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Abstract:

When teasing out similarities and differences of the COHSMO case locations and investigating strategies at different scales a crosscutting tendency appears: public policies, that are able to tackle territorial inequalities, vary in their effectiveness. The policy areas referred to in the COHSMO project are economic growth, vocational education, childcare, labour market and area regeneration. We focus especially on the dimensions of these policy areas that are aimed at territorial cohesion, inequality or at enhancing democratic engagement. Local development is very different in the two cases Lemvig, DK and West Dorset, UK that is compared in this Policy Brief. Despite the similar rural profile of a shrinking and aging population. Being part of a welfare state characterised by a high degree of decentralisation in public institutions and a high degree of national territorial equalisation initiatives Lemvig is doing well compared to West Dorset that is embedded in a more centralised system with almost no clear territorial equalisation policies. Local engagement and collective efficacy do not have the same opportunities for expression and for making a difference compared to the Danish case of Lemvig.

Keyword list: Collective efficacy, territorial cohesion, local institutional embeddedness, social investment.

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	4
1.1	POLICY BRIEF NO. 5	5
	REFERENCES	11

1 Introduction

In WP 4, the COHSMO-project conducted case studies in 21 specific case-locations – one rural, one sub-urban and one metropolitan location in each of the participating countries. 20 qualitative interviews were conducted in each locality and divided across different types of important local actors: five with entrepreneurs and business-actors, five with community-actors and ten with governance-actors, which amounts to a total of 210 COHSMO-interviews. Data has been condensed, analysed and delivered as D4.4. Subsequently, D4.5 was delivered: a discourse analysis of collected policy-documents from the case areas, and regional scales: policy strategy documents, reports, local documents generated by local stakeholders and evaluation reports from each case area. Further, the policy analysis, together with D4.4, resulted in Task 4.10, a topic list for 3x5 interviews with policy makers conducted in autumn 2019. D4.6 is a condensed report that brings together the analytical findings of WP4 based on the whole range of data from the work package. This report will be delivered by the end of 2019. Currently the COHSMO-team is working on a systematic process of data triangulation and interpretation in order to reach a framework of validated and empirically grounded conclusions for publication in D4.6.

WP5 has started and is running as planned. WP5 aims to study under what local, contextual conditions a social investment strategy can obtain positive results and what their impact might be in terms of territorial cohesion. To start with, we carried out an in-depth desk research and literature review on the link between the Social Investment approach to social policy and territorial cohesion (Task 1). The second part of WP5 consist of a contextual analysis of socio-economic indicators (Task 2), in order to identify conditions that may hamper or favour the implementation and effectiveness of SI policies.

1.1 Policy brief No. 5

The logo for COHSMO is displayed in a blue-bordered box. It consists of the letters 'C', 'O', 'H', 'S', 'M', and 'O' in a bold, blue, sans-serif font. The letter 'O' is replaced by a blue circle containing a white pen nib icon pointing downwards and to the right.

INEQUALITY, URBANIZATION AND TERRITORIAL COHESION:
DEVELOPING THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL MODEL OF ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEMOCRATIC CAPACITY

European POLICY BRIEF 5

Counteracting territorial inequality through policies is closely dependent on local involvement, collective efficacy, competitiveness and growth.

When teasing out similarities and differences of the COHSMO case locations and investigating strategies at different scales a crosscutting tendency appears: public policies, that are able to tackle territorial inequalities, vary in their effectiveness. The policy areas referred to in the COHSMO project are economic growth, vocational education, childcare, labour market and area regeneration. We focus especially on the dimensions of these policy areas that are aimed at territorial cohesion, inequality or at enhancing democratic engagement.

We argue that these policies are most effective in locations marked by a high degree of collective efficacy and local involvement whereas preclusions arise in locations marked by a low degree of collective efficacy. Locations with a high degree of local involvement seem to foster a high degree of transparency and a collective mind-set that is responsive to public policies. Whether the presence of such a collective mind-set is a precondition for local involvement or whether local involvement produces a collective mind-set is often unclear, but our data suggests that the presence of such an attitude, that is institutionally embedded locally, is significant for local development.

This finding is not an attempt to identify so-called “untapped integrative” forces of communities and neighbourhoods for use in reconfiguration processes of the welfare state’s responsibilities regarding social integration and social problems. Instead, it is a way of understanding the importance of local social interaction – be it formal or more informal – as a precondition for the translation and implementation of policies.

This finding calls for a subdivision within the three types of locations in that rural, suburban and metropolitan locations are sub-divided by the level of collective efficacy. The initial COHSMO-division of rural, metropolitan and sub-urban areas was identified on the background of their degree of population density and population turbulence.

Type of area	Pattern of urbanization	Pattern of demographic change
<i>A: Metropolitan areas</i>	High population density	High degree of population turbulence
<i>B: Rural areas</i>	Low population density	Tendency to out-migration
<i>C: Sub-urban areas</i>	Neither high nor low population density	Tendency to population influx

The study of the COHSMO-case-locations has shown that the level of collective efficacy is an important driver of policies and therefore another crucial territorial dimension.

Definition of collective efficacy:

According to Robert Sampson social relation in places of modern times is characterised by 'a variably interacting population of people and institutions in a common place'. Sampson (2011) and that is why places 'in late-modern societies sometimes constitute a community in the traditional sense, characterized by shared values and tight-knit bonds; (and) in many cases, however, they do not' (Sampson 2002). Based on this Sampson has coined the concept Collective Efficacy as 'a link between mutual trust, shared expectations among residents and willingness to intervene and interact (Sampson et al. 1997) This means 'actually lived social relations have an impact on neighbourhood and places (Sampson 2011).

Collective Efficacy is **composite measure** of

- activity patterns/routines
- organizational infrastructure
- social networks
- segregation/resource stratification

It is important to keep in mind that both formal and informal elements of local social life has to be taken into account. Consequently, it is central to map the local density of- and participation in non-profit organizations as well as more informal local relations such as neighbourliness and other type of informal local social relations.

Collective efficacy on the ground – comparing Lemvig and West Dorset

Comparing Lemvig in Denmark with West Dorset in the UK clearly illustrate the importance of collective efficacy in order to alleviate territorial inequality and in order to secure effectiveness of policies that are aimed at territorial cohesion, inequality or at enhancing democratic engagement.



Lemvig, Denmark

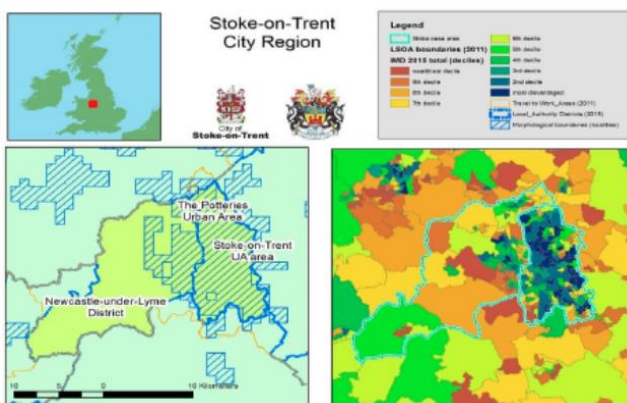
Lemvig is struggling with a paradoxical problem of being a very well run municipality with a good local economy, sufficient jobs and substantial service deliveries on the one hand and on the other hand experiencing a decline in population. This has led to a great number of immigrant workers coming to the municipality of Lemvig in order to supply the demands for workforce. This need is especially pertinent within the fishing industry, farming and the production of energy. At the same time, Lemvig has a strong and historic tradition for participation in local associations and in non-profit organisations. A substantial share of local attractions and cultural institutions are mainly run by volunteers. Hence, it can be concluded that there is a high degree of collective efficacy. Local governance is well evaluated among central actors within the different sectors of the local society. Distances between all categories of local stakeholders are short and communication is easy and effective.

The level of collective efficacy is generally evaluated as high and varied both in relation to the core purpose, the type of activities that the associations are dealing with and the type of organisation and degree of formalization that characterise the associations. There is a high degree of collective efficacy related to the extensive voluntary organizational life and to a mind-set of self-reliance based on a web of informal but goal-oriented relations. The mind-set of self-reliance and the widespread preferences for an informal and open character of local social life is explained as an outcome of several local circumstances. One explanation is the historical background of being individual and free farmers and linked to this the “culture of necessity” related to the geographical remoteness of the municipality. Another is the lack of pronounced social divisions or class differences with only a few very rich people. Everyone seems interested in investing in the local area with the rich citizens as no exception. A third explanation is the informal and proactive way the local authorities act towards difficult issues. Authorities reach out to other sectors and central actors, thus contributing to the maintenance of local networks.

The different types of societal actors, who have been in focus for the COHSMO-investigations, agree that the governance of Lemvig is characterised by a pragmatic attitude and ease of access to central decision-making actors and institutions. It is easy to mobilize both local community actors and business actors, who invest time, effort and money in securing the local development agenda. The relationship between governance, local community and business actors is described as a multi-stakeholder public-private partnership or as a quadruple helix. This indicates that multiple interlocking and crosscutting relations are involved in the governance of Lemvig. There is no one sector dominating development, but it is clear that economic cautiousness characterises municipal governance. Local engagement is by several interviewees perceived as securing local cohesiveness and sustaining welfare services in the future. Finally, interviewees point to the importance of the size and location of the municipality. This relates both to the sense of necessity of being proactive in generating development that can turn territorial problems around and to the small size being an advantage and even a precondition for the pragmatic and pro-active approach.

In Lemvig, there is a strong preference for an informal, open and dynamic character of local networks. The informal way of networking and the limited size of the population is of vital importance for the development of a wide range of interlocking relations between business, community and public authority actors. The short distances between central actors and different sectors as well as the informal character of collaboration give local networks a sense of familiarity. Everyone knows everyone, and it is a core value to act for the common good for the locality. Shared expectations and mutual trust mark the local mind-set even between individuals that are of different political orientations.

West Dorset, UK



West Dorset is a diverse rural area largely made up of small towns, villages and hamlets with an 'urban area' (Weymouth and Portland) included. Overall, the degree of urbanization is low with a highly dispersed settlement structure and a low population density. This has implications for territorial capital and the types present in the area in terms of strengths and weaknesses. The area has an aging population and is losing young people; this has implications for social care, but also for the economy. Its transport infrastructure is underdeveloped with few major roads, limited rail services and a public transport system that is at best described as restricted and in rural areas often non-existent. This immediately raises issues of accessibility and connectivity that impact on access to services, employment and training opportunities, which implies the existence of spatial inequalities

in the area. The area has few major employers and largely consists of SMEs; productivity and GVA are low, the workforce is low skilled and wages are generally low.

The overall levels of collective efficacy are relatively low and this impacts on the life chances of the more disadvantaged part of the area's population and creates inequalities in terms of service access for the more disadvantaged groups in the area. These issues have been accentuated by the impacts of long-term austerity policies, which have led to a dramatic reduction in the budgets of local service providers and a focus by local authorities on statutory service provision. The community/voluntary sector has been expected to fill-in the gaps. However, this is becoming increasingly untenable as existing organisations are already over stretched. There is a lack of new entrants and few resources to train those who enter the sector. In the short-term, this may have limited impact upon the more affluent older members of the community but as they age and make more demands on the social care budget this has the potential to become a serious problem, as the voluntary sector is unable to step in and take over in this locality.

While there are large numbers of community organisations and stakeholders in the area their focus is very local and the lack of a collective (West) Dorset identity makes it difficult to identify common interests around which more over-arching forms of collective mobilisation can be organised. Where more overarching forms of collective organisation/partnership exist, they tend to be organised around a set of specific identifiable territorial interests (e.g. the Dorset Coast Forum) that bring together 'expert' stakeholders rather than engaging directly with local communities.

It is important to bear in mind two things: 1) the impacts of austerity-induced cuts to local government funding; and 2) the recent reorganisation of local government of Dorset which reduced the number of local authorities from 9 to 2 – one in the east of county based on an urban agglomeration of Bournemouth-Poole-Christchurch and another largely rural authority that includes our case study area of West Dorset.

In terms of territorial capital there are undoubtedly strengths related to the natural environment, heritage and the food and drink sectors. However, for instance, there has been no integrated strategy to bring these together in terms of a coordinated approach to tourism and provide an integrated market offer. There are well-documented weaknesses related to connectivity, low skills and a lack of institutional capital across all sectors that undermines the overall capacity of actors to mobilise existing territorial capital and address weaknesses through the development of appropriate policy bundles articulated as a part of place-based strategies.

Across the various sectors there were, albeit isolated, examples where instances of collaboration and coordination were identified (e.g. between business and training/skills providers) to support growth and development. However, in general, examples of coordination and collaboration between sectors were relatively few and far between with childcare existing in a world of its own. We did not find any examples of childcare being integrated into any growth and development strategies at any scale, despite the fact that virtually all interviewees acknowledged its importance. However, as we have repeatedly pointed out, this reflects the way in which childcare is provided in England.

There are a lot of differences and similarities between the two cases but the most important is the way the two rural locations are institutional embedded locally. Local development is very different in the two cases despite the similar rural profile of a shrinking and aging population. Being part of a welfare state characterised by a high degree of decentralisation in public institutions and a high degree of national territorial equalisation initiatives Lemvig is doing well compared to West Dorset that is embedded in a more centralised system with almost no clear territorial equalisation policies. Local

engagement and collective efficacy do not have the same opportunities for expression and for making a difference compared to the Danish case of Lemvig.

Social Investment strategies - next step in COHSMO

The Social Investment strategy recently emerged on the European political agenda, attempting to re-connect social cohesion and economic growth goals by elaborating a new perspective on social policy. However, this policy approach seems weak in recognising the contextual, locally based, pre-conditions that can make these policies actually effective. In COHSMO, WP5 aims to study under what local, contextual conditions a social investment strategy can produce positive results and what their impact might be in terms of territorial cohesion. To start with, we carried out in-depth desk research and literature review on the link between the Social Investment approach to social policy and territorial cohesion (Task 1). In the first part of the review, the SI approach is presented; looking at its origins and underpinning principles. Social investment is about investing in people. It means that the welfare state should design and implement policies designed to strengthen people's skills and capacities and support them to participate fully in employment and social life. In the second part of the review, the connection between SI and territorial cohesion is examined by looking at three specific policy fields that play a strategic role within a SI strategy: Childcare policies (ECEC), Vocational education and training policies (VET) and Active labour market policies (ALMP). The review underscores how inclusion and growth should be jointly considered in SI strategies. In order to reach this complex objective, the interaction between institutions, different policy measures and specific socio-economic contexts should be considered. The positive impact of SI strategies relies therefore on positive institutional and contextual complementarities. A lack of coordination may lead to poor outcomes of policy interventions or even to unexpected increases in inequalities. Along this line, the second part of WP5 consists of a contextual analysis of socio-economic indicators (Task 2), in order to identify conditions that may hamper or favour the implementation and effectiveness of SI policies. We analysed regional indicators on education, labour market, demographic and socio-economic characteristics in the COHSMO-countries. In pursuit of developing the distinctive approach of the COHSMO project, we implemented a territorial perspective in the collection and analysis of data, by looking both at country level averages and at specific regional features (at NUTs 2 level), that are equally crucial in structuring opportunities for citizens. Once fully elaborated, the research evidence will provide fruitful information on areas that are better placed for the implementations of SI oriented policies. At the same time, it will provide criteria and evidence to highlight what needs to be developed in lagging contexts to support SI, closing up to the desired outcomes of economic and inclusive growth.

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Project Name

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Coordinator

Hans Thor Andersen, Aalborg University

Consortium

AAU – Aalborg University, The Danish team (Leading COHSMO)

UW – Uniwersytet Warszawski, The Polish team

POLIMI – Politecnico di Milano, The Italian team

UWE – University of the West of England, Bristol, The British team

UNIVIE – Universität Wien, The Austrian team

VMU – Vytautas Magnus University, The Latvian team

HUA – Harokopio University, The Greek team

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Website

www.cohsmo.aau.dk

For More Information

Hans Thor Andersen hta@sbi.aau.dk

Anja Jørgensen anjaj@socsci.aau.dk