

# **Impedimenta State: The New New Localism in Geographical Context**

**Martin Jones**



**ERIC  
PICKLES  
ATE MY  
YOUTH CLUB**



MINISTER FOR LEPS TRIES OTHER HATS

# **Institutional Confusion**

**Learning & Skills Councils (LSC)**

**Further Education (FE)**      **Higher Education (HE)**

**Sector Skills Councils (SSC)**

**Regional  
Development  
Agencies**

**Employers Organisations**

**Clusters**

**Sector Skills Development  
Agency (SSDA)**

**Department for Education  
& Skills (DfES)**

**Business Links**

# Economic Governance: Complexity & Failure



- “territorial governance in England is characterised by a high degree of volatility and uncertainty”
- “difficult for us to know exactly what needs to be done and to get a response”
- “system is really difficult, mind-boggling, almost incomprehensible”
- “institutional context ... is by now so complex and constantly in flux that even people who work in it full-time cannot keep up”
- “I don’t think there is an employer in the land who understands what the elements of the new system are”
- “the history is a saga of failure littered with discarded institutions and schemes” “institutional corpses”
- “the whole system is paralysed by uncertainty about who will be left standing when the game of musical chairs comes to an end”

# Impedimenta

- C16, plural for *impedimentum/impediment*  
hindrance
- = baggage, things, effects, stuff, equipment, traps, gear, possessions, junk, luggage, clutter, congestion, belongings, trappings, paraphernalia, odds and ends, accoutrements, movables
- = the baggage and equipment carried by an army, any objects that impede progress

# Phases of Localism



- **Localism**: pre-spatial Keynesianism
- **New Localism**: radical Thatcherism
- **New New Localism**: Third Way to Big Society

“...is a coherent and logistical expression of a conservative tradition which goes back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century ...” (Jesse Norman 2011: 201, *The Big Society*)



# EDMUND BURKE

JOHN MORELY

# Anti-State & Connected Society



“... three way relationship between **individuals, institutions and the state**. It is when this relationship is functioning well that societies flourish. This requires each element in the triad to be **active and energised in its own right**”.

“Societies should be thought of as **ecosystems** ...”

***New Localities ...***

(Jesse Norman 2011: 197, 165, *The Big Society*)

# Localism Act 2011 & Economic Growth

# Plain English Guide ...



“For too long, central government has hoarded and concentrated power. Trying to improve people’s lives by imposing decisions, setting targets and demanding inspections from Whitehall simply doesn’t work. It creates bureaucracy. It leaves no room for adaptation to reflect local circumstances or innovation to deliver services more effectively and at lower cost. And it leaves people feeling ‘done to’ and imposed upon – the very opposite of the sense of participation and involvement on which a healthy democracy thrives ... We think that the best means of strengthening society is not for central government to try and seize all the power and responsibility for itself. It is to help people and their locally elected representatives to achieve their own ambitions. This is the essence of the Big Society ... The Localism Act sets out a series of measures with the potential to achieve a substantial and lasting shift in power away from central government and towards local people” (**Greg Clark MP, Minister of State for Decentralisation, Foreword, A Plain English Guide to the Localism Act, DCLG, November 2011**).

# **Economic Governance & *Local Growth Agenda***



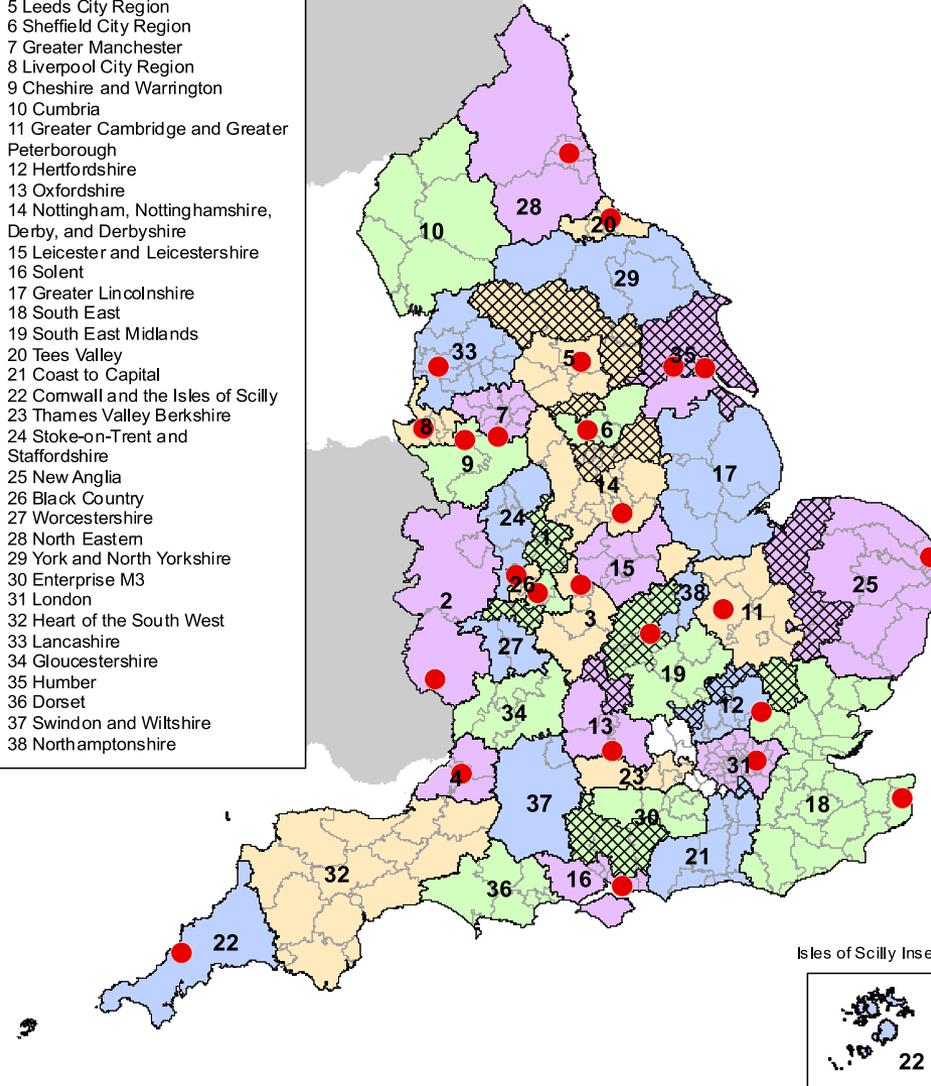
“... raise the profile of English cities, strengthen local democracy and boost economic growth”

(Localism Act, Plain English Guide, DCLG, 2011: 18)

# Local Enterprise Partnerships & Enterprise Zones

- 1 Greater Birmingham and Solihull
- 2 Marches
- 3 Coventry and Warwickshire
- 4 West of England
- 5 Leeds City Region
- 6 Sheffield City Region
- 7 Greater Manchester
- 8 Liverpool City Region
- 9 Cheshire and Warrington
- 10 Cumbria
- 11 Greater Cambridge and Greater Peterborough
- 12 Hertfordshire
- 13 Oxfordshire
- 14 Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, Derby, and Derbyshire
- 15 Leicester and Leicestershire
- 16 Solent
- 17 Greater Lincolnshire
- 18 South East
- 19 South East Midlands
- 20 Tees Valley
- 21 Coast to Capital
- 22 Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly
- 23 Thames Valley Berkshire
- 24 Stoke-on-Trent and Staffordshire
- 25 New Anglia
- 26 Black Country
- 27 Worcestershire
- 28 North Eastern
- 29 York and North Yorkshire
- 30 Enterprise M3
- 31 London
- 32 Heart of the South West
- 33 Lancashire
- 34 Gloucestershire
- 35 Humber
- 36 Dorset
- 37 Swindon and Wiltshire
- 38 Northamptonshire

- Enterprise Zones
- LAs in overlapping LEPs



“the Government’s chosen engine for local growth” (Lord Heseltine 2013: 9).

“a real power shift away from central government and quangos and towards local communities and local communities and local businesses who really understand the barrier to growth in their areas” (BIS 2013: 39).



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- The Core Cities
- People

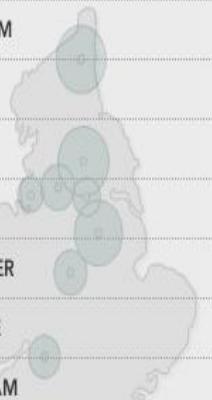


We are a united voice for the importance of our cities in delivering our country's full economic potential, creating more jobs and improving people's lives. Our cities already contribute more than a quarter of England's wealth, and with more freedoms and flexibilities, we are best placed to improve the UK's economic fortunes. Core Cities are a vital delivery partner for Government and its agencies.

The Core Cities together with their surrounding urban areas:

- are home to 16 million people, almost a third of the population of England.
- generate 27% of England's wealth (more than London).
- are home to half of the country's leading research universities; and,
- contain 28% of highly skilled workers (graduate level or above).

Read more about our work in our 'What We Do section'.



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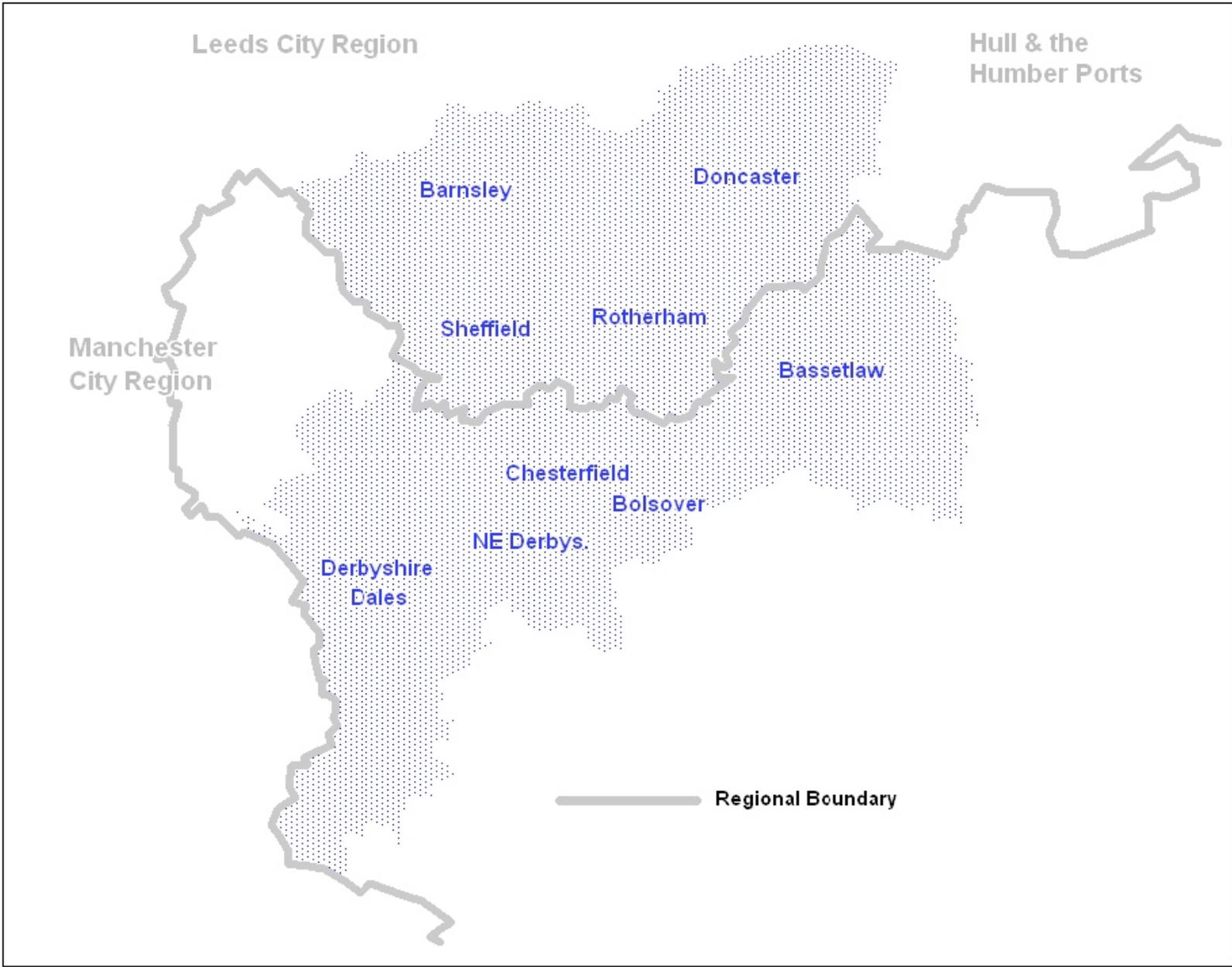


# Competitive Cities, Prosperous People: A Core Cities Prospectus for Growth

BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL,  
LEEDS, LIVERPOOL,  
MANCHESTER, NEWCASTLE,  
NOTTINGHAM, SHEFFIELD



**Sheffield in all this**



sheffield a place to work





# Sheffield City Region

## Local Enterprise Partnership

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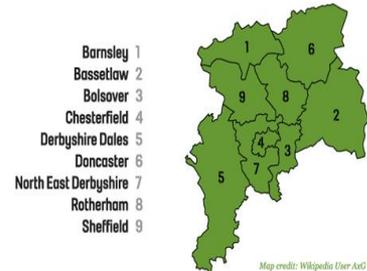


### Introduction

The Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) brings together business leaders and local politicians to make decisions that drive economic growth and create new jobs. The Board is made up of 19 members – ten business leaders and nine local authority leaders, including the Mayor of Doncaster.

The Sheffield City Region has a diverse economy comprising a dynamic core city, important towns and market towns, fabulous countryside and a significant rural economy. The City Region encompasses more than 1.8 million people and approximately 700,000 jobs.

The City Region is located at the strategic heart of the country. It is comprised of the nine local authority areas of Barnsley, Bassetlaw, Bolsover, Chesterfield, Derbyshire Dales, Doncaster, North East Derbyshire, Rotherham and Sheffield.



The Sheffield City Region's economy has an output of more than £28.2 billion pounds per year and contains approximately 44,700 businesses.

The Sheffield City Region is synonymous with high quality, innovative products that are exported around the globe, promoted by the 'Made in Sheffield' brand. The area's economic base has transformed over the last twenty years from being dominated by more traditional manufacturing to a wider range

## About

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A collaboration between the public and private sectors to ensure the growth of a rebalanced local economy and contribute to the renewal of the national economy.

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Latest on Twitter

@SheffCityRegion 24m  
RT @jomillerdonny: @MayorRos welcomes @gregclarkmp to #doncasterisgreat for @SheffCityRegion partnership discussion on our growth plan ....

@SheffCityRegion 18h  
#LEP hears feedback ahead of growth deal for Sheffield City Region  
<http://t.co/DUN4p4No1x>

@SheffCityRegion 19h  
Govt 'Growth Deals' minister visits Sheffield City Region to feedback on #LEP growth plan <http://t.co/hnGw2Oxix6>

[See our twitter page](#)

Most recent News story

### LEP hears feedback ahead of new 'Growth Deal' for City Region

The Government's leading minister for Growth Deals, Greg Clark MP, visited the Sheffield City Region today to give feedback on the Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) Growth... [\(continue reading...\)](#)

*Published 11th February 2014 at 4:52pm*

Recently in The Chairman's Blog

### Radical change is needed for sustainable growth

At the end of last year economic prospects finally started to pick up for UK plc. However, continued economic growth in 2014 mostly depends on what... [\(continue reading...\)](#)

*Published 22nd January 2014 at 9:18am*

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### Incentives

- Enhanced Capital Allowances
- Regional Growth Fund
- Business Rate Relief
- Fast Broadband & Fast Track

## Enterprise Zone Incentives

### Support for ambitious investment

To encourage investment by innovative manufacturing and technology firms in the Sheffield City Region Enterprise Zone, a package of financial, planning and support incentives has been put in place. These include valuable capital allowances and Business Rate Relief schemes on discrete sites, as well as simplified planning procedures and infrastructure developments to provide widespread access to super-fast broadband.

### The Enterprise Zone Incentives available in the region are:

#### Enhanced Capital Allowances

Sites suitable for major capital investment are offering 100% Enhanced Capital Allowances to firms making significant investments in plant and machinery.

#### Business Rate Relief

Small and medium-sized businesses can qualify for Business Rate Relief worth up to £275,000 over a five-year period when they move on to selected sites.

#### Fast-track planning and super-fast broadband

Certain categories of development in the modern manufacturing and technology sector can access simplified planning procedures, while super-fast broadband is becoming available region-wide.

#### Regional Growth Fund

The Sheffield City Region RGF bid has been successful and we have been conditionally awarded £25 million from the regional growth fund. Business investment RGF applications connected to Enterprise Zone sites will be fast-tracked. Full applications for Enterprise Zone sites applications can be submitted before 31st January 2013.





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# Sheffield City Region

## COMBINED AUTHORITY

### SCR Combined Authority

The Combined Authority "CA" was established on 1st April 2014 and the first meeting of the CA took place on 22nd April 2014.

Future agendas and meeting papers, along with an archive of past agendas, papers and minutes of CA meetings can be

# About

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# New New Localism: Contradictions and Complexities

# where next for Local Enterprise Partnerships?

# The Trouble with LEPs ...

## At Age 2.5 ...



HoC, BIS Committee, HC598, 2013

- Lack of legal and statutory foundations
- Cant splash the cash, at £250k pa, or raise money from private sector
- Accountable to everyone and nobody
- Increasing responsibilities, limited levers
- Territorial correspondence

**Chair (Adrian Bailey MP):** I need to conclude fairly quickly but I have a couple of questions to finish with on accountability. Very briefly, who do you feel you are accountable to as a LEP?

**Linda Edworthy (Tees Valley Unlimited):** local business and local residents.

**Mark Reeve (Chair Grt Cambs & Grt Peterb LEP):** both public and private sector within the LEP.

**James Newman (Chair Sheffield City Region LEP):** to a certain extent to the Ministers who appoint us as well, in terms of their expectations of us – very much so.

**Adrian Shooter (Chair Oxf LEP):** I would add to that to the people who we are supposed to be finding jobs for, which is why we are there.

**David Frost (Chair LEP Network):** There is a wide range, but of course we are also accountable, where there are funding streams, to those Departments that are providing it.

“The LEP boundaries and sizes seemed sometimes to be politically driven under the camouflage of functional economies – insufficient strategic consideration was given to the LEP coverage of the Country; and little serious consideration seemed given to the confusing impact of allowing overlapping LEP areas. This has resulted in an **overcomplicated network of massively different LEPs** based more on political geographies, rather than sub-regional economic areas. **Localism is an interesting concept but if applied to my car, if all four wheels were allowed to be different sizes, shapes and positions, it wouldn't aid the car much in its progress**” (Alex Pratt, Chair of Buckingham Thames Valley LEP, quoted in HoC, BIS, 2013: 15).

“growth programmes and policies seem focused more on social re-engineering than growth, designed to rebalance the north-south divide, rather than genuinely focus on a hard headed assessment of growth opportunities across the Country” (Alex Pratt, Chair of Buckingham Thames Valley LEP, quoted in HoC, BIS, 2013: 56).

# Deja Vu, All Over Again ...



“While such EZs may well be good news for the particular places that get them ... they risk coming at the expense of neighbouring areas, as firms shift across borders to benefit from tax breaks. Indeed, back in the 1980s, around £300 million was spent on 11 zones where some 4,300 firms employed 63,000 workers. But the new jobs created was just 13,000. **That works out at £23,000 a job – perhaps £50,000 in today’s money.** That was poor value for money. What is not yet clear is how far the new Ezs will avoid such previous failures” (Hildreth and Bailey 2012: 28 in M Ward and S Hardy [eds] *Changing Gear: Is Localism the New Regionalism?*)

“Draining the ocean with a teaspoon”  
(Allan Cochrane, 1983: *Redundant Space in  
Cities and Regions*).

Pickvance (1981)

“Policies as chameleons: an interpretation  
of regional policy and office policy in  
Britain”

*“Fiddling with spatial governance  
while the economy burns”*

(Heley and Jones 2012: in M Ward  
and S Hardy [eds] *Changing Gear:  
Is Localism the New Regionalism?*)

*Sheffield ...*

**Sheffield  
City Region**

**Local Enterprise  
Partnership**

**Draft Strategic Economic Plan:**

**Growth Plan**

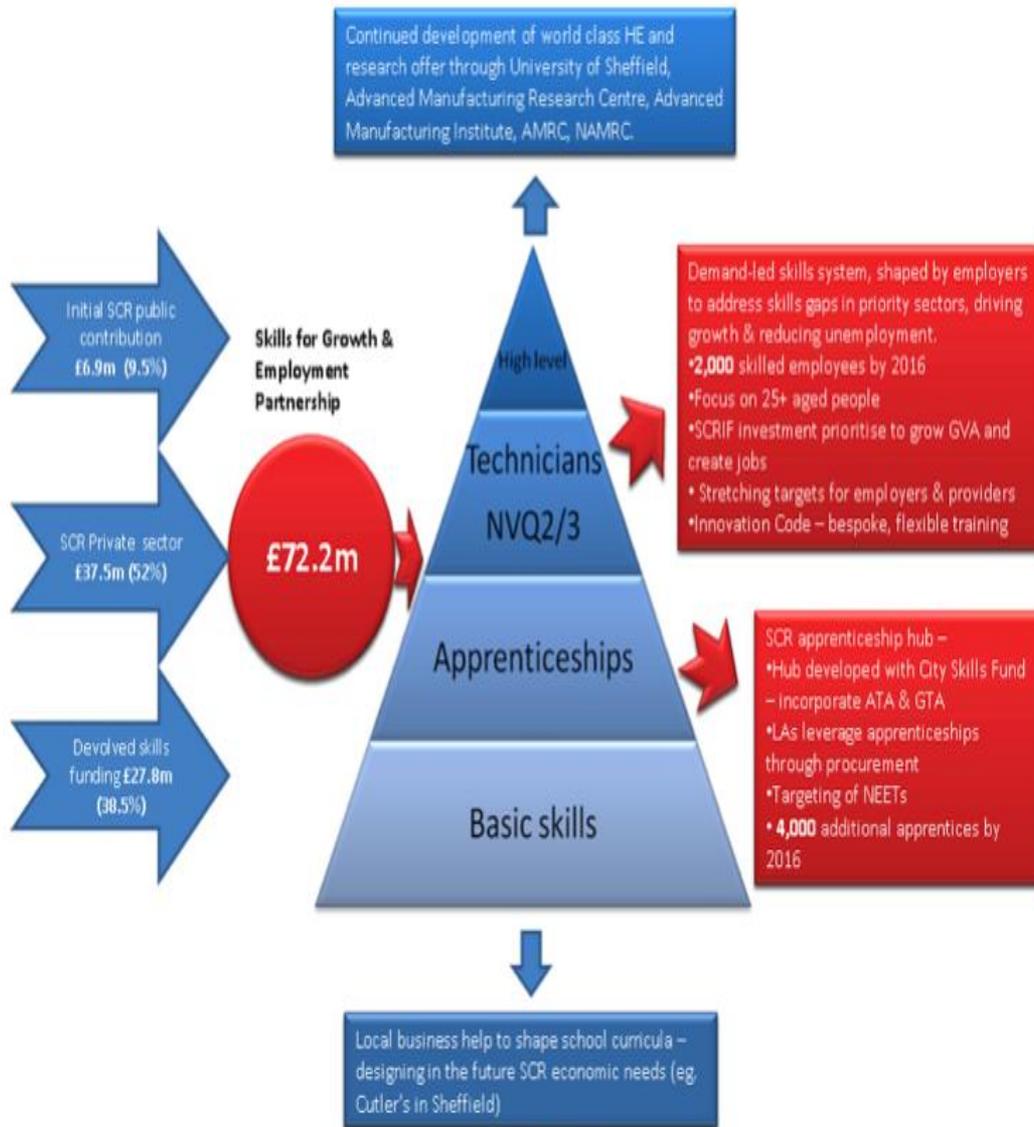
**December 2013**

### Our plan

How will we achieve this transformation? At the core of our plan we simply need a stronger, larger private sector. This is the golden thread throughout our plan. There are only three ways to create private sector growth: (1) more start-ups, (2) help grow indigenous firms, (3) attract new firms. In consultation with our existing businesses we have developed an integrated set of plans that will accelerate all three areas and this is the heart of our growth plan.

At the centre of our plans is the **Growth Hub** – a concept already tested elsewhere, but now ready for full implementation as part of a rounded Core Cities proposition. Our Growth Hub will be the city region heart of our activity – a collective endeavour to deliver all that businesses need. Radically, this hub will focus on the 'Top 1,000' – working with those firms that will deliver high





UNCLASSIFIED

# Uneven Development: Between



“Our plan will be governed by common sense, commercial nous and be free from political constraints. It will not be restricted by what the Government or the EU is ‘offering up’. However, we know full-well that Whitehall departments wont let go of powers or money easily.

Private sector growth is at the centre of our plan but the private sector cant achieve all that is needed on its own.

What our economy needs is radical structural change.

This kind of change can only be achieved through co-ordinated working between the public, private and third sectors” (Sheffield City Region LEP Chair, James Newman, Regional Growth Plan Update, December 2013).

# Uneven Development: Between



“As a City Region, collaboration is our trump card. The networks, the relationships and our strong history of partnership working are the envy of other LEPs and will be a comparative advantage *as we close the gap on rival LEP areas*. Collaboration has been a driving principle of our LEP and will be key to transforming our local economy” (Sheffield City Region LEP Chair, James Newman, Regional Growth Plan Update, December 2013).

# Uneven Development: Within



- “Within the sub-region there are different starting points and important economic and social relationships to understand. Sheffield’s potential as a core city to have a sub-regional economic motor effect is held back by its own low starting point compared to more successful cities. It is also held back by the *even lower base in its catchment area* (rest of South Yorkshire and part of the East Midlands). *Lifting up one area will be insufficient to pull through other areas. Nor can one part be lifted if it is dragged back by other parts*” (South Yorkshire Partnership 2005: 9, emphasis added).

**BIS ECONOMICS PAPER NO. 7**

**Understanding Local Growth**

OCTOBER 2010



# Free-for-All Localism?

- “The policy implications of theories of agglomeration is that enabling people and firms to benefit from proximity to centres of activity, bring beneficial economic outcomes ... This implies empowering and incentivising local government, firms and people across economic centres and natural economic geographies [Cities] to promote growth and correct the market and government failures which are acting as barriers to economic development” (BIS 2010: 25).

# **(Mis)Understanding Growth: State of Sheffield**



# Risk or Resilience?



“... the City Deal set-up essentially favours those local authorities that can satisfy an economic credibility audit (formal and informal) posed by central government. This is entirely reasonable at one level, as it is logical to support those local actors who have signaled that they have the capacity to spur growth. To some degree, however, the City Deal arrangements beg the question as to whether City Deal incentives entrepreneurial governance more than growth incentives. **In essence, does City Deal simply reward those with the largest risk appetites rather than evenhandedly supporting growth as it emerges** (intentionally or unintentionally) across UK cities? (Waite, Maclennan, O’Sullivan 2013: 776).

# Rebalancing Growth ...

“strategic thinking has almost become a lost art form” (Tewdwr-Jones 2013: 53)

# Summary: the Problem



- ‘Regulatory Deficit’ or lack of ‘Regulatory Capacity’
- Contradictions internalised and not resolved
- Lack of symmetry between the **spatial division of labour** and the **spatial division of the state**
- “The notion of *regulatory deficit*, of difficulties for the state as a result of a problem of *territorial non-correspondence*, poses the problem of coordination” (Cox 2008: 342)
- “No Stone Unturned”: weaknesses of private sector institutionalizations – Chambers of Commerce
- **Governance Failure ... Crisis of Crisis-Management**

# Governance Failure and Beyond

# Consolidated Neoliberalism



- *Proto* = philosophical project
- *Roll-Back* = marketisation of KWNS
- *Roll-Out* = beyond the market to new institutional forms licensed 'hardware' and scalar constitutions
- *Roll-Up/Consolidation* = deepening, **state in/as the market**, hollowing-out, filling-in, institutionalizations

# And the State ...

- **David Harvey:** “The role of the state in accumulation poses an analytical challenge ... I cant deal with the complexities of these arguments here” (2006: xvii) *Limits to Capital* (third version)
- **Jamie Peck:** “call for a much closer, institutional analysis of the interpenetrating processes of state restructuring and market reregulation” (*PiHG* 2004).
- **Mike Davis:** “The state, is almost indistinguishable from private enterprise” (*NLR* 2006).

# Crisis and Contradiction ...

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A THEORY OF  
CAPITALIST  
REGULATION  
THE US EXPERIENCE

MICHEL AGLIETTA

“‘Metamorphosis’ implies a *change in form*; it does not imply, as displacement does, that the crisis has moved from one sphere of social life to another. A financial crisis that metamorphoses into a political crisis or a social crisis does not necessarily cease to be a financial crisis: it simply becomes something else. It changes form and, in doing so, it becomes something *more* than a financial crisis per se, taking on new characteristics in the process” (JB Thompson 2013: 64-65, emphasis original, in M Castells eds. *Aftermath: The Cultures of the Economic Crisis*).

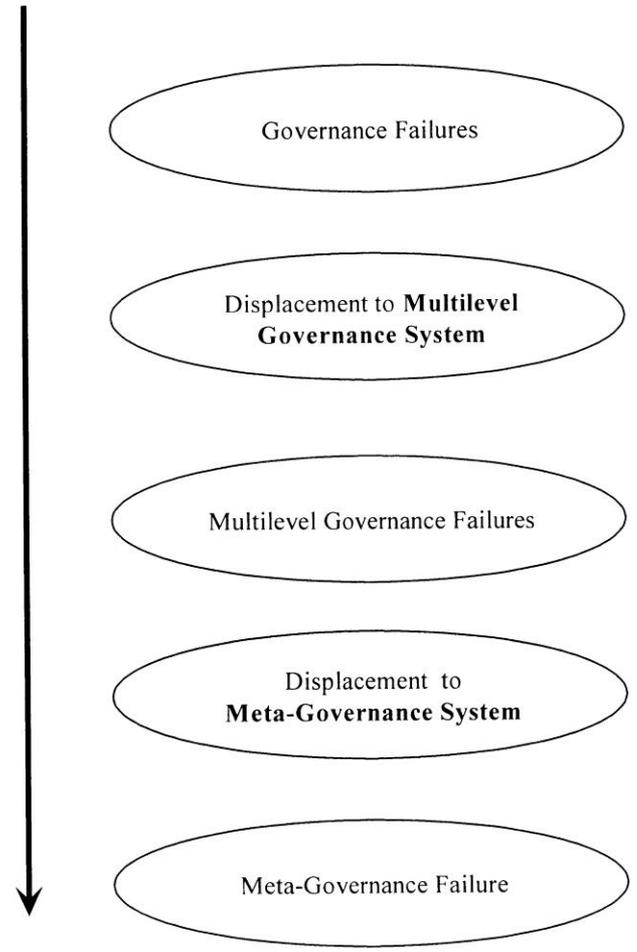
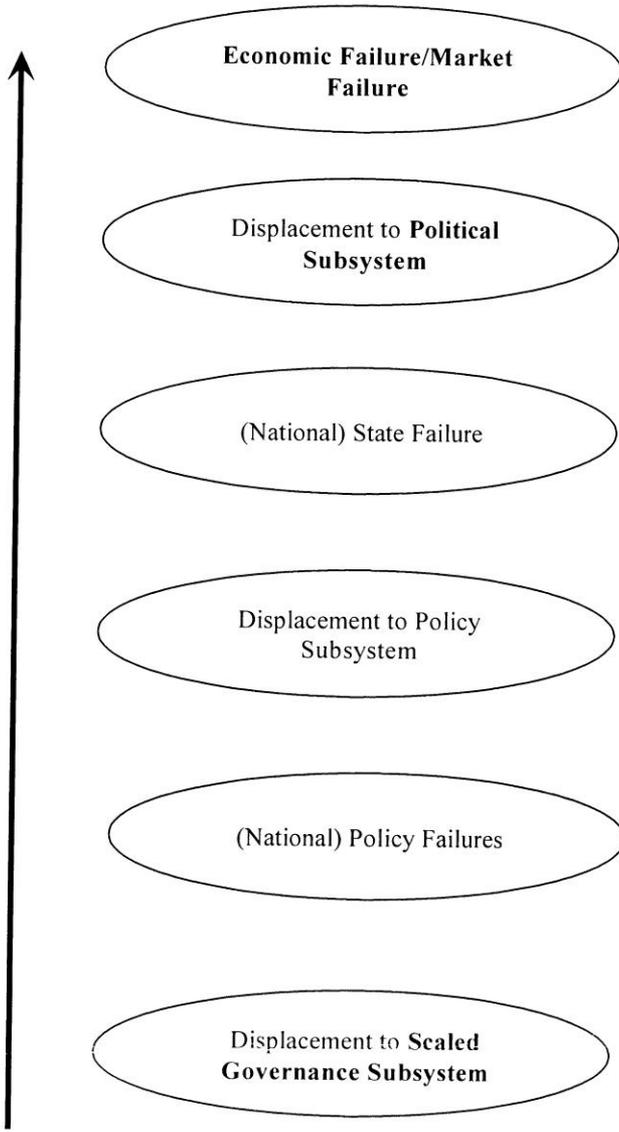
# State, Crisis, Space ...

“... a crisis-induced recalibration has been unfolding since the mid-1990s [whereby] a rescaled layer of state spatial projects and state spatial strategies has been forged whose purpose is to confront some of the major regulatory failures generated through state intervention” (Brenner 2004: 266, **New State Spaces**) .

## Defer/Switch/Displace ...

# Crisis 'Metamorphosis'

- Market Failure
- State Failure
- Governance Failure
- Multilevel Governance Failure
- Metagovernance Failure



# The Impedimenta State

**Impedimenta** is the matriarchal wife of Chief Vitalstatistix, leader of the village wives and the best cook in the village.



# Overload +

- Where does hollowing-out go to, hence ‘filling-in’ (Goodwin et al 2005), what happens when ‘filling-in’ takes place
- Skelcher (1998/2000) overloaded, hollowed-out, ‘congested state’
- Legendijk et al (2009) the ‘disoriented state’
- ‘bureaucratic ponderousness’, ‘administrative inertia’, ‘incompressibility’, ‘mode of negative coordination’ (Poulantzas 1978/80) plasticity
- State as bag/state with baggage
- “I may have been a single rucksack traveller for decades now, but I have to confess that, over the years, the light pack has become, at times, ridiculously heavy. *That’s the trouble with bags. They demand to be filled, and impedimenta, like some parasitic virus, seems to rapidly replicate*” (Will Self 2008). The Quantity Theory of Insanity



The Observer 13/10/96 (2)

Small but highly challenged



# So, Impedimenta to Capture



The state has become the medium and outcome of a series of economic development rationalities, which are being implemented through multiple spatial strategies and projects (territories, places, scales, networks) to address socio-spatial inequalities and provide the conditions for accumulation, but their apparent incompatibility and baggage-like polity is producing and reproducing conflict, irrationality, and a crisis in/of/for economic governance. In short, in the *impedimenta state*, the interventions of the state itself appear to be hindering the development of economic development ...

State intervention has come to operate not only as a political strategy for promoting local economic development, but also as a form of crisis-management designed to manage the regulatory deficits, dislocations, and conflicts induced through earlier rounds of state spatial restructuring ...



# Trends ....



1. Appearance of activity, *outright dismissal* of policy and blame ...
2. *Policy-based evidence* not evidenced-based policy ('lack of long-term strategy and flying blind' Poulantzas 1978)
3. *Claims for more state personnel* and better training  
The Egan Review "Skills for Sustainable Communities"
4. *Metagovernance galore*  
Search for coherent frameworks of coordination, and bringing back of scales (MAA, LAA, RDA, LSP, LEP, combined authorities)
5. *Territorial administrative* reorganisation of local government (Williams Commission, Wales, 2014)
6. *Project Service Class and Contracting State*  
Growth of cultural-circuit style think-tanks, gurus/experts, and fast dissemination networks, blurred public-private boundaries
7. *Soft Paternalism/Nudge Economics/Work Programme*  
Individualization of the body-politic. Economic governance is social regulation, or what?