Understanding the role of places in city regions and rural Scotland

Scottish Enterprise

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Executive Summary

- This project was designed to investigate the economic roles of places outside Scotland's main cities, and in particular their contribution to city regions.
- To achieve this aim, Scotland was divided into 317 town districts and data collected on over 40 economic indicators for these town districts to create an economic typology of places.
- The typology identified 6 broad Groups and 22 more detailed economic Types of place.
- This approach shows that non-city Scotland makes a diverse economic contribution providing housing, business space, education and culture and contributing greatly to regional economic diversity.
- The main economic role that non-city places do not generally possess is the generation of innovation and the firms and institutions where such activity is concentrated.
- The typology was used to investigate how places change i.e. economic trajectories –
 and the strategies which enable change. This research found that there are a variety of
 economic trajectories evident, with common themes including post-industrial economic
 diversification, developing economic roles which are independent from association with
 the cities and creating new economic roles to add to current roles played.
- Strategies that have been effective in enabling economic change include; permissive
 land use planning to accommodate city growth overspill, place marketing to attract
 investors/business/residents/visitors, improving connectivity to cities and maximising the
 economic potential of other physical links (e.g. the gateway roles of port-towns).
- Factors that have contributed to the success of economic development strategies
 include; availability of demand and opportunity (e.g. city growth overspill), proximity to
 city boundary, partnership processes (especially private sector involvement) and
 funding availability.
- The composition of a city region in terms of its economic types is closely linked to its
 economic performance, strengths and weakness. However, all (city) regions in Scotland
 are different and this research found no support for the idea that there is a single
 optimal city region model.
- The typology provides a framework for the spatial prioritisation of investment, for instance; concentrating transport hub development in central Borders, choosing between the large urban places in Glasgow city region for major investments, better connectivity between small urban/small rural places and the city in Aberdeen city Region to enable the capacity for regional growth, clear specialisation and marketing to ensure Perth and Dundee are complementary, marketing the dispersed economic diversity of Highlands and Islands as a coherent business and visitor offer and supporting the role of large urban areas in Edinburgh city region as sub-regional hubs, supporting the city.
- The typology has further potential to offer lessons on benchmarking between places, identifying where investment in innovation assets would be best located and considering how local areas contribute to Scotland's key industries.

1 Developing an economic typology

1.1 Introduction

In December 2007 Scottish Enterprise commissioned Experian to investigate the economic roles of places in Scotland, particularly in the context of city regions and rural Scotland.

The objectives of the study are to:

- develop a shared understanding of the types of places that make up Scotland's economic geography;
- better understand the actual and potential flows and relationships between specific locations and their nearest city or cities; and
- use the findings to identify the most appropriate and effective kinds of interventions needed to raise the economic performance of places outside Scotland's main cities.

The research has proceeded in three phases:

- phase 1 design place typology (January 2008); including literature review and initial building of the typology;
- phase 2 apply typology to case studies (February 2008); including investigation of 19 case studies; and
- phase 3 policy implications (March 2008); including review of strategies and trajectories in 10 case study towns.

In phase 1 we used a range of variables to divide places into segments (i.e. to create a typology), with each segment having shared economic roles and characteristics. In phase 2 we applied the typology to a sample of case study areas in Scotland. This has enabled a demonstration of how the typology can be applied to look at economic roles, relationships and potential in Scotland, as well as providing an opportunity to adjust the typology to reflect any significant learning about these roles and relationships. Phase 3 involved an investigation of the policy implications of the typology for city regions and rural regions in Scotland.

This report summarises the overall findings from the project. Some of the supporting evidence is contained in appendices to this report but additional analysis and evidence was also provided to Scottish Enterprise during the course of the project, principally in working reports marking the end of each phase of research.

The work has been overseen by a Steering Group comprising representatives from Scottish Enterprise, Highlands and Islands Enterprise, the Scottish Government, VisitScotland and CoSLA. The work has also been informed by a Working Group of representatives drawn from across the Scottish Enterprise Network.

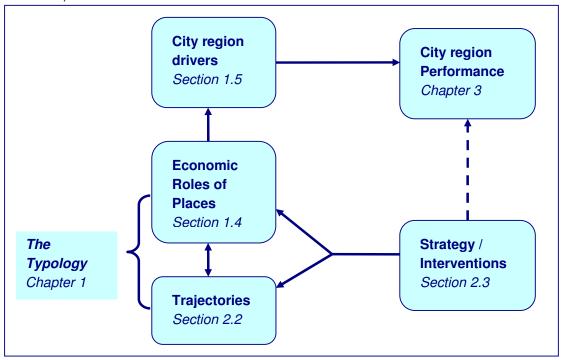
1.2 How to use the typology

The typology was designed to distinguish between places based on their economic roles. Therefore it groups together places that make similar economic contributions, particularly in a city region context. The project is complex so figure 1.1 shows how the main areas of analysis relate to each other (and where they are covered in the report).

To summarise the diagram:

- the typology itself is mainly a means to differentiate between places on the basis of their economic roles;
- in order to relate the typology to the performance of city regions we used the 'key drivers of economic performance' from the *Urban Competitiveness* framework¹;
- the economic Types relate directly to economic trajectories (where a place has come from and where it might be going) and taken together, the economic role of a place and its development trajectory comprise 'the typology';
- we consider strategy and interventions in terms of (a) how they have been used to
 move places along an economic development trajectory and (b) what kind of strategy
 and interventions are most appropriate for each Type; and
- these strands of enquiry are brought together in chapter four, which provides conclusions on the role of places outside regions, city region performance and spatial investment prioritisation.

Figure 1.1: Diagrammatic summary of the conceptual approach (with chapter / section references)



¹ Parkinson et al (2000) – "The State of English Cities" Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions

As a general guide, the typology can be used to:

- identify the likely economic role of any given place, particularly in its regional context (figure 1.2 to 1.5 and appendix F);
- consider how regional economic performance is influenced and shaped by the mix of types within it (figure 1.7, chapter 3, appendix D and appendix F);
- compare a place with other places of that Type in other regions or in the same region
 (e.g. what can Stevenston, a town in miniature, learn from other towns in miniature such
 as Carluke, Nairn and Peebles and vice versa) (appendix E);
- identify where any given place is on an economic development trajectory and what its potential future trajectory(ies) may be (appendix E and figures 2.1 to 2.3);
- identify in broad terms some strategies and interventions that have helped to effect economic transition and help to move a place along a trajectory (section 2.3 and appendix C); and
- identify the economic development strategies and interventions that are most appropriate for any given place, based on its economic Type classification (section 2.3, appendix C and appendix F).

1.3 How the typology was developed

1.3.1 Policy context

The idea of an economic typology is not a new concept and this project is not the first time such a study has been attempted. For Scottish Enterprise, the context to the project is the focus on City Regions as drivers of the national economy. The brief for this research asserts that the economic role of cities is better understood than the economic roles of places outside of the cities (i.e. towns and rural areas). This research was designed to fill this gap. The Government Economic Strategy for Scotland is the most important overarching context for this study, expressing the role that cities play in driving national economic performance. The National Planning Framework for Scotland is also important context. Taken together, these strategies provide a national government perspective on the need for the spatial prioritisation of investment on the basis of economic assets.

1.3.2 Previous research

This research project included a literature review which looked at other examples of segmenting places on the basis of their functional roles. The conclusions from this review are summarised below (a bibliography is contained in appendix A) and the detailed review is contained in a previous working report.

This literature review provides many ideas to influence the design of a place typology of Scotland's towns and rural areas for Scotlish Enterprise. In this section we outline the main conclusions that were applied to our typology.

In terms of **geography choice**, a combination of morphological and functional approaches is appropriate to this project because they are closely related to each other in the context of this study. The morphological approach is relevant because the built environment is an important

delineator of function as well as of identity. In terms of function, certain activities are evident in the centre of a city region (retail, public administration, transport hubs, etc), some are evident away from the centre (industrial estates, residential) and others are evident on the periphery (retail, distribution, transport links). Identity is important because economic agents such as businesses and workers choose between towns as locations rather than between points on a map. A purely functional approach would lead us to group together areas in terms of their relationship with the city (e.g. commuting). This is relevant but to rely purely on this approach would lead to insufficient differentiation between areas within the same travel to work (or city region) catchment.

The literature also provides some useful distinctions between **different types of typology** that can be used. For the purposes of this project, the most appropriate type is the *functional* approach. This project aims to differentiate between places on the basis of their distinctive economic contributions within Scotland's economic geography, rather than on the basis of form, for example. However, there are features of the other types of approach that need to be reflected in the typology for Scotland. It is important that the typology also has some features of a *trajectory* approach to typology. Economic contributions are dynamic and it is important for the segmentation to have a sense of the direction of travel for different places.

There are also some choices in terms of how a *functional* approach is framed. There are some useful ideas to borrow from the literature. One important concept to this project is that a **place's position within a city region** has an important impact on its economic role. This concept appeals directly to the objectives of this study – the policy interest is in how places which are not cities contribute to the performance and operation of city regions in Scotland. Therefore urban-rural classifications and approaches to typology that place emphasis on the relationship of a place with its nearest city(s) are relevant to this project. It is also relevant to consider a place's transition towards becoming a knowledge-based economic entity and its specific type of **knowledge economy contribution** (e.g. education, research, knowledge-intensive manufacturing or services etc). This was a useful finding from the desk research as it links closely with both the city region and industry approaches to economic development. There is considerable momentum elsewhere behind the significance of the knowledge economy to economic growth in developed economies².

All these factors have influenced the choice of indicators for this study and they way the segmentation has been designed.

1.3.3 Stages in developing the typology

The aim of the typology is both to differentiate between types of places and to identify which places share common economic features and roles and therefore can be grouped together. In developing the typology we progressed through a number of stages:

- identified the geography to use;
- decided what economic dimensions the typology should be measuring;
- collected data for indicators to measure these dimensions:
- standardised the data so that a typology could be created;

² See, for example, HM Treasury Drivers of Productivity Series and Government Economic Strategy (Scottish Government 2007).

- · segmented the places using the indicators; and
- reviewed results and revised as appropriate.

In agreement with the Steering Group, towns were agreed as the broad unit of geography appropriate to this study. We defined towns using postal geography. Each 'town district' is comprised of one or more postal sectors³. In this way, the whole land mass of Scotland was divided into (317) geographic units. Therefore each town district generally comprises an urban settlement (the town) and a rural hinterland (the district). Rural areas were allocated to the relevant towns with reference to travel times and transport infrastructure. Although we have not looked at the cities⁴ in this study, they are included as a type.⁵ Owing to the use of postcode geography in this study, readers should bear in mind when considering the case studies that definitions and data will not exactly match official data for Scotland's cities.

The typology sought to measure the ways in which towns resemble, or differ from, each other across the following dimensions:

- scale;
- flows;
- access;
- · key assets; and
- trajectory.

The indicators used to measure each town across these dimensions are shown in appendix B. A wide range of indicators (over 40) were used; covering employment by industry, economic assets, population features, educational/health assets, science parks, rail transport infrastructure, city and airport drive-times, non-civilian roles and visitor attractions. The choice of indicators was guided by relevant academic literature, feedback from the project Steering Group and the availability of data. The indicators were standardised, to ensure we were able to compare like with like, and the indicators were weighted equally (so socio-economic profile is as important as industrial profile, for example, in determining economic Types). We then used statistical clustering method to ensure that the amount of 'difference' between Types was maximised (and that the amount of 'difference' between places within the same Type was minimised).

1.4 Results of the typology

The output of the typology was a segmentation of 6 Groups and 22 Types of places. The largest Group is the Small Urban (155 places) followed by the Small Rural (64) and Remote Rural (49) Groups, whilst there are relatively few places that fall into the Medium Urban (19) and Large Urban (25) classifications. The labels for the Types have been chosen to reflect the economic role of places, their characteristics and to an extent their economic trajectories.

³ For example, the town district of Stonehaven was defined as the aggregation of postcode sectors AB39 2 and AB39 3.

⁴ For the purposes of this work, cities were identified as Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Inverness.

⁵ The city definitions were comprised of a list of postal sectors but not constrained to the current local authority definitions.

In figures 1.3 to 1.5, the summary descriptions focus on the types of economic roles that each Type of place plays in a regional context. However, a summary of this information at Group level is provided first in figure 1.2. Figure 1.2 summarises the main *regional* economic contributions within each Group and summarises the relationship with cities. A general finding from this analysis is that non-city areas play a full range of economic roles, from housing, transport and business space provision to culture, leisure and tourism. Non-city areas also contribute greatly to regional economic diversity. The one role generally absent outside Scotland's cities is the generation of innovation by companies and research institutions.

Figure 1.2: Summary of the regional economic roles of places outside cities

Group	Main regional roles	City relationship
Cities	Main roles not found in non-city areas are; research Universities, international transport gateways and the generation of innovation	n/a
Large Urban	 Some industrial specialisation Major sub-regional service centres Transport hubs (road, bus/rail, logistics) Cultural attractions/regional events Many large employers, including some corporate/public HQs Capacity for investment (e.g. brown field) Major business parks Major tertiary education (mainly FE) 	Some are fairly independent from cities for employment etc (e.g. Perth, Stirling). Others have closer relationships (e.g. Airdrie, Dunfermline).
Medium Urban	 Contribute to regional economic diversity Some significant industrial specialisation (e.g. Prestwick – aerospace) Investment potential/space Includes most sought after residential locations in each region Vocational FE campuses (+ 1 university) Cultural attractions (e.g. St Andrews, Helensburgh) 	Generally more economically dependent on cities than the Large Urban Group
Small Urban	 Taken together, they are the backbone of regional residential choice General and specialist business parks (e.g. Grangemouth, Methil) Contribute to regional economic diversity Small FE campuses Some important visitor attractions Some major employers dominating (e.g. Rosyth, Dalry, Montrose) Some local public administration HQs 	Some are highly economically dependent on cities. Most have some dependence as this Group is partly defined by city access
Small Rural	 For some, economic roles are almost exclusively local All contribute to regional residential and community diversity Some significant contributions to regional economic diversity (mainly more traditional industries in Aberdeenshire and H&I) Some important sub-regional business space (e.g. Selkirk, Turriff) 	Generally places in this Group have weaker relationships with cities / urban Scotland.
Remote Rural	 Important sub-regional visitor and transport gateways (e.g. Oban) Contribute to diversity of regional tourism economy (e.g. Aviemore) Many have mainly local roles or are island 'capitals' Some contributions to regional diversity (e.g. Islay villages) 	Functioning is largely independent of cities.

Figure 1.3: The typology (cities and large urban groups)

Group	Town Districts	Туре	# town districts	Type Name	Summary descriptions	Examples
A: Cities	5	A01	5	Cities	Five largest cities. Unique urban entities in terms of range and depth of economic roles and assets.	Aberdeen, Glasgow, Inverness
		B02	6	Improving Satellites	Post-industrial large towns. Yet to develop replacement roles. May have colleges, major employers and even Universities (e.g. Paisley) but demographic mix is biased towards low income and older population groups.	Clydebank, Paisley, Rutherglen
B: Large Urban	25	B03	9	City-fringe Tenacity	Mainly post-industrial towns but also some market towns that have grown and evolved (e.g. Elgin). Tend to have more diversified economies than improving satellites and be experiencing more population stability or growth.	Hamilton, Kirkcaldy, Livingston
		B04	10	Regional independents	May share similar trajectories to other large urban types but more likely to be further away from cities and more independent for employment. Contribute colleges, culture, employment opportunities, public administration and are transport hubs.	Ayr, Falkirk, Dumfries

Figure 1.4: The tyoplogy (medium and small urban groups)

Group	Town Districts	Туре	# town districts	Type Name	Summary descriptions	Examples				
						C05	5	Commuter Comfort	Provide some of the most sought-after commuter locations for city commuters. Main role is providing quality housing and residential locations. May have secondary roles in industry, culture or education/research roles. Population tends to be expanding.	Broughty Ferry, Helensburgh, St Andrews
C: Medium Urban	19	C06	9	Industrial Recovery	Evolving from well-defined industrial pasts to more diverse futures. Often serve as sub-regional hubs, contributing employment land to the region. Some important commuter town roles. Vocational colleges are often important. Skills in population below average.	Alloa, Bathgate, Uddingston				
		C07	5	Mixed-use Outskirts	Further away from cities than other types in group. Therefore commuter roles less important and other roles (transport, gateway, industry) more important.	Forfar, Peterhead, Prestwick				
	155		D08	18	Green and Growing	Close to cities, popular with commuters, growing in population and still with some manufacturing employment. Main contributions to the region are industrial diversification and human capital.	Dalry, Grangemouth, Westhill			
		D09	23	Towns in Miniature	Sub-regional service centres. This is because they are located further away from major cities/airports. Diverse regional contributions, relative to size, including FE/HE campuses, industry, cultural attractions, major employers or minor hub/gateway roles.	Carluke, Galashiels, Montrose				
D: Small		D10	20	Settled Communities	Close enough to cities to be commutable. Presence of towns nearby often limits service role beyond purely local needs. Regional contributions; gateway roles, human capital and some industry.	Ardrossan, Cupar, Forres				
Urban		D11	50	Small Town Skills	Close to cities. Primary role is contribution of human capital to region. Also contribute quality of life by providing a diverse range of smaller sized settlements for the region's residents. Other regional roles more limited.	Bothwell, Monifeith, Strathaven				
		D12	21	Urban Fringes	On edge of regions. Contribute to economic diversity with primary, manufacturing and service industry. Still within commuting distance so some human capital contributions.	Balfron, Coupar Angus, Pittenweem				
		D13	23	Urban Solitude	Similar to <i>urban fringe</i> but with tourism and primary industry more important, due to more rural location. Regional role limited to visitor and cultural attractions.	Birnam, Drumnadrochit, Rothienorman				

Figure 1.5: The typology (small rural and remote rural groups)

Group	Town Districts	Туре	# town districts	Type Name	Summary descriptions	Examples
		E14	16	Rural Challenge	Manufacturing industry still relatively important. Help to provide regional economic diversity. Less successful at attracting in-migrants than other types in group.	Cumnock, Hawick, Lockerbie
		E15	24	Rural Dynamism	Showing population growth, benefiting from counter- urbanisation trend. Main economic contributions, beyond local needs, are diversity of tourism attractions.	Aberfeldy, Dornoch, Moffat
E: Small Rural	64	E16	12	Rural Production	For their size, make significant economic diversity contributions (engineering, food and drink, energy). Concentrated in North East, many with direct relationship with Aberdeen City.	Aberlour, Fochabers, Portsoy
		E17	8	Rural Knowledge	Socio-economic mix is more affluent and higher skilled than small rural group average. Main regional contribution is providing quality of life, human capital (long distance commutes) and some visitor attractions.	Golspie, Dunoon, Melrose
		E18	4	Accessible Choice	Cluster of small, popular retirement towns in North Ayrshire. Contribute quality of life and some human capital to region.	Fairlie, Largs, Skelmorlie
		F19	17	Ports and Markets	Mix of port villages and ex-market towns. Main regional contributions are quality of life and visitor attractions. Often play sub-regional service roles (even some HE/FE campuses)	Helmsdale, Mallaig, Stornaway
F: Remote Rural	49	F20	10	Growing Gateways	Often more significant regional or sub-regional roles as gateway towns/villages (ferries and flights). Other roles include secondary education, culture and some industry.	Lochboisdale, Stromness, Tobermory
nurai		F21	12	Remote Diversity	For their size and location, play a number of roles and therefore contribute economic diversity. Roles may include; local public administration functions, HE/FE, transport hubs, human capital and industry.	Aviemore, Kirkwall, Oban
		F22	10	Remote Magnets	Main regional roles are visitor attractions and some gateway roles (e.g. to England and Ireland).	Annan, Kirkcudbright, Lochgilphead

1.4.1 Testing the typology

The typology was tested using a selection of case study areas. Case study areas were chosen that provided an opportunity to test a broad spread of the different Types. In general, this process confirmed that the typology was accurate and useful in the way that it differentiated between places on the basis of economic role and in terms of how it had classified different places.

1.5 Framework for subsequent analysis

This section introduces the framework for linking the typology to the research questions pertinent to the third objective of this research, which was to "use the findings to identify the most appropriate and effective kinds of interventions needed to raise the economic performance of places outside Scotland's main cities". The framework relates the economic typology to consideration of the economic trajectories of places and to economic development strategies.

To develop this framework we investigated a selection of case studies towns in Scotland (figure 1.6). The aim of this was to establish the economic development strategy and significant interventions in each town in the last 20 years or so and how this might have shaped the role of a place or indeed its trajectory. The research involved desk research (data analysis, website and document review) and consultations with local economic development agencies in each case study town.

The strategy case studies are shown in figure 1.6.

Figure 1.6: Strategy case studies

Place	Current Type
Clydebank	Improving Satellite
Kirkcaldy	City-fringe Tenacity
Falkirk	Regional Independent
Perth	Regional Independent
Motherwell	Industrial Recovery
Westhill	Green and Growing
Galashiels	Towns in Miniature
Ardrossan	Settled Community
Kirkwall	Remote Diversity
Stranraer	Remote Magnet

In figure 1.7 we show how the typology relates to economic roles. In this analysis, economic roles have been generalised using the Urban Competitiveness framework developed for the *State of the English Cities* report (namely the key drivers of economic performance identified in that report; innovation, economic diversity, quality of life, human capital, investment and decision making).⁶ This is an important framework for this project. The typology developed for

 $^{^{6}}$ Parkinson et al (2000) – "The State of English Cities" Department for Environment, Transport and the Regions

this study has identified commonalities and differences between places based on a range of economic indicators. Figure 1.7 relates these types more directly to the range of economic drivers which the academic literature suggests are required for successful (city) region economies. Thus the observed role of a specific Type of place is expressed in terms of its dominant contribution to one or more of the drivers of competitiveness. Our interpretation of each key driver in the context of this study is show below:

- **Investment:** places have the capacity and opportunity to absorb development (e.g. through the availability of brown field land);
- **Economic diversity:** places with a range of industries which, at regional level, help to diversify the range of industries that are relied on for prosperity;
- Quality of life: taken together places making this primary contribution diversify the
 residential offer for workers and other residents in a region. Individually places making
 this primary contribution may also have attributes that attract in visitors and support a
 tourism industry;
- Connectivity: this contribution refers to places that are well enough connected to the
 city to act as city extensions, providing a diverse range of settlement choices for city
 workers (such as small towns, residential suburbs and resorts); and
- Human capital: this contribution refers to places that provide skills to the cities in the form of commuting. It also refers to places that are active in *creating* skills, through Further Education provision

Figure 1.7: The main regional economic roles of each Type (derived from figures 1.2 to 1.5)

Туре	Contribution to regional economic	ic performance
	Primary	Secondary
Cities	All	All
Improving Satellites	Investment	Diversity
City-fringe Tenacity	Economic diversity	Investment
Regional independents	Economic diversity	Quality of life
Commuter Comfort	Connectivity	Quality of life
Industrial recovery	Investment	Connectivity
Mixed-use outskirts	Human capital	Connectivity
Green and Growing	Human capital	Economic diversity
Towns in Miniature	Connectivity	Quality of life
Settled communities	Human capital	Quality of life
Small Town Skills	Human capital	Quality of life
Urban Fringes	Quality of life	Human capital
Urban Solitude	Quality of life	Human capital
Rural Challenge	Investment	Diversity
Remote Dynamism	Quality of life	Diversity
Rural Production	Economic diversity	Human capital
Rural Knowledge	Human capital	Quality of life
Accessible Choice	Quality of life	Human capital
Ports and gateways	Quality of life	Human capital
Growing gateways	Connectivity	Diversity
Remote diversity	Diversity	Quality of life
Remote magnets	Quality of life	Investment

2 How places change

2.1 Introduction

All towns have developed for a reason and most are still developing. Therefore for most towns we can observe an economic trajectory - where a place has come from and where it might be going. We looked at ten strategy case study areas (see figure 1.6) to examine the relationship between such economic trajectories and economic Types. This enabled consideration of a number of issues:

- the future desired outcomes for towns;
- any strategies that may help to achieve these outcomes;
- the balance between trajectories places are going through in each region for example, are many towns in one region trying to scale up or are there a cluster of post-industrial towns trying to diversify?;
- any perspective on patterns of specialisation and diversification within regions; and
- by relating trajectories and Types to key regional economic drivers, for example, human capital, innovation, etc what the priorities might be for each region's development and investment?

In addition to these ten case studies, the testing of the typology earlier in the research process also involved investigating case study towns in Scotland (section 1.4.1). This touched on reasons why towns have been developed in the first place – that is, the historic economic drivers behind their development.

Taken together as a body of evidence, these case studies demonstrated that towns are to an extent a physical legacy of the economic past. Economic trends move more rapidly than physical change in the built environment and therefore the relationship between *economic* rationale for a town and the *physical* town is not always immediate – where there have been significant changes in economic drivers these take place prior to any subsequent adjustment in terms of the built environment. Thus if the loss of a large employer reduces the demand for labour in a town by hundreds of people the number of people actually living in the town may decline only very gradually as some people find work or exit the workforce locally and others remain to try to seek alternative employment, leaving only when this is not deemed possible. Such lagged effects are very important in defining the challenge facing a large number of post-industrial towns in Scotland even today. Some kinds of new economic investment can be attracted to replace some of these jobs quite quickly although more substantial diversification and regeneration takes longer.

2.2 Observed economic trajectories

From our case study analysis we have sought to map out some broad trajectories that places might follow across groups and types. A summation of trajectories for Scottish towns is shown in figure 2.1.

In interpreting figure 2.1 it is important to bear in mind the following points:

- in this context we have interpreted a trajectory as being a move from one economic Type to another;
- in figure 2.1 we have depicted the two kinds of trajectory that are more probable and that are discernible from the research for this project; (a) movement within a Group – sideways moves and (b) movements from one Group to a 'larger' Group – upwards moves;
- this mapping of trajectories is not time-specific and is intended to apply to the recent past as well as the near future; and
- this analysis only shows some of the more probable trajectories that we have observed in the course of this project, it does not show all possible trajectories.

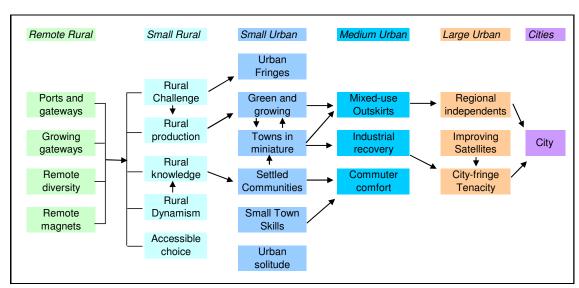


Figure 2.1: Possible economic trajectories by type

The main possible trajectories are illustrated in more detail in figure 2.2 using some examples. This figure shows that the *sideways* moves are often about diversification or improved connectivity and the *upwards* moves are about increasing scale. It also shows what moves are likely for each Type, based on observation of current roles of Scottish towns and where they have come from. This is useful when we consider what the potential future trajectories might be for the ten strategy case study towns.

Figure 2.2: Summary of main trajectories (using economic role typology)

Group	From (previous)	To (current)	Key driver of regional performance that strategy affected	Example
_	Improving satellite	City-fringe tenacity	• Diversity	Kirkcaldy
Large urban	Regional independents	City	Investment / innovation	Inverness
Larg	City-fringe tenacity	City-fringe tenacity	 Innovation 	Hamilton
oan	Commuter comfort	City-fringe tenacity / regional independents	 Investment (scale) / quality of life 	Kilmarnock
Medium urban	Industrial recovery	Commuter comfort	 Quality of life (commuting) 	Broughty Ferry
Medi	Mixed-use Outskirt	City-fringe tenacity / Commuter comfort	 Diversity / Quality of life (commuting) 	Ellon
	Green and growing	Commuter comfort / green and growing	 Quality of life / innovation 	Rosyth
	Towns in Miniature	Settled community / green and growing	 Quality of life / diversity 	Stonehaven
_	Settled communities	Commuter comfort / towns in miniature	Investment / diversity	Nairn
фа	Small town skills	Green and growing	 Diversity 	Bo'ness
<u> </u>	Urban fringes	Mixed-use outskirts	 Investment 	Inverurie
Small urban	Urban solitude	Settled community / green and growing	 Connectivity / innovation 	Carnoustie
	Rural Challenge	Small town skills	 Connectivity 	Saltcoats
	Remote Dynamism	Urban solitude	 Connectivity / innovation 	Birnam
<u>ra</u>	Rural Production	Towns in miniature	 Diversity 	Galashiels
5	Rural Knowledge	Towns in miniature	Diversity / innovation	Pitlochry
Small rural	Accessible choice	Urban solitude	Quality of life	Gullane
	Ports and markets	Growing gateways	 Innovation 	Stromness
Remote rural	Growing gateways	Remote dynamism	Quality of life	Dornoch
ote	Remote diversity	Remote diversity	 Innovation 	Oban
Rem	Remote magnets	Towns in miniature	Connectivity	Troon

To test these place trajectories we applied this broad framework to the case study towns to find out if these trajectories are observable in practice. Figure 2.3 summarises the trajectories of each case study town by identifying previous type (around 20 years ago), current type and potential future type.

Figure 2.3: Strategies and trajectories for the case study towns

Place	Previous type	Current Type	Aspiration / trajectory	Strategy
Clydebank	City-fringe tenacity	Improving satellite	City-fringe tenacity	 Waterfront regeneration
Kirkcaldy	Improving satellite	City-fringe tenacity	City-fringe tenacity	 Economic Diversity (John Smith business park) Innovation (Kirkaldy Renaissance)
Falkirk	City-fringe tenacity	Regional independents	Regional independents	Innovation (tourism product)Investment (business space)
Perth	Regional independents	Regional independents	Regional independents / city	Quality of lifeDiversity (tourism, tertiary education)
Motherwell	City-fringe tenacity	Industrial recovery	City-fringe tenacity	 Economic diversification (Ravenscraig Ltd) Investment (RL)
Westhill	'new' town	Green and growing	Towns in miniature	 Investment/economic diversity (retail)
Galashiels	Rural production	Towns in miniature	Green and growing	Economic diversity (business space)Connectivity (Waverley)
Ardrossan	Rural production	Settled community	Town in miniature	 Quality of Life / diversity (waterfront/ marina, private house building)
Kirkwall	Rural dynamism	Remote diversity	Remote diversity	Economic diversity (business propertyConnectivity
Stranraer	Rural challenge	Remote magnets	Towns in miniature	 Economic diversity/connectivity (harbour and leisure development)

Figure 2.3 summarises what is observable in each case study town about its current economic role, current strategic direction and, by implication from the foregoing, the aspirational trajectory. It is worth noting that the aspirational aspect of this is very much our observations of where current interventions are likely to take places in the current place hierarchy. Other potential trajectories for the strategy case study towns are suggested by figure 2.1. For example, Galashiels (town in miniature) could potentially become a regional independent rather than a green and growing type.

Conclusions on economic trajectories, together with their enabling strategies, are discussed in section 2.4. However, at this stage it is useful to highlight the importance of economic diversification and quality of life-based strategies to virtually all Types of place.

2.3 Observed strategies and interventions

In this section we review the case study evidence on economic development strategy across each of the key drivers (as introduced in section 1.5). In section 2.4 we combine the analysis on strategy with the preceding analysis on trajectories to provide some conclusions on how places change. Supporting analysis for this section is provided in appendix C.

In this context we define **investment** as development that increases the capacity of the economy, through growth in business space, housing, retail provision or transport connections. The key findings from the case studies were:

- location is fundamental in impacting on the success of the investment (close to a city/in a growth corridor) – but there also needs to be an asset, for example a high quality waterfront, to make the investment work;
- the opportunity for new capacity needs to be met by demand for that capacity. The
 evidence suggests that in Kirkwall and Westhill there was demand for the capacity
 generated but in Motherwell it is too early to judge the extent to which this will be the
 case;
- investment capacity needs to be developed concurrently with other aspects of local strategy i.e. part of a strategy is multi-faceted and addressing related issues such as connectivity and human capital. Kirkwall seems to be a good example of this;
- scale and ambition inevitably mean that benefits take longer to realise e.g. current projects in Clydebank and Motherwell are large and ambitious but also this means a greater chance of effecting significant change; and
- concentration of effort, strategy and funding on one major project or under a single umbrella (as in Falkirk) yields benefits (rather than dispersal across smaller projects).

At the heart of the city region policy and research agenda is location. This refers to both where *city regions* are located with nations and global regions⁷ and where *places* are located within the city region⁸. The location of places within a region is fixed but crucially the speed and ease of access between places within a region is not – therefore **connectivity** investments are important. The key findings were:

- expanding city regions offer opportunities to unlock the potential roles of places in their hinterlands— stimulus to local regeneration, new roles as centres of human capital, business relocation and private housing-led regeneration;
- places need capacity to take advantage of these opportunities and development planning is important enabler in this respect;
- in addition to permissive land use planning, the availability of windfall land sites (as in Stranraer) can be crucial in creating the capacity to meet opportunity; and
- connections create traffic and transient populations which offer revenue capture opportunities (e.g. Ardrossan, Stranraer).

⁷ Parkinson et al 2000

⁸ SQW & Cambridge Econometrics (2006) – "*Economic performance of rural areas inside and outside of city regions*" DEFRA⁸

Much of the city region literature emphasises that the attractiveness of place and the quality of life available in a place can have an important bearing on a place's success and competitiveness.9 As quality of life is so clearly related to human capital the key intervention strategies are discussed under human capital.

The type of economic activity carried out in a place out is closely correlated with economic success or otherwise. Some research shows that places regarded (and measured) as being more successful have an industrial profile that is different from places that are measured as being less successful. 10 Therefore **economic diversity** is a key driver of regional economic performance. The key findings were:

- a strategy to change the demographics of a town (e.g. private housing-led regeneration) can indirectly diversify the economy by altering the demand for goods and services from the resident population;
- the manufacturing-to-services trajectory is still an important theme in local economic development although it is more often couched in terms of national industry priorities (also, some places develop directly from primary to manufacturing/services – Kirkwall);
- creating and supporting local industry strengths has an important bearing on a place's Type classification and hence its regional roles – for example green and growing, towns in miniature and rural production Types tend to have one or more relatively significant employers which distinguishes them from other small urban and small rural types; and
- creating something unique and iconic can be catalytic but requires specific circumstances to achieve and a degree of good fortune (e.g. Falkirk Wheel).

In the core cities work¹¹ **innovation** was identified as a key driver of economic performance. In many ways it was identified as the key driver. We have interpreted innovation as the creation of new ideas, the application of these ideas and the economic benefits from these applications. In practice innovation takes places in both firms and institutions. The key findings were:

- innovation tends to be concentrated in the cities even more than economic activity generally (e.g. research-intensive universities are generally based in the cities as are R&D-intensive firms);
- natural assets can be a stimulus for R&D development but the funding required tends to be at a national level – e.g. renewable energy;
- there are not many examples of places, in the case studies at least, that make a significant contribution to innovation at regional or industry levels (the exceptions might include Kirkwall and Galashiels);
- the area of regional innovation strategy could be important for the future in establishing roles for non-city places in regions but this requires further development.

As noted above, the quality of life on offer in a place is important in attracting skilled people i.e. human capital. In addition to lifestyle attractions, the opportunities also need to be there in terms of career development. Together, quality of life and career opportunities present a compelling draw for mobile, skilled people. 12 The key findings from our research were:

Gore Cities Working Group 2004
 HM Treasury "Productivity in the UK Series
 Parkinson, M & Hutchins, M 2005
 2003 Florida. R, "The Rise of the Creative Class"

- many areas have attracted skilled population through a combination of good access/
 proximity to cities (and larger towns) and permissive land use planning for housing –
 this could be seen as a relatively easy route to economic transition. However, there is a
 risk with a strategy which is only about housing that this creates a dependency rather
 than necessarily establishing distinct assets in the place itself;
- prestige projects can have a big impact (e.g. hosting sporting and music events) but are more difficult to attract for non-city areas (Perth Concert Hall is a possible exception);
- rural areas have unique opportunity if people are attracted by quality of life alone and commuting options are restricted there may be an opportunity for these people to deploy their skills locally e.g. the successful Prostrakan life sciences company was established by an individual attracted to the Borders for its quality of life offer;
- relative affordability can draw in private investors/households if their perception and investment risk issues can be addressed/appeased e.g. by prior public sector investment in the place – such as Ardrossan;
- the presence of quality of life 'assets' such as an attractive landward or seaside location can help e.g. Ardrossan, Kirkwall; and
- universities and colleges can help to create a different demographic in places. The best
 example is St Andrews but the presence of a university alone is not enough e.g. in
 Stirling the location is more peripheral and the overall scale (in the context of the town)
 is not significant enough to be itself transformational.

The core cities work and other international evidence¹³ also identifies the primacy of governance and **decision making** capacity in distinguishing between successful city regions and less successful ones. In reviewing the case study evidence we looked for examples of collaboration and partnership process that were important to economic development. The key findings were:

- having a distinctive brand that can be applied across themes can help to raise the success of all interventions e.g. Orkney;
- an expanding city region can make development and transition easy so long as the Development Plan is permissive e.g. Westhill;
- large scale projects require significant demand to be fully successful;
- the challenge in all partnerships is in developing shared understanding and vision;
- there are potential trade-offs large scale projects can threaten existing infrastructure
 e.g. impacts on Clydebank and Motherwell town centres of nearby developments and
 also impact on Aberdeen City of dispersed employment and housing expansion in the
 hinterland. Any region-wide strategy needs to understand where these potential
 displacement impacts might occur and develop strategy accordingly; and
- picking opportunities not all places can receive significant investment and attention at the same time suggesting prioritisation is a key role of regional partnerships.

¹³ Metrpolitan Regions: Strategies and Development Agencies, Greg Clark, 2006 for BAK Basel economics

2.4 Conclusions

Scotland's current urban and rural settlement structures and patterns reflect past economic drivers as much as current or emerging economic drivers. This is an important point as it means that the existing patterns of built environment are not necessarily fit for current or emerging economic purposes. To a greater or lesser extent, places are trying to catch up with, or anticipate, economic trends in order to evolve from what they once were. In this way, a large number of towns and even rural areas in Scotland can be classed as post-industrial. The process of industrialisation was closely related to the processes of town formation in Scotland over the past century and therefore current settlements are in many cases the legacy of the economic past.

More recently, a key theme evident from analysis of towns in transition in Scotland is the **pervasive influence of expanding city economies**. To a greater or lesser extent Scotland's cities are bounded by topographical, administrative and policy features which means that the probability is that some of their growth will need to be accommodated outside of the city's boundaries. Typically the areas closest to the city boundary experience the development pressure first, followed by areas which are progressively further from the boundary. In terms of strategy, permissive land use planning has been an important option to enable economic transition (e.g. Westhill and Falkirk) but this strategy can only be effective *providing* it is matched by an opportunity (in this case city growth). It follows that the greater the city development constraints (e.g. Aberdeen and Edinburgh), the greater the potential overspill benefit to the near-city zone (e.g. Inverurie, Dunfermline).

A further implication of the above point is that **location is fundamental to a strategy's success** – for example Ardrossan appears to be further along the post-industrial trajectory than Stranraer because its connectivity to Glasgow makes the private sector more amenable to development there. Accessibility to cities is a fundamental feature of a place's location and offers obvious opportunities (e.g. attracting commuters) but it is not the only relevant feature. In this respect the strategy for **gateway towns** to attempt to capture the *potential* economic benefit of transient visitor populations is also important (e.g. Ardrossan, Kirkwall and Stranraer).

The theme of expanding city regions has also affected larger towns situated further away from the city boundary (e.g. Falkirk and Perth) but the scale of these larger towns means that the effects of expanding housing markets have been less dramatic in terms of changing the economic roles played by these places. Scale tends to be associated with greater diversity in economic roles (e.g. service centre, tertiary education, local government, regional leisure venues and significant business parks) which means that it would take a more significant trend than simply additional housing demand to effect a significant impact on large urban town trajectory.

Towns that have or develop economic specialisation stand to have a more multi-dimensional role with their nearest city than towns that simply provide labour for a city economy. St Andrews stands out as a town with this specialisation by virtue of its university and tourism/leisure offer. However, there are less obvious examples such as Galashiels and Kirkcaldy – these towns are clearly more significant as sub-regional hubs of industry than as commuter dormitories. Towns further stand to demonstrate and invest in their individual distinctiveness (to some extent *independent* of their city association(s)) through effective place marketing (e.g. in Kirkwall the brand was already there in the Orkney place branding and in Falkirk the Wheel has been catalytic in creating a new brand).

One area where non-city areas are generally not making significant contributions to their respective regions is in **innovation**. This generally appears to be an economic role which is concentrated in cities themselves and we uncovered are no clear examples of innovation strategies, successful or otherwise. There are also no clear examples of **university/college-led strategies** that have delivered economic transition for a town. The evidence would seem to suggest there may be more potential for a transformational effect (at town level) where these institutions are located within town centres, are less fragmented across city regions and achieve greater scale and specialisation.

Despite the significance of the post-industrial trend, particularly in central urban Scotland, there are **no examples of places that have followed a pronounced contraction trajectory** (assisted by strategy or otherwise). Areas such as Inverclyde, Ayrshire, Clydebank and Lanarkshire have lost population since the decline of heavy industry but the pace of population loss has been much slower – when factories closed, the towns did not. This indicates that to some extent these places have developed some new economic roles to replace the demise of previous roles and also indicates that there has been no policy decision to plan for a reduced future population.

Equally moves within Groups seem more likely than between them given the average size of places. Most observed moves or trajectories are from one Type to another within the same Group. Moves from one Group to another are less likely, though not impossible, due to scale differences. The median population size for a Scottish city¹⁴ is 184,000 and the median sizes for large urban, medium urban and small urban areas respectively are 53,000, 24,000 and 7,000. There is a limited amount of overlap. For example, only a couple of Scotland's largest large urban areas are larger than Inverness. For the small and remote rural groups the median population size is 4,000 and the range runs from 1,000 to 20,000. So there is considerable size overlap between rural Groups/types and the small urban Group – however, a transition from a rural Group to the small urban Group, though possible from a scale point of view, is unlikely due to the fundamental differences between how urban and rural places relate to Scotland's cities.

¹⁴ All population figures are based on the town district and city boundaries created for this study.

3 City region profiles

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we set the economic role of places in the context of regions. We consider:

- the economic Types of places present in each of Scotland's regions;
- how the mix of Types might affect economic performance; and
- how the mix of places might influence policy priorities in each region.

For the purposes of this work we have considered the Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen city regions as well as the Highlands and Islands region and South of Scotland as defined by Scottish Enterprise. 15 A profile of each region is provided in appendix D and the places in each region, and their economic Type, are provided in appendix F. 16 Figure 3.1 shows the mix of types in each region, showing the percentage breakdown of types in each region.

Figure 3.1: Spread of types by city region

Mix of types (% of all places in a region)	Aberdeen	Dundee	Edinburgh	Glasgow	South of Scotland	Highlands and Islands
Cities	3	3	1	1	0	1
Improving Satellites	0	0	1	6	0	0
City-fringe Tenacity	0	0	4	6	0	1
Regional Independents	0	3	4	7	3	0
Commuter Comfort	0	6	0	4	0	0
Industrial Recovery	0	6	4	6	0	0
Mixed-use Outskirts	10	3	0	1	0	0
Green and Growing	10	3	11	7	0	0
Towns in Miniature	3	16	9	7	6	3
Settled Communities	6	10	9	7	0	1
Small Town Skills	16	16	28	20	0	3
Urban Fringes	3	6	12	11	3	0
Urban Solitude	6	16	14	2	6	4
Rural Challenge	10	0	0	5	29	4
Rural Dynamism	10	3	_ 1	0	16	19
Rural Production	19	0	0	0	0	8
Rural Knowledge	3	0	0	2	6	4
Accessible Choice	0	0	0	5	0	0
Ports and Gateways	0	3	0	1	0	21
Growing Gateways	0	0	0	0	0	14
Remote Diversity	0	3	0	0	0	15
Remote Magnets	0	0	0	0	29	1

¹⁵ Definition: This definition allocates North East Fife Parliamentary Constituency area to the Dundee City

Region

16 It is worth pointing out that analysis across the city region boundaries here should be used with caution. This is partly because we are looking at economies as defined by administrative boundaries rather than built up from amalgamations of true local economies.

3.2 Profiles

Aberdeen city region is composed of a:

- small number (3) of medium urban places in the near-city zone, such like Ellon and Peterhead, providing housing for commuters and playing sub-regional service roles;
- large number (14) of small urban places (including places of industry and commuter towns);
- large number (10) of small rural places in the mid-range distance from the city (many play significant roles in contributing to the economic diversity of the city region, including serving the energy sector focused around Aberdeen as well as food and drink production and other industries); and
- places further afield in the region's rural hinterland that are less directly connected to
 the city itself in terms of employment but play an important role as sub-regional centres
 or may be linked in terms of long distance commuting (e.g. Ballater).

This mix of places and their functions in the Aberdeen City Region presents a number of policy challenges:

- internal **connectivity** has some weaknesses as the city boundary is tight, there is need for rest of the region to accommodate growth (as some of the medium and small urban places have been doing) and a need for better connectivity to enable this;
- the city region is unusual in that places in the region are supporting the city's most significant industry (energy) – this means that there are strong functional connections but a also shared risk and therefore a need for greater economic/market diversity to minimise risks at city region level; and
- this suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; internal transport improvements and further economic diversification.

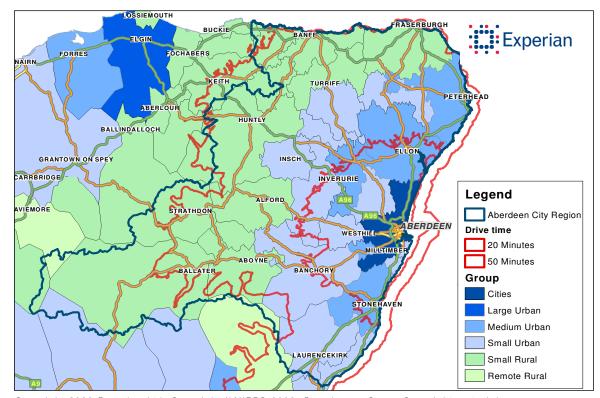


Figure 3.2: Economic groups and city drive times in Aberdeen City Region

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3.2.1 Edinburgh city region summary

Edinburgh City Region features Scotland's capital city and:

- seven large urban places (many of which, such as Livingston, act as sub-regional centres as well as being centres for other industries) giving the city region a clear structure of a major economic hub and a number of minor economic hubs;
- three medium urban places (all post-industrial);
- a large number (63) of small urban places proving a mix of residential choice, employment sites and visitor attractions and generally helping contribute to regional economic diversity, e.g. Grangemouth; and
- there are almost no types of place classified in the rural Groups illustrating the generally good city connectivity for hinterland areas.

The mix of places and their functions in the Edinburgh City Region presents a number of policy challenges:

- connectivity within the Edinburgh city region is superior to Aberdeen city region but not as good as Glasgow City Region. This has contributed to the region's strong economic performance but could be improved;
- there is little evidence from this study to support the view that Edinburgh is a polycentric city region. Places such as Dunfermline and Livingston are unambiguously the service

- centres for their respective sub-regions with industries that are not often directly linked to industry in the city, although housing and labour markets are linked;
- the mix of types within the Edinburgh city region is strong in terms of economic diversity and in supplying human capital but weaker in terms of the capacity for investment (new housing or employment land) and connectivity;
- there seems to be an opportunity to capitalise on the **innovation** opportunities afforded by the diverse economy and the substantial HE/FE sector; and
- this suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; ensuring sufficient investment capacity is available across the region and supporting further connectivity improvements.

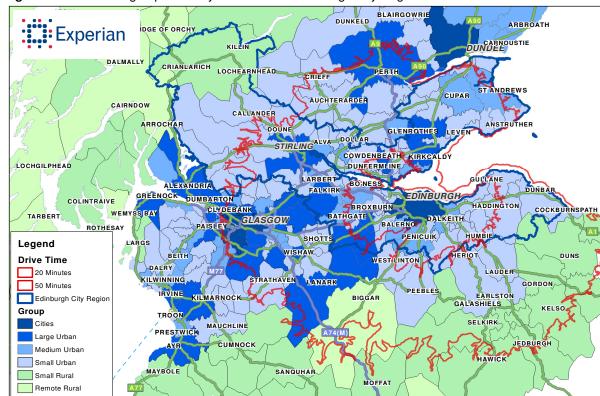


Figure 3.3: Economic groups and city drive times in Edinburgh City Region

3.2.2 Glasgow city region summary

Glasgow city region is comprised of a city and:

 more large urban places than anywhere else in Scotland (15), reflecting the historic need for urban development to support large industrial workforces (e.g. Irvine, Clydebank, Paisley);

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• a number (10) of medium urban places, providing a range of high quality commuter choices and space for further urban development (e.g. Motherwell, Uddingston);

- a large number (46) of small urban places, providing diversity in residential choice, supporting an extensive labour market catchment area and contributing to economic diversity (e.g. Dalry, Blantyre, Barrhead, Bridge of Weir);
- ten small rural places (e.g. Cumnock) and a single remote rural place.

This mix of types presents the following policy challenges:

- the size, number and development of large, medium and small urban places in the
 wider region has been supported in recent years by the lack of family housing in the city
 as well as relative affordability outside the city and permissive land use planning;
- this mix of places in the Glasgow city region reflects the historic importance of manufacturing industries - there are still a significant number of large and medium towns with industries and economic trajectories that are to an extent distinct from the city itself;
- the number of large urban places in the region is much greater than in other regions, possibly meaning that the regional urban hierarchy is more ambiguous compared with Edinburgh or Aberdeen, with a potential lack of clarity on the investment priorities;
- **connectivity**, seen from the perspective of the city's needs for an expanding labour force, is a strength;
- the key asset for this relatively well-connected city region is in terms of its future investment capacity; and
- this suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; support collaboration
 arrangements which create and communicate clear public and private investment
 priorities across the myriad of urban places in the region, and use investment and
 connectivity assets to promote further economic specialisation and diversification.

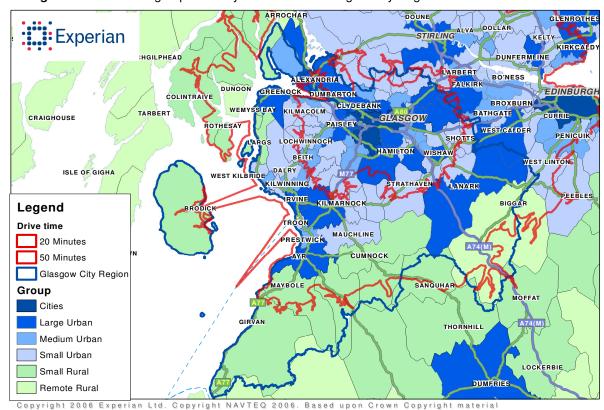


Figure 3.4: Economic groups and city drive times in Glasgow City Region

3.2.3 Dundee city region summary

Dundee city region features the following structure:

- just one other large urban place within its boundaries Perth, classified as a *regional independent*;
- four medium urban places (playing commuter, university and sub-regional centre roles e.g. Broughty Ferry, Forfar, Arbroath);
- large number (19) of small urban places which are generally well linked with Dundee, Perth or, in some cases, Edinburgh (e.g. Montrose, Cupar, Auchterarder, Kinross);
- a single small rural place and two remote rural places (generally these are not well connected with the city or Perth but may play long distance commuting roles and have important tourism economies).

This composition in terms of the mix of economic Types in Dundee City Region presents the following policy challenges:

- there may be a degree of competition in Perth's role versus Dundee's in attracting
 investment but also a degree of complementarity in that Perth provides a percentage of
 Dundee's labour force and that cultural and industry strengths are distinct;
- Perth's role as a sub-regional centre is significant in that it has strong links to Dundee but also is a centre of services for other linked places improving their perceived

- accessibility. This connectivity explains the relatively small number of places classified as rural:
- the strengths of the Dundee city region in terms of the mix of places are in their contribution in terms of economic diversity and the related potential for innovation linked to the city (and region's) HE and FE sectors;
- the weaknesses are in terms of the relative size and dispersed nature of the region's labour force and the region's internal connectivity; and
- This suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; promote clarity on the
 respective roles of Perth and Dundee and support mutual
 specialisation/complementarity, link industry non-city places with region's innovationgenerating assets and improve internal connectivity and critical mass in sub-regional
 centres.

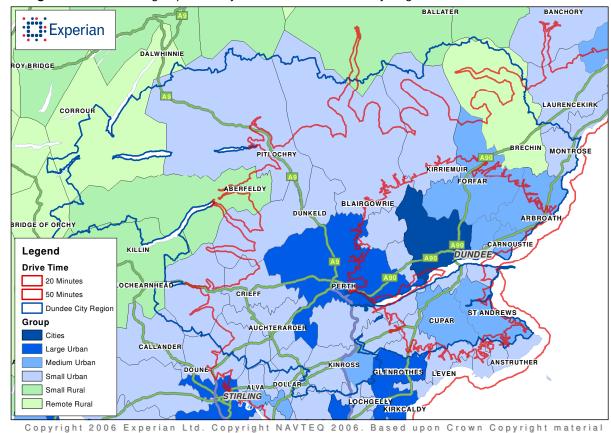


Figure 3.5: Economic groups and city drive times in Dundee City Region

3.2.4 Highlands and Islands summary

The Highlands & Islands Enterprise area is less a city region than the other locations considered here. Inverness itself is relatively small in the Scottish context and has a direct influence on a limited number of towns and rural areas in the Highlands and Islands region. The region contains:

• a single large urban area (Elgin – a sub-regional centre with its own education, industry and public services serving a wider area in the East of the region);

- no medium urban places;
- only eight small urban places (mainly sub-regional centres near Inverness or selfcontained towns further afield which have grown up around a particular industry);
- a large number (26) of small rural places (many are local centres of employment, benefiting from specific local investment, visitor attractions and in-migration of working age people seeking a better quality of life); and
- a large number (37) of remote rural places (many of which aid the region's industrial diversification in areas such as tourism, marine research, oil & gas, green power, landbased industries, food & drink and light manufacturing).

This mix of types in Highlands and Islands gives rise to a number of policy challenges:

- **connectivity** within the region (which is largely dependent on road and to a lesser extent rail travel) and to the rest of Scotland is a weakness (in relative terms);
- the opportunity for the region is to build on the inward migration of population and in capitalising on the niche areas where the region can build links between emerging industries and the education sector; and
- this suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; tackling perceptions of peripheral location and positive place marketing to promote diverse range of industry/quality of life assets and support better connections between places in the region and the rest of Scotland.

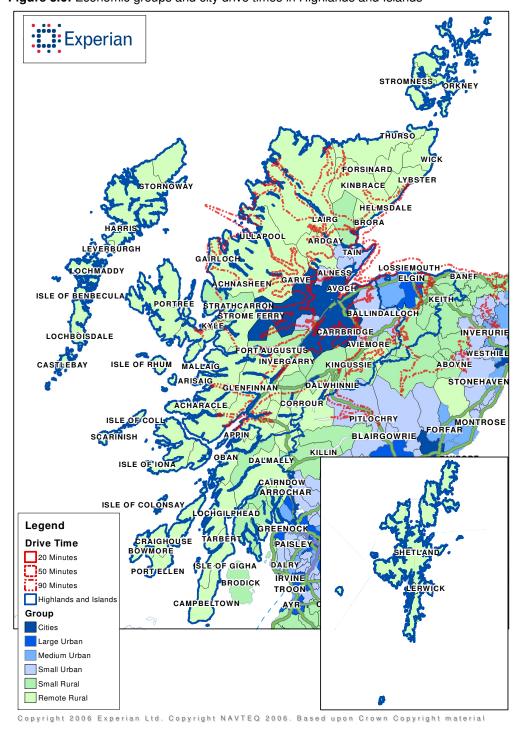


Figure 3.6: Economic groups and city drive times in Highlands and Islands

South of Scotland city region summary

The South of Scotland area is not a city region as such but an amalgamation of the Borders and Dumfries & Galloway Local Authority areas which recognises their common economic geography and development challenges. The region has no city but features the following:

- only one large urban place (Dumfries which acts as a sub-regional centre rather than a focus for the entire region);
- only 4 small urban places (mainly sub-regional centres which are influenced by their accessibility to Edinburgh, such as Peebles and Galashiels, but also provide economic diversity to the South of Scotland - tourism, land-based industries, textiles and life sciences):
- a large number (16) of small rural places (reflecting the relatively poor connectivity to cities and large urban areas for much of the region, confirming that connectivity is very much as important factor in determining economic trajectory); and
- nine remote rural places.

The main policy challenges arising from this composition are:

- there is some evidence of workforce links between the east and west of the region but
 more frequently the challenges are related to the continued economic diversification
 and to connectivity (north to the central belt, south to Carlisle and Berwick upon
 Tweed or west to Northern Ireland);
- the core drivers of competitiveness in the region are its quality of life and economic diversity;
- the flipside of the region's economic diversity is a relative lack of concentration of some
 of the larger growth sectors currently driving city growth, for example, financial and
 business services. This coupled with the lack of HE/FE assets (relative to other regions
 considered here) suggest a potential weakness in terms of innovation and human
 capital as drivers of growth;
- the proposed Waverley line extension will enhance the region's relative connectivity to the Edinburgh city region and attract **investment**, boosting growth longer term; and
- this suggests that investment priorities for the city region are; use Waverley line
 opportunity to attract investment based on quality of life and human capital assets,
 support development of Dumfries and Central Borders as twin regional hubs and
 support further economic diversification (investing in the infrastructure to attract high
 growth industries).

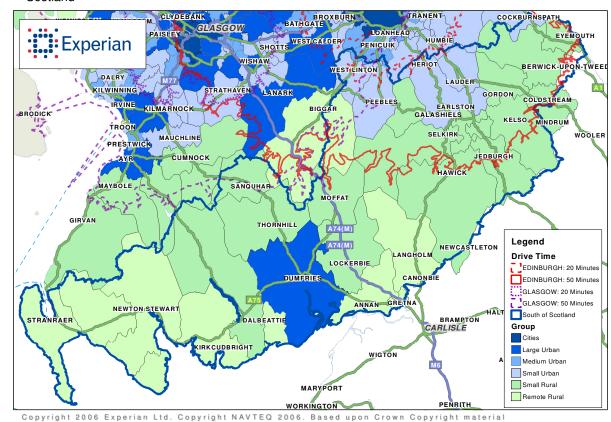


Figure 3.7: Economic groups and city (Glasgow and Edinburgh) drive times in South of Scotland

3.3 Conclusions

In this final section of the chapter we summarise key issues for each (city) region and present some general findings on the operation of (city) regions.

The findings on each (city) region are:

- Aberdeen City Region given the tight city boundary there is need for rest of the
 region to accommodate regional growth (as some of the medium and small urban
 places have already been doing) and a need for better connectivity to enable this;
- Edinburgh City Region the priorities for the city region are; ensuring sufficient
 investment capacity is available across the region (particularly to support the network of
 sub-regional hubs mainly places in the large urban Group) and supporting further
 connectivity improvements which consolidate the roles of the sub-regional hubs;
- Glasgow city Region priorities for the city region are; support arrangements to create
 and clear public and private investment priorities across the wide range of urban places
 in the region and use investment capacity and connectivity strengths to promote further
 economic specialisation in large and medium urban places;
- **Dundee City Region** priorities for the city region are; promote clarity on the respective roles of Perth and Dundee, link industry in non-city places with region's innovation-

- generating assets and improve internal connectivity and critical mass in sub-regional centres:
- Highlands and Islands priorities for the city region are; using positive place
 marketing to promote the diverse range of industry/quality of life assets to
 investors/mobile talent/visitors and to support better connections between places in the
 region and the rest of Scotland; and
- South of Scotland priorities for the city region are; use Waverley line opportunity to
 attract investment based on quality of life and human capital assets, support
 development of Dumfries and Central Borders as twin regional hubs and support further
 economic diversification (investing in the infrastructure to attract growth industries).

The general findings from this chapter are:

- city regions are diverse there is not an optimal city region in Scotland as the city regions each perform well, in different ways, despite having quite different internal structures;
- the mix of places in a city region is closely linked to its strengths and weaknesses for
 example, the profusion of *rural production* places in Aberdeen City Region illustrates the
 strong role played by non-city places in diversifying the regional economy;
- taken together, non-city places make the following specific contributions to (city)
 regions; housing and community diversity, business space and transport infrastructure,
 quality of life and visitor attractions;
- non-city places do not contribute so greatly to the generation of innovation at regional or industry level (this is still largely concentrated in the cities);
- the performance of the city has important impacts on the economic roles of, and development opportunities for, non-city places (particular those closest to and better connected to the city); and
- there are benefits to policy direction and private sector engagement in having a clear internal structure in a city region to inform the spatial prioritisation of investment i.e. what are the main sub-regional hubs outside the city, what roles do they play and how do smaller urban and rural areas relate to them. In this regard some regions (e.g. Edinburgh City Region) have a clearer internal structure than others (e.g. Glasgow City Region).

4 Conclusions

4.1.1 Introduction

This is the first attempt at such a developing an economic typology for Scotland. Its value and importance will be in terms of what this approach has to offer in terms of informing the nature and spatial distribution for economic development investments across Scotland.

The typology developed for this study is useful in order to identify the different economic roles that places outside the cities play and the geography of these contributions. This spatial perspective on Scotland's economy highlights the diversity of economic roles played by non-city places. Such a method also enables a systematic approach to considering local economic trajectories and the impact of city region dynamics on these trajectories. It also provides a framework for considering the design and effectiveness of local and regional economic strategy and implications of this for future investment. A summary of the main applications of the typology in this project is shown in the following section. The remainder of the chapter then considers how the typology provides answers to the key research questions in this study.

4.1.2 How can this typology be used?

The typology can be used to:

- identify the likely economic role of any given place, particularly in its regional context;
- consider how regional economic performance is influenced and shaped by the mix of types within it;
- compare a place with other places of that Type in other regions or in the same region
 (e.g. what can Stevenston, a town in miniature learn from other towns in miniature such
 as Carluke, Nairn and Peebles and vice versa);
- identify where any given place is on an economic development trajectory and what its potential future trajectory(ies) may be;
- identify in broad terms some strategies and interventions that have helped to effect economic transition and help to move a place along a trajectory; and
- identify the economic development strategies and interventions that are most appropriate for any given place, based on its economic Type classification.

4.1.3 What are the economic roles of places outside Scotland's main cities?

The economic roles of places outside Scotland's main cities are in important ways defined by their physical closeness, or otherwise, to these cities. Places that are part of functional city regions provide assets for those regions – housing, employment sites/land, education and cultural and visitor attractions. These assets are closely related to what previous research has identified as the *key drivers* of city-regional economic performance – human capital, investment, innovation, economic diversity and connectivity. Therefore an important conclusion from this study is that non-city places play a *variety* of economic roles in city regions and in rural Scotland, they don't just house commuters.

It is also clear from this research that **cities** *are* **unique**. There are some roles that places outside the cities don't play. For example, Falkirk and Perth combined have a larger population

than Dundee but, combined, they still do not perform the variety of roles that Dundee does. The key driver that non-city places lack is innovation. Falkirk and Perth together sustain a lot of employment but lack the concentration of innovation or R&D-intensive firms that Aberdeen or Dundee have and also lack University institutions with particular research strengths/niches.

Another important finding is that the **economic roles played by non-cities vary considerably between city regions**. In Aberdeen City Region the shire towns play a crucial role in both supporting the region's most economic significant industry (energy) and in providing further economic diversity to the region. However, Aberdeen City Region lacks the large sub-regional centres and independent towns that help define the city-town hierarchies in other city regions, particularly Edinburgh and Dundee City Regions. South of Scotland lacks a single medium sized hub (Gala-Selkirk is effectively the hub for the east and Dumfries for the west) and as a result has a preponderance of recovering rural areas (e.g. *rural challenge*) which lack the benefits of proximity to a large hub. Very few places in Inverness are defined by interaction with the city so the common types of role are related to visitor attractiveness and dispersed industry and settlement.

A feature of the typology is that it can be used to compare any given place with places that play similar economic roles. This offers benefits for considering how places can learn from each other in terms of relationships with cities and effective local economic strategy development.

4.1.4 What are the implications of the role of non-city places for the operation of regions?

It has been shown in previous research that regional economic performance is determined by the strength of the *key drivers* of urban competitiveness (human capital, quality of life, economic diversity, investment, innovation, connectivity and decision making). The **typology developed for this project links closely with these key drivers**. In this way, the key drivers of regional performance can be explained in terms of a region's composition in terms of economic *types*. (In turn this has implications for *what* investment is required *where* in order to improve regional performance – either playing to key drivers that are regional strengths or addressing those that are weaknesses).

A finding from this research is that there appear to be **benefits for a region from having a clear regional hierarchy**. By 'clear' we mean that it is unambiguous and therefore guides the private sector and public policy in a consistent way. The economic role of a particular place depends on its relationship with other nearby towns and city(ies). Scale by itself does not determine role. Therefore Galashiels is the (Central) Borders hub due to its location *and* due to the lack of any significantly larger hub. Choosing another example, Ardrossan is a *settled community* rather than a *town in miniature* not just on the basis of its connections to Glasgow and quality of life potential – the presence of slightly larger towns nearby (with Development Planning backing for their sub-regional roles) limits the extent to which Ardrossan can play other types of economic role in its sub-region.

Edinburgh City Region has a clear hierarchy, with Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, Galashiels and Livingston forming the sub-regional hubs around the city. Falkirk and Stirling have more independent roles. Glasgow on the other hand is more 'cluttered' with a large number of towns potentially competing for sub-regional dominance. Aberdeen has a very clear hierarchy, comprising one city and a wide range of much smaller towns, some of which have clear undisputed sub-regional roles (e.g. Fraserburgh, Turriff, Aboyne). Dundee City Region is slightly

less clear, with Perth being relatively close in size to the city of Dundee but there is a clear hierarchy amongst the other Angus and Perthshire towns.

However, there is unlikely to be one unambiguously optimal model of internal city region structure. Indeed Scotland's city regions are all quite different and this project uncovers no evidence that there is any model of city region structure that should be pursued by all. However, agreement on, and clarity of, the structure within a region is important for guiding public investment and as a signal for the private sector. The structure itself *can* be influenced and in this regard Development Planning plays a key role in forming and reinforcing these structures.

4.1.5 What economic trajectories are evident in places?

Trajectories as we have treated them in this project are about **local economic transition**. However, **cities do by their nature as regional hubs play a disproportionately significant role in determining the trajectory of the region as a whole**.

Local trajectories are, however, important in their own right. **All places are to a greater or lesser extent legacies of their economic past**. In this way, the theme of **post-industrial transition** is fundamental to recent, current and indeed future town trajectories in Scotland (as in many developed economies). This theme gives primacy to the need for local economic diversification (for local benefit) and also gives rise to patterns of investment *capacity* at regional level (e.g. brown field land windfall sites). Firms close or relocate but towns do not close so regeneration trajectories are commonplace in post-industrial Scotland.

In the last 10-20 years the theme of city growth and expanding city region boundaries has also become a pervasive one. For some post-industrial towns this has been the key catalyst for change. In strategic terms, this theme has created and reinforced patterns of interdependence within (and between) city regions. However, not all town trajectories in the city region context are about increased dependency on cities as the *catalysts* for change (although it is important to note the dependency is two-way – cities need housing for workers, towns need diversification of their roles). *Some* trajectories are influenced by towns developing specialisation and independent asset creation (e.g. Falkirk Wheel, Perth Concert Hall and Ardrossan marina).

At regional level these patterns of town-level trajectory are important. By way of example, there has been a lot of investment capacity in the Glasgow City Region in the last 20 years (as a result of the pervasive post-industrial trajectory faced by many towns) and less investment capacity in the South of Scotland, which instead has a lot of places in need of connectivity improvement (with many towns on a post-market town trajectory – e.g. the *rural challenge* Type).

Another important theme in current trajectories is **quality of life-based transformational strategies**. Whereas attracting mobile industry has been a theme since the 1980s (e.g. Enterprise Zones) the recent and current economic development emphasis has been on creating attractive places that will attract skilled people, visitors, investors and businesses alike. In some instances this is also linked to **waterfront regeneration**. In eras of industrial expansion, access to the sea, rivers and canals enabled industries such as shipbuilding, trade, fishing and (still) hydrocarbon recovery. Now, such marine access is linked to quality of life-based economic development. Projects such as Irvine Bay URC, Clydebank Rebuilt, the Falkirk

Wheel and *Energetica* (Aberdeen City region) are good examples of interventions aimed at effecting economic transition through rethinking the economic benefits of waterfronts, the coast and marine access (based on creating quality of life outcomes).

4.1.6 What economic strategies and interventions have helped to enable change?

Economic strategy at local level is about effecting a desired trajectory - moving a place in the 'right' direction. At regional level it is less clear what strategy *should* be about as the optimal strategy for regional economic performance often has local winners and losers.

Earlier in the report we highlighted the following issues about local strategy;

- enabling the benefits of city region expansion is an important strategy;
- creating the capacity for growth (land) is a simple strategy that can be very effective *providing* it is met with an opportunity (e.g. expanding city);
- location is fundamental to strategy success a strategy may be successful in a place
 just outside the city boundary but a similar strategy may be unsuccessful further out
 (this can often be related to private sector perceptions of investment returns further out
 from city boundaries);
- the severity of city growth constraints can aid local success outside the city;
- the time dimension is important past economic shocks have been fundamental in some places (Motherwell, Clydebank) so strategy needs to be long term (Ravenscraig Ltd and Clydebank Rebuilt);
- responding to opportunity rather than just creating the capacity can sometimes be a
 more effective strategy, especially further out from city boundaries e.g. Ardrossan and
 Stranraer aiming to capture economic benefit from (currently) transient visitor market;
- funding is crucial oil revenues were a relatively rare opportunity for Orkney to
 proactively stimulate economic diversity through business space provision and the
 Enterprise Zones would have failed without the fiscal breaks offered to firms;
- place marketing there are some significant examples of where a clear, distinct identity
 can have a number of economic benefits (Kirkwall the brand was already there,
 Falkirk the Wheel has created a new brand);
- the innovation contribution from outside cities seems low and there are no clear examples of strategies aimed creating a greater local innovation presence, successful or otherwise;
- the role of the private sector in economic development cannot be overstated and there
 are many examples of public investment successfully addressing market failure and
 leading to successful private investment (Ardrossan, Kirkcaldy);
- there are no clear examples of tertiary education-led strategies that have delivered clear
 economic transition for a town there may, however, be more potential for this as a
 strategic approach (if institutions are located within the town, are less fragmented and
 achieve greater scale and specialisation); and
- improving and creating connectivity can have a crucial impact on the role a place plays

 which follows from the fundamental significance that accessibility has on economic roles and strategy success (as discussed elsewhere).

It is important to note that many of the successful strategies identified in this study have been enabled by the recent trend of city expansion. In determining whether and how such strategies are applicable in other places in Scotland in the future it will be important to assess whether these city growth trends will continue at a similar pace and in the same ways as has been experienced in the recent past. This should be part of the risk assessment for adopting any strategies based on an assumption of continued city expansion.

There are also some more general issues arising from this analysis. If strategy is formulated at regional level then choices need to be made. This means there will be local winners and local losers (if the time period of analysis is sufficiently narrow). However, in the longer term, the regional outcome may be higher than that achieved by a more dispersed strategy - this is the key trade-off presented by this strategic choice. There is a case for greater local specialisation and the concentration of certain economic activities in certain places (and not in others). This case is supported by the very economies of scale arguments that have supported the development of cities themselves and by the observation of the disproportionate economic benefits that cities create. There are also sporadic local examples of where this has worked food and drink in Orkney and subsea / engineering in Westhill. However, the more common pattern is one of dispersed diversity. For example when added together, Edinburgh City Region's hinterlands have a diverse leisure tourism offer but each of individual assets (e.g. golf in East Lothian, mountain biking in Borders, the iconic Falkirk Wheel, Stirling medieval heritage) lack any true critical mass that offers visitors a dense variety in a discrete geography. The regional equivalent of this argument is to some extent provided by the National Planning Framework.

4.1.7 What Types of place are most adaptable?

It is useful to consider if there are some economic Types of place that are more adaptable than others. By adaptable, we mean that a place is flexible, could thrive in a variety of circumstances and plays a variety of economic roles. The most adaptable Types in each Group are described below:

- in the Large Urban Group the most adaptable type is city-fringe tenacity, as this type benefits from critical mass, cultural assets and close connections with a city (unlike regional independents which have mass but less strong city relationships);
- within the Medium Urban Group the most adaptable Type is commuter comfort as high
 quality of life compared with other places reduces the importance of city proximity to
 success;
- within the Small Urban Group a number of Types demonstrate adaptability, with their
 relatively small scale being one enabler of this adaptability. However, the green and
 growing Type stands out as having the greatest variety of roles and assets, with city
 proximity, attractiveness to commuters, space for development and industry assets and
 key employers;
- in the Small Rural Group the rural production Type is the most adaptable, possessing a
 mix of industry strengths, some commuter populations, cultural attractions and clear
 sub-regional service role; and
- within the Remote Rural Group the remote diversity Type is the most adaptable, possessing a clear sub-regional role, critical mass (in the sub-regional context) and clear gateway roles.

In summary, scale is an enabler of adaptability for *larger* urban places, but only if there is inherent diversity in the place's economic roles to sustain a flexible place of this size. In contrast, being small is an enabler of adaptability for *smaller* urban places as smaller opportunities (e.g. growth of commuter populations) can have proportionately *greater* transformational effects than in larger urban places. In rural areas, scale again becomes important as critical mass assures a place's sub-regional dominance.

4.1.8 What further policy and research questions could be answered using this approach?

On the basis of this project it appears that **innovation** is generally an economic role concentrated in cities themselves. This conclusion is worthy or further investigation and testing. There may be potential to consider the roles that non-city places could play in developing and implementing innovation, building on the range of economic assets than non-city places do have. In this respect the findings from the forthcoming research on innovation in the South of Scotland could be usefully compared with the outputs from this study.

In terms of Scottish Enterprise's industry approach to economic development, it would be useful to look at the local contributions to priority industries in more detail. Specifically it would be useful to carry out an audit of local assets/roles in relation to each priority industry and consider these local assets systematically in **industry development policy.**

Much of this study has been focused on regions as the drivers of national economic performance and how local areas contribute within this. However, a more locally focused application of the findings from this study would be to use the typology as a tool to **benchmark local places** with each other. This idea may lend itself to a pilot project, taking a small number of places and establishing what can be learned from similar places in terms of; economic strategy, specific investments and their delivery, optimising links with cities and using other common economic and locational advantages.

Lastly, this project has not directly investigated the **sustainable development** implications of how (city) regions operate. However, we have identified a number of areas - such as the strategic choice between dispersal of development versus concentration - that have transport, scale economy and waste management implications. This project has focused on the economic roles of places and how they contribute to (city) region *economic* performance but clearly applying sustainable development principles to the implications of this research will re-shape the implications for local and regional development.

Appendix A

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²¹ Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs

Appendix B

Indicators used to build the typology

Indicators used to build the typology

Dimension	Indicator used to build the	Use
	Total population	Simple scale indicator
Scale	Total employment	Simple scale indicator and indicator of economic role
	Employment to population ratio	Degree of independence or dependence for jobs
	Population growth 1999 to 2006	Economic performance/success
	Working age population growth 1999 to 2006	Proxy for employment growth
Trajectory	% employed in public and private knowledge-based industries	Proxy for transition towards knowledge economy
	Socio-economic profile	Identification of areas which attract mobile populations
	Tourism Information Centre footfall	Identifies tourism hubs / distributors
	Number of tourism attractions with 100,000+ visitors	Role as tourism destinations
	Number of tourism attractions with 10,000+ visitors	Role as tourism destinations
	Presence / absence of FE college	Role as provider of training
	Presence / absence of HE institution	Role as learning and / or research provider
	Employment by industry	Indicates economic specialisation
Economic assets	Skills (used specific socio-economic groups as a proxy)	Extent to which places is a provider of skilled people
	Employment in Scottish Enterprise Priority Industries	Extent to which a place contributes to policy-assisted sectors
	NHS hospitals	Importance of health service provision
	Presence of science park	Provision of specialist space
	Presence of commercial port	Logistics role
	Presence of passenger ferry port	Gateway role
	Drive time to city	Proxy for commuting role or potential
Access	Drive time to international airport	Proxy for competitive business location
,	Presence of railway station and size (passenger numbers)	Transport hub role and access to cities and other towns
Economic	Mosaic Groups	Proxy for people most likely to be city commuters
flows	Retail	Significance of major retailers and brands to town

Appendix C

Summaries of strategies and interventions in the case studies

Investment strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Clydebank Rebuilt	Some early wins, such as College relocation and Titan crane attraction	Scale of site and strategic location (city side of the town and riverside) may prove critical
	Clydebank Enterprise Zone (1980s)	Created as many jobs on site as were lost when Singer closed (however, many are taken by incommuters so not so successful in quality of life development)	Strategic designation attracted funding and partner engagement
Land remediation and assembly	Ardrossan harbour / marina	Clydeport sold land to Persimmon and success of housing development surpassed expectations	High quality location and connectivityQuality of marina/harbour front
	Motherwell (Ravenscraig Ltd)	Too early to judge	City expansion and capacity for large scale development
	Kirkcaldy	Industrial decline created brownfield land capacity but some investment lost to Glenrothes (which had Greenfield). Lately John Smith BP become more successful	 Local competition for development Public investment to address market failure
	Kirkwall (Hatson Industrial Estate)	Use old RAF hangers to develop light industry space and to enable economic diversification. Cluster of food and drink processors now operate successfully from site	 Successful place marketing of Orkney benefits businesses Parallel residential and tourism growth
Business Park development	Falkirk (Grangemouth Port)	Identified as key asset for region and a unique strength for Falkirk-Grangemouth	 Continued private sector interest National recognition of uniqueness (NPF)
	Westhill (business park expansion)	Land released and developed at a time when demand was high and supply was constrained in city	 Proximity to growing city Specific property needs by businesses Land use planning permissive
Experian, 200	8		

Connectivity strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Galashiels (Waverley line)	Not implemented yet but mainly positive business response – has helped give business and investors added confidence in area	 Private sector response Connecting Kelso, Hawick, etc with Central Borders will be important Expanding Edinburgh City Region has enabled project
Improved connections to city	Clydebank (URC)	Though not a transport project the riverside development is part of Greater Glasgow waterfront development and will 'connect' Clydebank to Glasgow by creating a mixed use for a site at city end of the town	 Attractions for wider region Multi modal transport options to city Student recreation options on site (e.g. sports complex)
	Falkirk (rail)	Rail travel frequency between Glasgow and Edinburgh (via Falkirk) has underlined the town's commuter viability	Unique location between city regionsPre-existing infrastructure
	Kirkwall (sea and air)	Variety of sea options to access the islands have helped open up visitor markets as well as long distance commute and business market access.	Critical mass of population, business and visitor attractions on islands
	Ardrossan (ferry link to Arran)	600K visitors travel through town to Arran – visitor spending not yet captured	 Accommodation, catering and leisure offer will need to be developed in parallel to fully capture visitor potential Expanding Glasgow City Region
Maximising existing connections	Kirkwall	Improved links and competition-based approach to sea travel to islands has boosted visitor choice	 Concentration of visitor attractions (i.e. reasons to go) Improvements in infrastructure (piers, accommodation) Oil boom 1970s-80s (direct activity and demand and local tax revenue)
	Stranraer	Stena Line moving site, has freed up site for waterfront development (for leisure) – vision not realised yet	Not yet known
Experian 2008			

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Economic diversification strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Galashiels	Old mill sites successful used for retail warehousing and former Viasystems' site used for knowledge-intensive business	 Town is main hub in Borders Quality of life has attracted entrepreneurs Proactive public sector
Business property provision	Perth	Until recently, employment land expansion kept pace with demand, attracting and retaining employers	Unique central locationTransport linksLarge town - labour pool
	Motherwell	Space made available to attract low-medium skilled services	Space availableAffordabilityPriority regeneration status
Population	Motherwell (Ravenscraig Ltd)	Hope that 'new town' will contain mixed demographic that supports wide range of retail, leisure and cultural offer	City region expansion will be critical
diversification	Ardrossan	Successful stimulation of private housing market but not enough critical mass yet for demographic impact	 Quality harbour environment Accessibility to city and other Ayrshire towns
Leisure- based tourism	Ardrossan (marina)	Aiming to capture transient visitor market and develop tourism around waterfront leisure	 Creating enough attractions and supporting services to retain people and spending Establishing distinctive role in region
	Stranraer (waterfront)	Aiming to capture transient visitor market and develop tourism around waterfront leisure (casino licence may also help)	 Creating enough attractions and supporting services to retain people and spending
	Falkirk (Wheel and Helix)	Unique working canal infrastructure developed with supporting visitor infrastructure	 Uniqueness of attraction Location (central) Funding availability Wider benefits will depend on further attraction development

Innovation strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Clydebank (health)	Health-related cluster in and around town but knock-on inward investment benefits not yet evident	 How the various assets can be joined up and marketed as a compelling draw
Attract research / R&D base	Kirkwall (wave and tidal testing)	Emerged from national survey of potential sites as relatively unique renewable resource – commercial product has been developed	 Natural asset (which had already attracted Heriot-Watt HEI 20 years ago) Long term success depends on cumulative development and investment
	Galahiels	Ongoing efforts to ensure HEI presence is secure and develops more business links.	 Not yet significantly developed but strategy is identified and in place
Embed	Perth (crop research)	Not actually networked as part of a regional innovation system but successful as standalone	 Links with agriculture sector, which is strong nationally and in region
existing assets	Stranraer	Use private sector commercial decision (vacating town waterfront) as catalyst for new leisure-tourism industry	 Retaining visitor spending on transient visitor population will be key
	Galashiels	Provided business space for higher value added activities and worked to ensure tertiary sector commitment	 Industrial heritage and legacy left by this (e.g. skills, tertiary education sector) is an asset
Move up value chain	Kirkwall	Provision of property to enable processing of quality primary food and drink produce on islands – business base enabled	 Strong primary production sector Strong brand and brand promotion Enabling role of public sector (plus oil revenue)

Human capital strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Ardrossan	Initial sites have been successful but demographic in town is largely unchanged	 Location and transport in relation to city Quality harbour environment (partly as a result of public investment)
	Westhill	New growth area a few miles outside city, now popular and successful commuter town	Proximity to cityRelative affordability
Housing expansion to attract commuters	Falkirk	Responded to opportunity of growing city boundary to attract mobile households	Permissive land use planningRelative affordabilityExpanding city
	Clydebank	Housing investment has been focused on social housing. Has improved neighbourhoods but private housing aimed at commuters has not occurred.	 Lack of demographic diversification strategy Investors were not interested in town (and not influenced)
Tertiary	Galashiels	Co-location of HE and FE adds to area's offer but not large enough to create student 'buzz'	University commitment to siteGood quality of life (commuters)ICT infrastructure investment
education	Kirkwall	Natural evolution of college from city and guilds type training to under and post graduate degrees	Population growth In town
Quality of life	Perth (concert hall, public realm)	Successful in themselves but not enough to create different day or night time population. Employment pays below national average.	 High quality design / vision Location of town Distinct role from neighbouring venues (e.g. Dundee Rep Theatre)
	Falkirk (Howgate and Callendar retail projects)	Howgate more successful than Callendar but both successful in retaining retail role of town	Early recognition of leakage and competition (e.g. Stirling)

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Decision making strategies

Strategy	Examples	Success	Critical factors
	Kirkcaldy	Collaboration with Lothians to secure growth in town	 Expanding city region Shared understanding of housing and economic dynamics
	Motherwell	Commitment to Ravenscraig in Development Plan.	 Success will depend to continued commitment to this as a regional development.
Land use planning collaboration	Galashiels	Increased cross border working in recognition of growing north Borders-Lothians linkages	 Balance struck between development and preservation of character / role Ability to secure Galashiels' role in Central Borders whilst enabling expansion in Selkirk and Peebles (Gala lacks land)
	Westhill	Arguably benefited from changes in Local Authority boundaries in 1996.	City land constraint
Marketing	Perth City	Branding of City not yet as successful as rural branding (Big Tree Country)	 Establishing coherent joint benefits of Dundee and Perth and marketing this
9	Kirkwall	Orkney brand applied to marketing for people, tourism and businesses	Distinctive heritage and location
	Motherwell (Ravenscraig Ltd)	Currently expect a college, business / technology space, housing, regional sports centre and new town centre	Continued expanding city regionMaintain existing town centre viability
	Clydebank (URC)	College has already relocated and visitor attraction (Titan) developed but overall vision is long term	 Attracting visitors and population from town Canal-side developments may be crucial to existing town centre's vitality
Public-private	Ardrossan (Irvine Bay URC)	Private house builders now more proactively interested in town. Traditional neighbourhoods now higher quality (RSL investment).	Willingness of private land ownerQuality coastal location
	Falkirk (Falkirk Action Plan, MFIF)	Helped cement public-private collaboration and focus strategy on port and cluster assets in area.	Large MNEsNational recognitionPartner engagement
	Stranraer (waterfront)	Plans are in place for leisure- based waterfront development	Private sector releasing land (Stena Line)Public sector consensus
Lobbying	Galashiels (New Ways)	Helped secure investment for the Borders and coordinates public agency aspirations for area.	 Crises galvanised actors (e.g. Viasystems closure, cashmere trade crisis)

Appendix D

Profile of each Region

Aberdeen City Region

Type (group)	Primary role	Secondary role(s)	Examples/Interventions
Cities	Employment and services for the city region		
Mixed-use outskirts (medium urban)	Sub-regional centres	Industry, retail, further education	Specialist employment land development (e.g. forthcoming <i>Energetica</i> plans for Peterhead -Aberdeen corridor), expanding further education
Green and growing (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Employment (mainly manufacturing/ Construction/primary), education	Employment land expansion at Westhill (focused on specific industries)
Settled communities (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Visitor attractions, education	Housing land expansions in Stonehaven
Small town skills (small urban)	Small sub-regional service provision	Housing, education	Town centre investment or service provision (e.g. schooling) (e.g. Laurencekirk)
Urban fringes (small urban)	Visitor/retirement	Industry – primary and manufacturing	
Urban solitude (small urban)	Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	
Rural dynamism (small rural)	Visitor attractions	Education	Creating / investing in 'must-see' or 'must-do' visitor attractions (e.g. Ballater)
Rural production (small rural)	Manufacturing industry	Sub-regional service centres	Managing competing land demands from industry and housing (e.g. Turriff)
Rural knowledge (small rural)	High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre	Development of ICT / home working
Source: Experian 2008			

Edinburgh City Region

Type (group)	Primary role	Secondary role(s)	Examples/Interventions
Cities	Employment and services for the city region		
Improving satellites (medium urban)	Employment and local services	Industry – manufacturing	
City-fringe tenacity (medium urban)	Employment and local services	Manufacturing, private services	
Regional independents (medium urban)	Regional centre of retail and public administration	Employment (manufacturing, public administration)	Retail regeneration, land remediation/specialist business space e.g. Falkirk
Industrial recovery (medium urban)	Sub-regional centres	Industry, retail, further education	New business space in Alloa
Green and growing (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Employment (mainly manufacturing/ Construction/primary), education	Major housing and town centre regeneration in Bo'ness
Towns in miniature (small urban)	Housing and labour	Local services	Housing expansion in Denny
Settled communities (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Visitor attractions, education	Housing land expansions in Linlithgow
Small town skills (small urban)	Small sub-regional service provision	Housing, education	Town centre investment (e.g. South Queensferry)
Urban fringes (small urban)	Visitor/retirement	Industry – primary and manufacturing	
Urban solitude (small urban)	Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	
Rural dynamism (small rural)	Visitor attractions	education	Visitor facilities and local housing e.g. Killin
Source: Experian 2008			

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Glasgow City Region

		Examples/Interventions
Casada, assault assal		
services for the city region		
Employment and local services	Industry – manufacturing	Retail, business and housing regeneration in Clydebank
Employment and local services	Manufacturing, private services	Retail and town centre investment in East Kilbride
Regional centre of retail and public administration	Employment (manufacturing, public administration)	Retail regeneration, office/commercial space e.g. Cumbernauld
Provision of labour to city	Employment and local services	Improved motorway connectivity e.g. Newton Mearns
Sub-regional centres	Industry, retail, further education	New business space in Bellshill
Provision of labour to city (housing)	Employment (mainly manufacturing/ Construction/primary), education	
Housing and labour	Local services	New housing expansion in Larkhall
Provision of labour to city (housing)	Visitor attractions, education	West of Scotland Science Park in Milngavie
Small sub-regional service provision	Housing, education	Town centre investment e.g. Saltcoats
Visitor/retirement	Industry – primary and manufacturing	
Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	
Employment, mainly manufacturing	Housing	Community regeneration/ICT projects in Girvan
High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre	
Housing, retirement locations	Visitor attractions	Town centre improvements/traffic management e.g. Largs
	region Employment and local services Employment and local services Employment and local services Regional centre of retail and public administration Provision of labour to city Sub-regional centres Provision of labour to city (housing) Housing and labour Provision of labour to city (housing) Small sub-regional service provision Visitor/retirement Retirement villages Employment, mainly manufacturing High skilled long distance commuters Housing, retirement	services for the city region Employment and local services manufacturing Employment and local services private services Regional centre of Employment retail and public administration administration Provision of labour to city services Sub-regional centres Industry, retail, further education Employment (mainly manufacturing/ Construction/primary), education Housing and labour Local services Provision of labour to city (housing) Visitor attractions, education Small sub-regional service provision Visitor/retirement Industry – primary and manufacturing Retirement villages Employment, mainly manufacturing Housing High skilled long distance commuters Housing, retirement Visitor attractions Sub-regional centre Visitor attractions Sub-regional centre

Dundee City Region

Type (group)	Primary role	Secondary role(s)	Examples/Interventions
Cities	Employment and services for the city region		
Regional independents (medium urban)	Regional centre of retail and public administration	Employment (manufacturing, public administration)	Business infrastructure investment e.g. Perth
Commuter comfort (medium urban)	Provision of labour to city	Employment and local services	Town centre improvements e.g. St Andrews
Industrial recovery (medium urban)	Sub-regional centres	Industry, retail, further education	Public realm investment in Arbroath
Mixed-use outskirts (medium urban)	Housing and local services	Employment	New office space and traffic management investment e.g. Forfar
Green and growing (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Employment (mainly manufacturing/ Construction/primary), education	
Towns in miniature (small urban)	Housing and labour	Local services	New housing expansion in Blairgowrie
Settled communities (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Visitor attractions, education	Tourism and town centre investment Carnoustie
Small town skills (small urban)	Small sub-regional service provision	Housing, education	Traffic management and town centre improvements e.g. Auchterarder
Urban fringes (small urban)	Visitor/retirement	Industry – primary and manufacturing	
Urban solitude (small urban)	Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	
Rural Dynamism (small rural)	Housing and local services	Tourism industries	Education and public realm investment in Aberfeldy
Ports and markets (small rural)	High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre	
Remote diversity	Housing/retirement	Employment, some tourism	Business space investment e.g. Brechin
Source: Experian 2008			

Highlands and Islands

Type (group) (# of towns)	Primary role	Secondary role(s)	Examples/Interventions
Cities	Employment and services for the city region		
City-fringe tenacity (medium urban)	Employment and local services	Manufacturing, public services	Education investment in new campus in Elgin
Towns in miniature (small urban)	Housing and labour	Local services	Business space investment in Nairn
Settled communities (small urban)	Provision of labour to city (housing)	Visitor attractions, education	Housing land expansions in Forres
Small town skills (small urban)	Small sub-regional service provision	Housing, education	Housing and business investment e.g. Dingwall
Urban solitude (small urban)	Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	
Rural challenge (small urban)	Employment, mainly manufacturing	Housing	Business space investment e.g. Rothesay
Rural dynamism (small rural)	Visitor attractions	Education	Visitor facilities and local housing e.g. Fort Augustus
Rural production (small rural)	Manufacturing industry	Sub-regional service centres	Shipyard investment e.g. Buckie
Rural knowledge (small rural)	High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre	Business park investment e.g. Golspie
Ports and markets (small rural)	High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre, transport hub	Housing allocation e.g. Ullapool
Growing gateways (small rural)	Housing, centres of local administration	Connectivity	Employment land development e.g. Stromness
Remote diversity	Housing/retirement	Employment, some tourism	Waterfront development e.g. Fort William
Source: Experian 2008			

South of Scotland

Type (group) (# of towns)	Primary role	Secondary role(s)	Examples/Interventions
Cities	Employment and services for the city region		
Regional independents (medium urban)	Regional centre of retail and public administration	Employment (manufacturing, public administration)	Business infrastructure investment e.g. Dumfries
Towns in miniature (small urban)	Housing and labour	Local services	Business space investment e.g. Galashiels
Urban fringes (small urban)	Visitor/retirement	Industry – primary and manufacturing	Housing allocation e.g. West Linton
Urban solitude (small urban)	Retirement villages	Agriculture and tourism industries	Town centre improvements/housing allocation e.g. Lauder
Rural challenge (small urban)	Employment, mainly manufacturing	Housing	Community regeneration/tourism investment e.g. Eyemouth
Rural dynamism (small rural)	Visitor attractions	Education	Visitor facilities and local housing e.g. Moffat
Rural knowledge (small rural)	High skilled long distance commuters	Sub-regional centre	Housing and town centre improvements e.g. Melrose
Remote magnets (small rural)	Visitor attractions	Employment and local services	Visitor attractions investment e.g. Gretna
Experian, 2008			

Appendix E

Town districts in each type

Cities	Recovering Satellites	City-fringe tenacity	Regional independents
ABERDEEN	AIRDRIE	BISHOPBRIGGS	AYR
DUNDEE	CLYDEBANK	ELGIN	CUMBERNAULD
EDINBURGH			DUMBARTON AND
LDINDONGIT	DUNFERMLINE	HAMILTON	ALEXANDRIA
GLASGOW	EAST KILBRIDE	IRVINE	DUMFRIES
INVERNESS	PAISLEY	KIRKCALDY	FALKIRK
	RUTHERGLEN	LANARK	GLENROTHES
		LIVINGSTON	GREENOCK
		WHITBURN	KILMARNOCK
		WISHAW AND	
		OVERTOWN	PERTH
			STIRLING

Commuter comfort	Industrial recovery	Mixed-use outskirts
BROUGHTY FERRY	ALLOA	ELLON
HELENSBURGH	ARBROATH	FORFAR
	ARMADALE, BATHGATE AND	
KIRKINTILLOCH	BLACKRIDGE	INVERURIE
ST ANDREWS	BELLSHILL	PETERHEAD
NEWTON MEARNS	JOHNSTONE	PRESTWICK
BEARSDEN	MOTHERWELL	
	MUSSELBURGH	
	RENFREW	
	UDDINGSTON	

	Towns in				Urban
Green and Growing	Miniature	Settled communities	Small Town Skills	Urban Fringes	Solitude
BO'NESS	BANCHORY	ARDROSSAN	ABERFOYLE	ALVA	BIRNAM
BONNYBRIDGE	BLAIRGOWRIE	BARRHEAD	ANSTRUTHER	AUCHTERMUCHTY	BLACKFORD
BROXBURN	BLANTYRE	BEITH	AUCHTERARDER	BALFRON	COMRIE
	BUCKHAVEN AND				
CALDERBANK	METHIL	BONNYRIGG	BALLINGRY	CHARLESTOWN	CROMARTY
		BURNTISLAND,			
COWDENBEATH AND		KINGHORN AND			CROOK OF
CROSSGATES	CARLUKE	ABERDOUR	BISHOPTON	COUPAR ANGUS	DEVON
					DRUMNADRO
DALKEITH	CRIEFF	CARNOUSTIE	BLACKBURN	DARVEL	CHIT
DALRY	DENNY	CUPAR	BOTHWELL	DOLLAR	DUNLOP
		CURRIE AND			EARLSFERR
DYCE	DUNBAR	BALERNO	BRIDGE OF EARN	FENWICK	Υ
GRANGEMOUTH	DUNBLANE	FORRES	BRIDGE OF WEIR	INSCH	EAST LINTON
HOLYTOWN AND CLELAND	GALASHIELS	KILWINNING	CALLANDER	KILBARCHAN	EVANTON
KEMNAY	HADDINGTON	KINROSS	CARRON	KILMACOLM	FYVIE
		LARBERT/STENHOU			
KILBIRNIE	KIRRIEMUIR	SEMUIR	COVE BAY	KIRKLISTON	GULLANE
KILSYTH	LARKHALL	LINLITHGOW	DALGETY BAY	LENNOXTOWN	INCHTURE
					KIRKNEWTO
LOANHEAD	LEVEN	MILNGAVIE	DINGWALL	LOCHWINNOCH	N
	MAUCHLINE AND			MILTON OF	
ROSYTH	CATRINE	PENICUIK	EAST CALDER	CAMPSIE	LAUDER
	071111112		27.01 07.232.1	07	LOWER
STEWARTON	MONTROSE	PETERCULTER	ERSKINE	NEWMILNS	LARGO
0.2		POLMONT AND	2.10112		2
TRANENT	NAIRN	MADDISON	FREUCHIE	PITTENWEEM	MENSTRIE
WESTHILL	NORTH BERWICK	PORT GLASGOW	GALSTON	STRATHBLANE	NEWBURGH
***************************************	PEEBLES	STONEHAVEN	GOREBRIDGE	TAYPORT	ORMISTON
	PITLOCHRY	OTONLITAVEN	GOUROCK	WEST KILBRIDE	PATHHEAD
	STEVENSTON		HIGH VALLEYFIELD	WEST LINTON	ROSEWELL
	OTEVENOTON		THAT VALLETTILLE	WEOT LINTON	ROTHIENOR
	TAIN		HOUSTON		MAN
	TROON		INVERGORDON		TORRANCE
	HOON		JOHNSHAVEN		TOTILIANOL
			KELTY		
			KINCARDINE		
			LAURENCEKIRK		
			LINWOOD		
			LOCHGELLY		
			LONGNIDDRY		
			MAYFIELD MINITI AW		
			MINTLAW		
			MONIFIETH		
			MOODIESBURN		
			NEWMAINS		
			NEWPORT-ON-TAY		
			NEWTONGRANGE		
			OAKLEY		
			PENCAITLAND		
			PORTLETHEN		
			PRESTONPANS		
			SALSBURGH		
			SALTCOATS		
			SHOTTS		
			SOUTH		
			QUEENSFERRY		

STEPPS STONEHOUSE STRATHAVEN TILLICOULTRY UPLAWMOOR AND NEILSTON

Rural		Rural	Rural	Accessible
Challenge	Rural Dynamism	Production	Knowledge	Choice
CUMNOCK	ABERFELDY	ABERCHIRDER	ABOYNE	FAIRLIE
	BRAEMAR AND			
DUNS	BALLATER	ABERLOUR	DUNOON	LARGS
	CASTLE			
EYEMOUTH	DOUGLAS	ALFORD	GOLSPIE	SKELMORLIE
GIRVAN	COLDSTREAM	BUCKIE	LOSSIEMOUTH	WEMYSS BAY
HAWICK	DALAVICH	CULLEN	MAYBOLE	
INNERLEITHEN	DORNOCH	DUFFTOWN	MELROSE	
	FORT			
JEDBURGH	AUGUSTUS	FOCHABERS	ROSNEATH	
KELSO	FURNACE	FRASERBURGH	ST BOSWELLS	
	GARDENSTOWN,			
	BANFF AND			
LOCKERBIE	MACDUFF	HUNTLY		
MILLPORT	GARELOCHHEAD	KEITH		
NEW				
CUMNOCK	GREENLAW	PORTSOY		
PATNA	KILLIN	TURRIFF		
PORT				
BANNATYNE	KINGUSSIE			
ROTHESAY	MOFFAT			
SANQUHAR	NETHY BRIDGE			
SELKIRK	NEWTONMORE			
	NEWTOWN			
	PLOCKTON			
	ROY BRIDGE			
	TARLAND			
	THORNHILL			
	TIGHNABRUAICH			
	TOMINTOUL			
	WHITING BAY			

Ports and markets	Growing gateways	Remote diversity	Remote magnets
BALLACHULISH	ARDRISHAIG	ALNESS	ANNAN
	CARRADALE EAST		
BIGGAR	AND TARBERT	AVIEMORE	DALBEATTIE
BOWMORE	CASTLEBAY	BRECHIN	GLENLUCE
HALKIRK	LAIRG	BRORA	GRETNA
HELMSDALE	LERWICK	CAMPBELTOWN	KIRKCUDBRIGHT
INVERARAY	LOCHBOISDALE	FORT WILLIAM	LANGHOLM
ISLE OF			
BENBECULA	LOCHMADDY	INNELLAN	LOCHGILPHEAD
KINLOCH RANNOCH	LYBSTER	KINLOCHLEVEN	NEWTON STEWART
KYLE	STROMNESS	KIRKWALL	STRANRAER
MALLAIG	TOBERMORY	OBAN	WHITHORN
PORT ELLEN		THURSO	
PORTNAHAVEN		WICK	
PORTREE			
SANDWICK			
SPEAN BRIDGE			
STORNOWAY			
ULLAPOOL			

Appendix F

Places (by type) in each Region

Aberdeen City Region

Name	Group Membership	Cluster Membership
ABERDEEN	Cities	Cities
ELLON	Medium Urban	Mixed-use outskirts
INVERURIE	Medium Urban	Mixed-use outskirts
PETERHEAD	Medium Urban	Mixed-use outskirts
DYCE	Small Urban	Green and Growing
KEMNAY	Small Urban	Green and Growing
WESTHILL	Small Urban	Green and Growing
BANCHORY	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
PETERCULTER	Small Urban	Settled communities
STONEHAVEN	Small Urban	Settled communities
COVE BAY	Small Urban	Small town skills
JOHNSHAVEN	Small Urban	Small town skills
LAURENCEKIRK	Small Urban	Small town skills
MINTLAW	Small Urban	Small town skills
PORTLETHEN	Small Urban	Small town skills
INSCH	Small Urban	Urban fringes
FYVIE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
ROTHIENORMAN	Small Urban	Urban solitude
BRAEMAR AND BALLATER	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
GARDENSTOWN, BANFF AND		
MACDUFF	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
TARLAND	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
ABERCHIRDER	Small Rural	Rural Production
ALFORD	Small Rural	Rural Production
FRASERBURGH	Small Rural	Rural Production
HUNTLY	Small Rural	Rural Production
PORTSOY	Small Rural	Rural Production
TURRIFF	Small Rural	Rural Production
ABOYNE	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge

Edinburgh City Region

Ediliburgii City Negiori	Group	
Name	Membership	Cluster Membership
EDINBURGH	Cities	Cities
DUNFERMLINE	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
KIRKCALDY	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
LIVINGSTON	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
WHITBURN	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
FALKIRK	Large Urban	Regional independents
GLENROTHES	Large Urban	Regional independents
STIRLING	Large Urban	Regional independents
ALLOA	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
ARMADALE, BATHGATE AND		
BLACKRIDGE	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
MUSSELBURGH	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
BO'NESS	Small Urban	Green and Growing
BONNYBRIDGE	Small Urban	Green and Growing
BROXBURN	Small Urban	Green and Growing
COWDENBEATH AND		
CROSSGATES	Small Urban	Green and Growing
DALKEITH	Small Urban	Green and Growing
GRANGEMOUTH	Small Urban	Green and Growing
LOANHEAD	Small Urban	Green and Growing
ROSYTH	Small Urban	Green and Growing
TRANENT	Small Urban	Green and Growing
BUCKHAVEN AND METHIL	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
DENNY	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
DUNBAR	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
DUNBLANE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
HADDINGTON	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
LEVEN	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
NORTH BERWICK	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
BONNYRIGG	Small Urban	Settled communities
BURNTISLAND, KINGHORN AND	Con all I lub an	Cattlad a ammunities
ABERDOUR	Small Urban	Settled communities
CURRIE AND BALERNO LARBERT/STENHOUSEMUIR	Small Urban	Settled communities
	Small Urban	Settled communities
LINLITHGOW	Small Urban	Settled communities
PENICUIK	Small Urban	Settled communities
POLMONT AND MADDISON	Small Urban	Settled communities
ANOTRUTUER	Small Urban	Small town skills
ANSTRUTHER	Small Urban	Small town skills
BALLINGRY	Small Urban	Small town skills
BLACKBURN	Small Urban	Small town skills
CARRON	Small Urban	Small town skills
CARRON	Small Urban	Small town skills
DALGETY BAY	Small Urban	Small town skills
EAST CALDER	Small Urban	Small town skills

FREUCHIE	Small Urban	Small town skills
GOREBRIDGE	Small Urban	Small town skills
HIGH VALLEYFIELD	Small Urban	Small town skills
KELTY	Small Urban	Small town skills
KINCARDINE	Small Urban	Small town skills
LOCHGELLY	Small Urban	Small town skills
LONGNIDDRY	Small Urban	Small town skills
MAYFIELD	Small Urban	Small town skills
NEWTONGRANGE	Small Urban	Small town skills
OAKLEY	Small Urban	Small town skills
PENCAITLAND	Small Urban	Small town skills
PRESTONPANS	Small Urban	Small town skills
SOUTH QUEENSFERRY	Small Urban	Small town skills
TILLICOULTRY	Small Urban	Small town skills
ALVA	Small Urban	Urban fringes
AUCHTERMUCHTY	Small Urban	Urban fringes
BALFRON	Small Urban	Urban fringes
CHARLESTOWN	Small Urban	Urban fringes
DOLLAR	Small Urban	Urban fringes
KIRKLISTON	Small Urban	Urban fringes
PITTENWEEM	Small Urban	Urban fringes
STRATHBLANE	Small Urban	Urban fringes
EARLSFERRY	Small Urban	Urban solitude
EAST LINTON	Small Urban	Urban solitude
GULLANE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
KIRKNEWTON	Small Urban	Urban solitude
LOWER LARGO	Small Urban	Urban solitude
MENSTRIE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
NEWBURGH	Small Urban	Urban solitude
ORMISTON	Small Urban	Urban solitude
PATHHEAD	Small Urban	Urban solitude
ROSEWELL	Small Urban	Urban solitude
KILLIN	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism

Highlands and Islands

Highlands and Islands		
Name	Group Membership	Cluster Membership
INVERNESS	Cities	Cities
ELGIN	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
NAIRN	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
TAIN	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
FORRES	Small Urban	Settled communities
DINGWALL	Small Urban	Small town skills
INVERGORDON	Small Urban	Small town skills
CROMARTY	Small Urban	Urban solitude
DRUMNADROCHIT	Small Urban	Urban solitude
EVANTON	Small Urban	Urban solitude
MILLPORT PORT BANNATYNE	Small Rural Small Rural	Rural Challenge
		Rural Challenge
ROTHESAY	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
DALAVICH	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
DORNOCH	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
FORT AUGUSTUS	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
FURNACE	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
GARELOCHHEAD	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
KINGUSSIE	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
NETHY BRIDGE	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
NEWTONMORE	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
NEWTOWN	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
PLOCKTON	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
ROY BRIDGE	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
TIGHNABRUAICH	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
TOMINTOUL	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
WHITING BAY	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
ABERLOUR	Small Rural	Rural Production
BUCKIE	Small Rural	Rural Production
CULLEN	Small Rural	Rural Production
DUFFTOWN	Small Rural	Rural Production
FOCHABERS	Small Rural	Rural Production
KEITH	Small Rural	Rural Production
DUNOON	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
GOLSPIE	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
LOSSIEMOUTH	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
BALLACHULISH	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
BOWMORE	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
HALKIRK	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
HELMSDALE	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
INVERARAY	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
ISLE OF BENBECULA	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
KYLE	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
MALLAIG	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
PORT ELLEN	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
PORTNAHAVEN	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
PORTREE	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
SANDWICK	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
SPEAN BRIDGE	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
STORNOWAY	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
ULLAPOOL	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
ARDRISHAIG	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
CARRADALE EAST AND TARBERT	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
CASTLEBAY	Remote Rural	Growing gateways

LAIRG	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
LERWICK	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
LOCHBOISDALE	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
LOCHMADDY	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
LYBSTER	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
STROMNESS	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
TOBERMORY	Remote Rural	Growing gateways
ALNESS	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
AVIEMORE	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
BRORA	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
CAMPBELTOWN	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
FORT WILLIAM	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
INNELLAN	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
KINLOCHLEVEN	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
KIRKWALL	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
OBAN	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
THURSO	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
WICK	Remote Rural	Remote diversity
LOCHGILPHEAD	Remote Rural	Remote magnets

South of Scotland

Name	Group Membership	Cluster Membership
DUMFRIES	Large Urban	Regional independents
GALASHIELS	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
PEEBLES	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
WEST LINTON	Small Urban	Urban fringes
LAUDER	Small Urban	Urban solitude
DUNS	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
EYEMOUTH	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
HAWICK	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
INNERLEITHEN	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
JEDBURGH	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
KELSO	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
LOCKERBIE	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
SANQUHAR	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
SELKIRK	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
CASTLE DOUGLAS	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
COLDSTREAM	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
GREENLAW	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
MOFFAT	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
THORNHILL	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
MELROSE	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
ST BOSWELLS	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
ANNAN	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
DALBEATTIE	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
GLENLUCE	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
GRETNA	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
KIRKCUDBRIGHT	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
LANGHOLM	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
NEWTON STEWART	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
STRANRAER	Remote Rural	Remote magnets
WHITHORN	Remote Rural	Remote magnets

Dundee City Region

Name	Group Membership	Cluster Membership
DUNDEE	Cities	Cities
PERTH	Large Urban	Regional independents
BROUGHTY FERRY	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
ST ANDREWS	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
ARBROATH	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
FORFAR	Medium Urban	Mixed-use outskirts
BLAIRGOWRIE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
CRIEFF	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
KIRRIEMUIR	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
MONTROSE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
PITLOCHRY	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
CARNOUSTIE	Small Urban	Settled communities
CUPAR	Small Urban	Settled communities
KINROSS	Small Urban	Settled communities
AUCHTERARDER	Small Urban	Small town skills
BRIDGE OF EARN	Small Urban	Small town skills
MONIFIETH	Small Urban	Small town skills
NEWPORT-ON-TAY	Small Urban	Small town skills
COUPAR ANGUS	Small Urban	Urban fringes
TAYPORT	Small Urban	Urban fringes
BIRNAM	Small Urban	Urban solitude
BLACKFORD	Small Urban	Urban solitude
COMRIE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
CROOK OF DEVON	Small Urban	Urban solitude
INCHTURE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
ABERFELDY	Small Rural	Remote Dynamism
KINLOCH RANNOCH	Remote Rural	Ports and markets
BRECHIN	Remote Rural	Remote diversity

Glasgow City Region

Glasgow City Region		
Name	Group Membership	Cluster Membership
GLASGOW	Cities	Cities
BISHOPBRIGGS	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
HAMILTON	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
IRVINE	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
LANARK	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
WISHAW AND OVERTOWN	Large Urban	City-fringe tenacity
AIRDRIE	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
CLYDEBANK	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
EAST KILBRIDE	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
PAISLEY	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
RUTHERGLEN	Large Urban	Improving Satellites
AYR	Large Urban	Regional independents
CUMBERNAULD	Large Urban	Regional independents
DUMBARTON AND ALEXANDRIA	Large Urban	Regional independents
GREENOCK	Large Urban	Regional independents
KILMARNOCK	Large Urban	Regional independents
BEARSDEN	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
HELENSBURGH	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
KIRKINTILLOCH	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
NEWTON MEARNS	Medium Urban	Commuter Comfort
BELLSHILL	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
JOHNSTONE	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
MOTHERWELL	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
RENFREW	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
UDDINGSTON	Medium Urban	Industrial Recovery
PRESTWICK	Medium Urban	Mixed-use outskirts
CALDERBANK	Small Urban	Green and Growing
DALRY	Small Urban	Green and Growing
HOLYTOWN AND CLELAND	Small Urban	Green and Growing
KILBIRNIE	Small Urban	Green and Growing
KILSYTH	Small Urban	Green and Growing
STEWARTON	Small Urban	Green and Growing
BLANTYRE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
CARLUKE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
LARKHALL	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
MAUCHLINE AND CATRINE	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
STEVENSTON	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
TROON	Small Urban	Towns in Miniature
ARDROSSAN	Small Urban	Settled communities
BARRHEAD	Small Urban	Settled communities
BEITH	Small Urban	Settled communities
KILWINNING	Small Urban	Settled communities
MILNGAVIE	Small Urban	Settled communities
PORT GLASGOW	Small Urban	Settled communities
BISHOPTON	Small Urban	Small town skills
BOTHWELL	Small Urban	Small town skills
BRIDGE OF WEIR	Small Urban	Small town skills
ERSKINE	Small Urban	Small town skills
GALSTON	Small Urban	Small town skills
GOUROCK	Small Urban	Small town skills
HOUSTON	Small Urban	Small town skills
LINWOOD	Small Urban	Small town skills
MOODIESBURN	Small Urban	Small town skills
NEWMAINS	Small Urban	Small town skills

SALSBURGH	Small Urban	Small town skills
SALTCOATS	Small Urban	Small town skills
SHOTTS	Small Urban	Small town skills
STEPPS	Small Urban	Small town skills
STONEHOUSE	Small Urban	Small town skills
STRATHAVEN	Small Urban	Small town skills
UPLAWMOOR AND NEILSTON	Small Urban	Small town skills
DARVEL	Small Urban	Urban fringes
FENWICK	Small Urban	Urban fringes
KILBARCHAN	Small Urban	Urban fringes
KILMACOLM	Small Urban	Urban fringes
LENNOXTOWN	Small Urban	Urban fringes
LOCHWINNOCH	Small Urban	Urban fringes
MILTON OF CAMPSIE	Small Urban	Urban fringes
NEWMILNS	Small Urban	Urban fringes
WEST KILBRIDE	Small Urban	Urban fringes
DUNLOP	Small Urban	Urban solitude
TORRANCE	Small Urban	Urban solitude
CUMNOCK	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
GIRVAN	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
NEW CUMNOCK	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
PATNA	Small Rural	Rural Challenge
MAYBOLE	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
ROSNEATH	Small Rural	Rural Knowledge
FAIRLIE	Small Rural	Accessible choice
LARGS	Small Rural	Accessible choice
SKELMORLIE	Small Rural	Accessible choice
WEMYSS BAY	Small Rural	Accessible choice
BIGGAR	Remote Rural	Ports and markets