile and interest** – for any long-term approach, it is difficult to maintain partner interest. Keeping the Clyde Gateway and the challenges it faces in the spotlight is therefore a key, ongoing priority.
- **Securing localised activities from national partners** – national agencies e.g. Scottish Enterprise, have been key partners with Clyde Gateway but there is a challenge in getting national agencies to commit to a targeted, localised service offer in addition to their national service offer.
- **Evidencing impact** – through Clyde Gateway URC's KPIs, the *achievements* of the Clyde Gateway approach are apparent but the availability of robust statistical data at the local level that evidences socio-economic impact is a real issue. Identifying robust, appropriate data (statistics or research studies) to evidence their wider, socio-economic impact will continue to be a challenge.

Given Clyde Gateway URC's experience, it can be said that the above points are considerable challenges faced by any long term regeneration programme.

The common themes emerging from the range of evidence is summarised below:

Increasing role of the private sector

A lot of the early work of the Clyde Gateway URC was focussed on preparing the site and other conditions that make it more likely private investors can generate a sustainable profit by investing in the area. This reinforces the importance of working with the grain of the regional economy alongside the benefits of complementary investments (e.g. the M74 extension and the Commonwealth Games investments) and investing in the marketing and analysis required to do this well.

Sourcing new funding routes

As public sector resources continue to decline we are likely to be even more dependent than historically on private sector and joint public-private investment in housing, infrastructure and job generation to drive regeneration going forward. Lessons need to be learned about how to make these partnerships work and how to encourage and reassure

the community about the local capture of the benefits of, for example, major physical redevelopments of areas.

Commitment to a holistic process from the outset

By making greater connections between physical investments and social and economic programmes focussed on people, regeneration projects have greater potential for delivering sustainable long-term outcomes. Key to delivering long-term outcomes is ensuring area-based initiatives are linked with wider economic strategies and policies, as well as remaining focussed on people. There must be reassurance from Government and local government that early buy-in is sustainable over multiple electoral cycles. Perhaps, lessons can also be learned from the idea behind interim gateways evaluating city-regional deal performance?

Tailored area-based approach

In the future, regeneration must make tailored interventions to link economic opportunity and the need to address worklessness and deliver sustainable quality employment. This should be supported by simple and aligned funding streams, so as to maximise the impact from mainstream resource by better integration with place-based interventions, while also building on local assets relevant to local needs.

Leadership and facilitation

Strong leadership with clear accountability is vital and should make effective use of partnership working, involving the private sector (but also all relevant partners from all sectors), both in investment, and in shaping ideas and their development but also in following through in terms of operational management, implementation and continuity.

Resources and expertise

The reduction in the numbers of regeneration professionals in recent years cannot be underestimated. Instead, the range of professions and generalists working in the regeneration sector reflects the myriad of different perspectives and fragmented approaches. There needs to be someone responsible for managing the regeneration process, involving the coordination of the efforts of all relevant key players, by bringing together key services and investment resources to help realise and articulate aligned objectives.

The role of communities

Community needs to be at the centre of the process of driving future regeneration, consistent with the growing role of local deliberative democracy and participation via community empowerment and participatory budgeting policy emphasis in Scotland.

Therefore, the report raises some key questions concerning the future delivery of economic regeneration policy in Scotland.

First, it is hard to deliver economic regeneration where there is currently a lack of shared knowledge and understanding of how best economic development policy should be delivered (i.e. people-centred; development-centred) and what constitutes success:

Is it time for a new revised economic regeneration strategy for Scotland, to help clarify: what should be measured; how should it be measured; who is best placed to measure project outcomes?

Second, a complex, diverse environment of economic development policy delivery and constantly changing institutional and funding infrastructure across Scotland can be seen to be continuing to inhibit the delivery of a long-run approach to policy:

Who is best placed to deal with the persistent nature of area-based deprivation and market failure?

Third, the increasing diversity of funding mechanisms and increasing role of the private sector in the delivery of economic development is apparent across all three case studies, continuing the environment of complex funding and delivery mechanisms, making it increasingly difficult for communities to attain resources in an already reduced funding environment.

Are the long-run implications and impact of the apparent shifting burden towards a private-led model of delivering economic regeneration in Scotland fully understood?

How do we achieve a balanced mix of both private and public-led economic regeneration?

Fourth, an earlier What Works Scotland review⁷⁹ indicates that there is little evidence that partnership working makes a difference. The research findings here suggests the combined engagement between national (i.e. national agencies including Scottish Government (SG), Scottish Enterprise (SE) and Skills Development Scotland (SDS)) and local agencies (i.e. local authorities, community, third sector and community planning partners) remains key to the successful delivery of area-based approaches, for sourcing seedcorn funding, evaluating

⁷⁹ Partnership Working Across UK Public Services <http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/publications/partnership-working-across-uk-public-services>

outcomes, and setting the appropriate strategic direction in line with both regional and national priorities.

Should we be considering a single delivery agency to lead on economic regeneration policy in Scotland, given the above context of complex funding and multiple agencies?

5. Conclusions

Economic regeneration, broadly defined, relates to the importance of tackling the causes of economic decline through the development of targeted area-based regeneration strategies. Area-based approaches to regeneration in Scotland have been positioned as an effective method for tackling concentrations of poverty, based largely on an understanding of self-reinforcing processes of area deprivation.

This report for What Works Scotland in partnership with the University of Glasgow's Training and Employment Research Unit (TERU) and the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF), has sought to share insights for future learning regarding the use of area-based regeneration approaches to tackling physical, economic and social deprivation.

Main messages

- Despite much research on different aspects of area-based regeneration in the last 20 years and more, the evidence base remains patchy and conclusions provisional at best. Large-scale evidence reviews have found housing-led investments to be significant (if often modest in scale) across a range of outcome domains but often with associated costs (e.g. gentrification and displacement).
- Local and national context matters: economic development and regeneration are not statutory functions, but instead compete for resource and priority across different local authority spending headings in a context of austerity and delivery challenge. Nonetheless, and in partnership with national bodies and other local institutions and communities, local government is normally critical to the success of area-based initiatives.
- Long-term commitment and capacity – for regeneration to be truly effective may well take decades. It needs to be planned, resourced and supported politically on this basis. Otherwise problems will re-emerge and without political commitment and consensus over multiple electoral cycles, the most pressing difficulties will remain unresolved. This is in part a natural function of seemingly constant change in our institutions and the policies that impact on regeneration. This cannot help a process that requires long-term commitment, and stability of support frameworks and resource inputs.
- Blended funding and delivery mechanisms: within an environment of reduced public sector funding, there is evidence that supports the value of a diversity of funding to resource regeneration activity; the increasing role of communities and the involvement of the private sector were apparent in the delivery of economic development across all three case studies;
- Simplify strategic, governance and economic regeneration delivery mechanisms: there is a lack of shared knowledge and understanding of how best economic development policy should be delivered (i.e. people-centred; development-centred)

and what constitutes success (i.e. what should be measured; how it should be measured). Simplification of Scotland's strategic approach and institutional arrangements is required, to achieve a consistent and transparent approach across all levels of government.

- Provide greater facilitation of the community-agency policy development and implementation process: the importance of leadership in delivering successful regeneration projects is apparent, through the role of independent area-based agencies in facilitating and driving the regeneration opportunity (i.e. based outside of government structures).
- Promote simplified, community-centred, innovative funding models: within the context of reduced public sector funding and greater focus on private funding opportunities, there is the need to maintain the appropriate focus on funding for 'people' as opposed to 'places'. More research and evidence is required on funding opportunities that maximize the facilitation of both physical and people centred funding models, including greater mandatory use of Community Benefits Clauses.

These conclusions are consistent with those highlighted in the 2011 Christie Commission (which remains central to the Scottish Government's public service reform agenda, including for place-based economic regeneration). The 'neighbourhood' rhetoric, alongside city-wide partnerships/City Deals and metro-level physical investment partnerships in Scotland, are set to continue the context of cluttered institutional governance of economic regeneration policy, perpetuating the climate of poor "coherence and coordination" and a continued climate of "multiple points of authority and control"⁸⁰.

Furthermore, the continued environment of austerity, reduced public sector funding and emphasis on private-led funding models, represents a focus on funding 'places' as opposed to 'people'. As a result, there is the potential risk of continuing the persistent gap in socio-economic disparities across small deprived areas in Scotland. The "promotion of localism and community-led initiatives in Scotland", alongside "responsibility dumping to local authorities"⁸¹ also has potential to reinforce economic inequalities and unequal power relationships across Scotland's economic development sector, emphasising the need for a prioritisation of structural and institutional stability in Scotland.

Overall, consistent with the findings of recent academic evidence⁸², policy convergence during the current context of constitutional change in Scotland, provides an opportunity to radicalise Scotland's community regeneration approach and declutter the complex delivery environment facing local government. Given the context of persistent and complex nature of issues of area economic decline, the research supports the view that Scotland's predominant area-based regeneration approach, albeit important, should be used in

⁸⁰ Refer to page 68 of the Christie Commission (2011).

⁸¹ McGuinness, D., P. Greenhalgh, and L. Pugalís. (2015). (refer to page 33).

⁸² Milne, A., & Rankine, D. (2013).

conjunction with, and in addition to, a range of policies that both directly target place and people.

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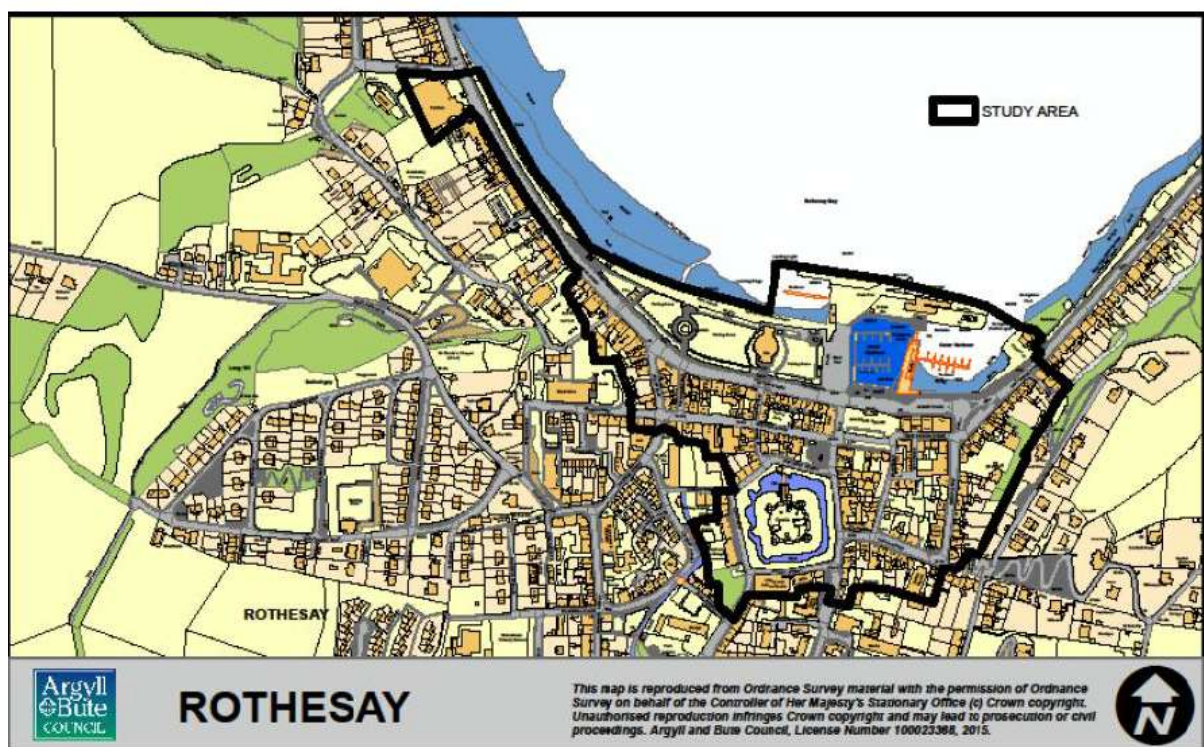
Annex A: Bute Island Alliance (BIA) Case Study

Originating from the Scottish Urban Regeneration Forum (SURF) Alliance for Action (AFA) partnership-based community engagement process, SURF was originally commissioned by the Highland and Islands Enterprise (HIE) to undertake a feasibility study in 2014⁸³ on the establishment of an AFA in Rothesay on the Isle of Bute.

A local stakeholder group was formally constituted in 2015 to provide a focus for collaboration across the Bute community, focused on the town centre of Rothesay and including its historic core extending to the Pavilion Townscape Heritage Initiative (THI) (Figure A1).

The Bute Island Alliance (BIA) Charette⁸⁴ was formally established as a SCIO (Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organisation) in 2016.

Figure A1: The location and scope of Rothesay Alliance Charrette



Source: Rothesay Charrette Proposal. SURF (2015: 3).

⁸³ Feasibility Study commissioned by Highlands & Islands Enterprise (HIE), 'Exploring an Alliance for Action for Rothesay, SURF (2014)

⁸⁴ Constitution of Bute Island Alliance SCIO

Annex B: Getting it Right for Broomhill (GiRB) Case Study

As part of River Clyde Homes (RCH)⁸⁵ package of £26million planned investment in the regeneration of the Broomhill area of Greenock (see Figure B1)⁸⁶, Inverclyde's Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) Programme Board (May 2015) requested the development of a community-based development strategy (i.e. Getting it Right for Broomhill - GiRB) to be delivered to coincidence with investment planned in the area over a three-year period.

The Single Outcome Agreement (SOA) Programme Board's intent was to ensure the local community were part of the wider planning of RCH's regeneration investment approach, by designing services and early community-based interventions with a focus on community development, underpinned by the principles of: Locality Planning; Asset-based community development; Theory of change; Co-production⁸⁷.

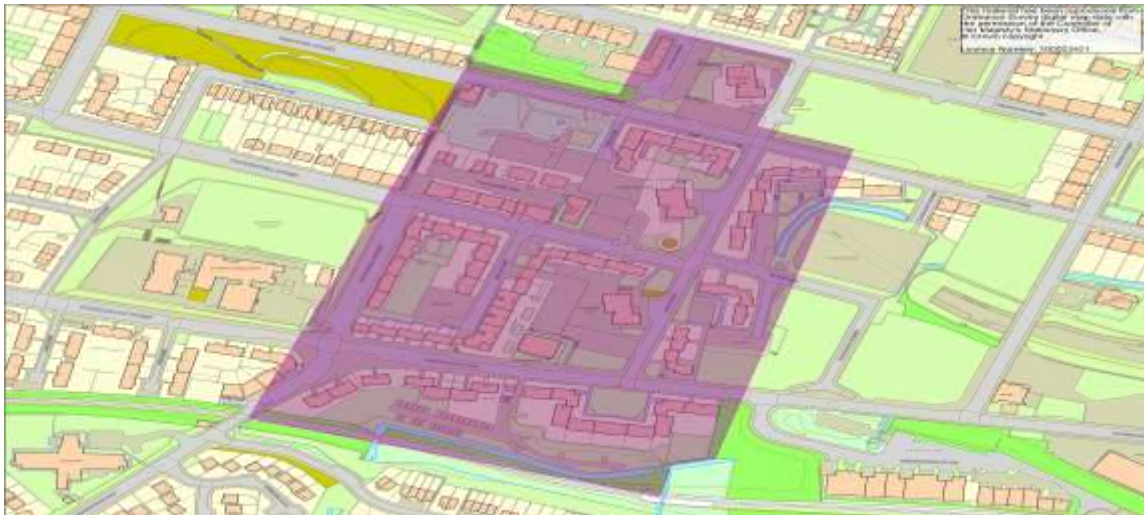


Figure B1: Broomhill Area

Source: Broomhill Area Reassurance Initiative Inverclyde Community Safety Partnership, (2016: 1)

⁸⁵ Inverclyde-based Housing Association

⁸⁶ The Broomhill area is situated in the Greenock Central and East area, defined as: Captain Street, Dempster Street (section covering Nos 23-53), Togo Place, Broomhill Street, Mill Street, Ann Street, Prospecthill Street (section covering Nos 1-5), Nile Street and Drumfrochar Road (section covering Nos 89-121).

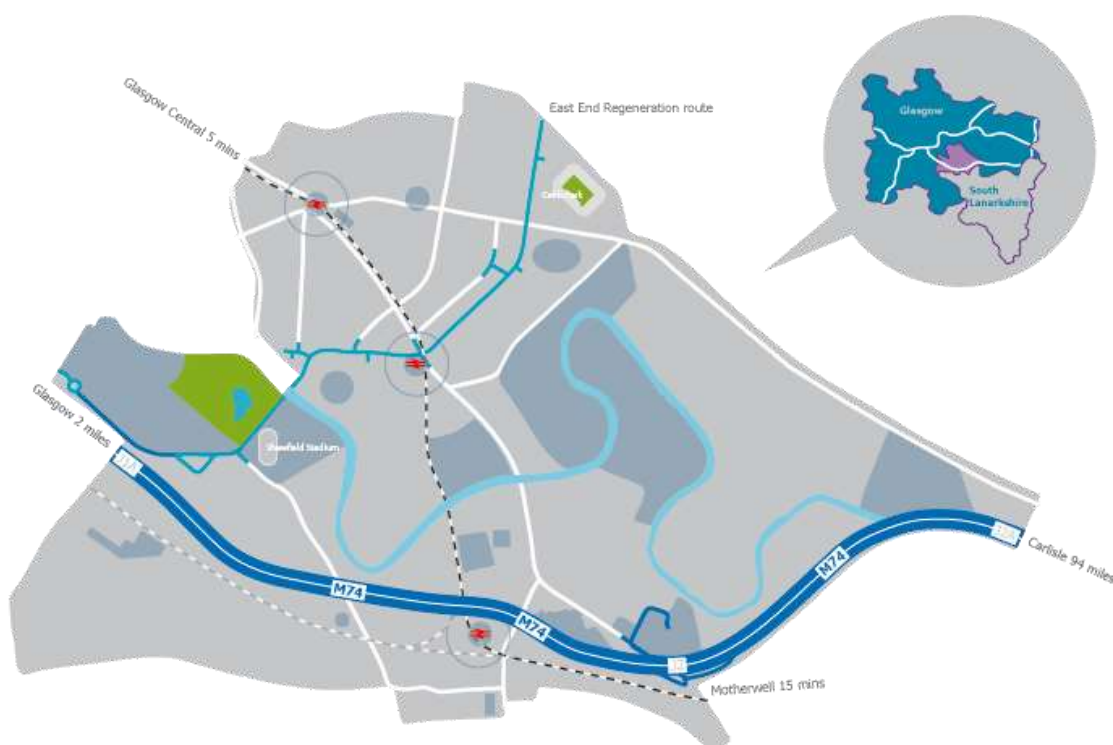
⁸⁷ 'Getting it Right for Broomhill', report presented at the Inverclyde Alliance Board (21/3/16).

Annex C: Clyde Gateway URC Case Study

Starting in 2007, the Clyde Gateway investment programme led by Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company (URC) aims to deliver unparalleled social, economic and physical change to the 2,000 acre area which extends from the East End of Glasgow into South Lanarkshire.

The programme of investment includes attracting 20,000 jobs to the area from a wide range of industries and regenerating the communities of Bridgeton, Burnhill, Camlachie, Dalmarnock, Parkhead, Rutherglen and Shawfield that make up the Clyde Gateway (see Figure C1).

Figure C1: Map of Clyde Gateway



Annex D: Key Actor Consultation Topic Guide

1. What is economic regeneration?
2. How would we recognise it when we see it?
3. Are there good examples of economic regeneration?
4. What were the essential ingredients in the successful examples you know of?
5. Why do we not see more successful examples?
6. What are the main things that need to happen going forward?
7. Who needs to take the prime responsibility for making each of these happen?
8. What is a realistic time scale for bringing about sustainable economic regeneration?
9. How many of Scotland's areas in need of economic regeneration can we invest in at any one time?
10. What criteria should be used to allocate our scarce resources to the specific areas we choose to help?
11. Can you think of specific examples from your direct experience of what works in economic regeneration, and what are the wider lessons?
12. Are there any other thoughts on what works in terms of economic regeneration?

Annex E: Research participants

A range of professionals and activists were invited for interview, drawn from the organisations involved in developing and delivering the case studies under consideration and including targeted policy experts know within the field of economic regeneration in Scotland, including:

Consultant interviews

- Alistair Grimes (economic development consultant)
- Phil Prentice (Scotland's Towns Partnership)
- David Fletcher (Wheatley)
- David Hastings (Lomondgate)
- Fraser Kelly (Social Enterprise Scotland)
- John Cassidy (Scottish communities for wellbeing)
- Susan Love (FSB)
- Di Alexander (consultant)
- Olga Clayton (Wheatley)
- Richard Brown (Glasgow City Council)
- David Coyne (Glasgow City Council and Skills Development Scotland)
- Maureen Poch (CEiS and SLC)
- Stuart Patrick (Glasgow Chamber of Commerce)
- Laurie Russell (Wise Group)
- David Coulter (SURF)
- David O'Neil (COSLA)
- Jim Rafferty (Capital City Partnership)
- Andy Milne (SURF)

Annex F: Glossary of Terms

Asset-based approaches: Asset-based approaches recognise and focus on ‘assets’ as opposed to ‘deficits’, building on a combination of the human, social and physical assets that exist within communities. The approach provides a focus on enhancing the protective factors which help individuals and communities maintain and enhance their health when faced with adverse life circumstances.

Town centre regeneration: the Scottish Government’s Town Centre focus in the regeneration strategy via The Town Centre Action Plan⁸⁸, is aimed at encouraging the public and private sector to help town centres: manage change; take advantage of opportunities and address the problems they face. Funds available includes: a) the £1.7million Town Centre Communities Capital Fund for community organisations to support capital projects focused on improvements to town centres across Scotland; b) the Town Centre Regeneration Fund (TCRF) to support community and business leaders grow town centres, worth some £60 million in 2009/10 supporting new-builds and renovation, cosmetic improvements to high-street frontages and walkways, and public realm works.

Capital investment programme: Scottish Government targeted physical investment grants are available via the Regeneration Capital Grant Fund (RCGF); a £25 million-a-year Grant Fund to support projects involving local communities in delivering local regeneration in disadvantaged areas.

Business Improvement Districts (BIDs): part of a town, tourism and visitor area, commercial district, or specific theme (such as food and drink), in which businesses work together to invest in local improvements, and help local businesses to improve their communities.

Community-led regeneration: the Scottish Government’s focus on community regeneration relates principally to helping people identify issues and opportunities in local areas; decide what to do about them; and make positive changes in communities. In 2016/17, community funding was available via the Empowering Communities Fund⁸⁹ (£20 million) including: Strengthening Communities Programme (SCP) (£2.5 million); the People and Communities Fund (PCF) (£10.75 million); Community Choices Fund (£2 million) and various other smaller funding pots.

⁸⁸ <https://beta.gov.scot/publications/town-centre-action-plan-scottish-government-response/>

⁸⁹ <https://beta.gov.scot/publications/empowering-communities-fund-projects-supported-in-2016-17/>