



LAND REFORM

The Way Ahead

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1. INTRODUCTION

This report was commissioned by the Land Reform Advisory Group of the Scottish Community Alliance.¹

The report takes as its starting point the recommendations of the Land Reform Policy Group in their *Recommendations for Action*, published in January 1999.²

Land reform was a prominent feature of the first Scottish Parliament from 1999 - 2003 and a significant programme of land law and land policy reform was enacted during that time. In recent years, however, momentum has slipped.

The purpose of the report is to document and analyse what has happened to the bold programme of land reform launched in 1999 at the beginning of the Scottish Parliament and to make recommendations for how it might be taken forward once again.

2. LAND REFORM POLICY GROUP

The Labour Party manifesto for the 1997 General Election included a pledge "to initiate a study into the system of land ownership and management in Scotland". On the 31st October 1997, Lord Sewel, the Minister for Agriculture, Environment and Fisheries in the Scottish Office, gave a speech at the Rural Forum AGM and Conference in Oban and launched the Government's discussion paper *Towards a Rural Development Strategy for Rural Scotland*. In his speech, he announced the

setting up of a Land Reform Policy Group (LRPG) to be given a remit,

"to identify and assess proposals for land reform in rural Scotland, taking account of their cost, legislative and administrative implications and their likely impact on the social and economic development of rural communities and on the natural heritage."

The Group consisted of civil servants, one external adviser (Professor John Bryden) and was chaired by Lord Sewel. In February 1998, the LRPG published *Identifying the Problems* which suggested what the issues might be. In September 1998, a more detailed consultation paper, *Identifying the Solutions*, was published.

Finally, *Recommendations for Action* was published in January 1999 and the incoming Scottish Executive adopted the report as the basis for its land reform programme when it took office in July 1999. In August 1999, the Scottish Executive published a *Land Reform Action Plan* and on 24 November 1999, Jim Wallace, the Deputy First Minister and Minister for Justice, led the first debate on land reform in the Scottish Parliament.³

What was notable about the proposals in *Recommendations for Action* was that,

- They covered a broad agenda. Whilst they included topics traditionally associated with land reform such as land tenure

¹ www.localpeopleleading.co.uk

² www.scotland.gov.uk/library/documents-w4/lrpg-00.htm

³ [Scottish Parliament Official Report](#) 24 November 1999.

reform, they also included, for example, the development of National Parks, which has often been the antipathy of land reform in many countries depriving indigenous populations of traditional land rights.

- This was an integrated programme with responsibilities spread across government departments. One notable example of this was the way in which public bodies were expected to open up to far more community engagement than had hitherto been the case - more so in fact than was ever realistically expected of the private sector in any of the proposals.

Over the next four years, the Executive published a series of *Land Reform Action Plans* with the final one being published in August 2003.⁴

3. PROGRESS ON LAND REFORM

The land reform programme covered the following topics.

- A. Law reform legislation
- B. Land reform legislation
- C. Legislation on countryside and natural heritage issues
- D. Agricultural holdings legislation
- E. Crofting legislation
- F. Action without legislation
- G. Issues for further study

This section of the report reviews these topic areas.

⁴ See www.andywrightman.com/docs/lrap for copies of the Action Plans

⁵ Leasehold casualties were payments due to a landlord upon certain defined events. They had long been abolished in feudal tenure and their survival in leasehold tenure was the subject of alleged abuse by some landlords.

⁶ Conditions contained in titles to land. With the planned abolition of feudal tenure (which allowed the imposition of feudal conditions) it was going to be necessary to adopt a new legal framework for incorporating conditions in titles governing how it is to be used.

A. Law reform legislation

The LRPG argued that,

“More than anything else, land reform is about modernising the archaic base of property law which has constrained Scottish life for far too long. It is wholly unacceptable that these outdated laws - at best irrelevant, at worst onerous and oppressive - should remain in being a moment longer than necessary. There is no place in a modern society for such laws.”

Much of the political focus in 1999 was on the opportunity to abolish feudal tenure and on the minor (but controversial) issue of leasehold casualties.⁵ The other major piece of legislation was the reform of real burdens.⁶

ACTION	OUTCOME
A1. Feudal abolition	Abolition of Feudal tenure etc. (Scotland) Act 2000
A2. Leasehold casualties	Leasehold Casualties (Scotland) Act 2001
A3. Real Burdens	Title Conditions (Scotland) Act 2003

These land reforms were all enacted in the 1999 - 2003 Scottish Parliament.

B. Land reform legislation

The LRPG recommended the following

ACTION	OUTCOME
B1. Legislation to allow time to assess the public interest when major properties change hands	Partially fulfilled by enactment of Part 2 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003.
B2. Legislation to give a community right to buy such land as and when it changes hands	
B3. A back-up compulsory purchase power to deter evasion	
B4. A reserve power to investigate beneficial ownership of land	No action
B5. landownership database	Decided not to proceed

Much of B1 - B3 has been implemented through the Part 2 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003 although the beneficial ownership of land and landownership database have not been taken forward.

C. Legislation on countryside and natural heritage issues

The recommendations on countryside and natural heritage issues were quickly translated into legislation.

ACTION	OUTCOME
C1. Reform access arrangements	Enacted in Part 1 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003
C2. Revise SSSI system	Enacted in the Nature Conservation (Scotland) Act 2004
C3. National Parks legislation	Enacted in National Parks (Scotland) Act 2000

D. Agricultural Holdings

Proposals to modernise farming tenancies and give existing tenants a right to buy were enacted in the Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act 2003.

E. Crofting Legislation

Crofting legislation was reformed by with the enactment of the Crofting Reform etc. Act 2007 and the Crofting Reform (Scotland) Act 2010

F. Action without legislation

A number of non-legislative proposals were highlighted, some of which have been acted upon. They included a Code of Good Practice, establishment of a Scottish Land Fund, review of compulsory purchase powers and community planning.

G. Issues for further study

A wide range of issues were identified for further study.

4. PROGRESS SINCE AUGUST 2003

By August 2003, when the last of the *Land Reform Action Plans* was published, the majority of the recommendations of the Land Reform Policy Group had been implemented. The 1999 - 2003 Session of the Scottish Parliament had achieved a remarkable amount, greatly assisted by the preparatory work carried out by the LRPG.

The 2nd Session was quieter on the land reform front but much of the legislation passed in the previous session came into force such as parts of the Land Reform Act, the feudal abolition provisions and the right to buy for agricultural tenants. This period from 2003 to 2007 was thus a time of implementation and early experience of the land reform programme. It was also a period during which new topics emerged and the beginnings of some critical engagement with what had been enacted earlier.

It was during this period, however, that it began to become clear that the work of the Land Reform Policy Group did not, as had been hoped, herald a new era during which land reform would become a regular feature of public debate.

Furthermore, the persistent and continuing focus on rural land and the Highlands and Islands in particular was distorting the debate about the scope and reach of land reform. Rather than being a process whereby a new rubric could be developed to begin to help resolve a range of public policy issues, the idea of land reform became increasingly associated with a very specific part of the agenda - namely community landownership in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. This was reflected in, for

example, a name change in the Government department overseeing the process from the "Land Reform Branch" to the "Community Assets Branch".

This in many ways took the debate back to where it had been in the 1990s albeit now energised by new legislation and funding for community buyouts through the Scottish Land Fund.

5. ANALYSIS OF PROGRESS SINCE 2003

A. Law reform legislation

The law reform measures contained in the LRPG and completed by 2003 were in fact initiated well before devolution. Property law was announced as part of the Scottish Law Commission's Fourth Programme of Law Reform in April 1990 and was re-iterated in the Fifth programme in February 1997 - still at a time when devolution remained a mere aspiration. Discussion papers on Leasehold Casualties and real burdens followed in 1997 and 1998. The discussion paper on feudal tenure had been published in 1991.

What devolution and the work of the LRPG succeeded in doing was to enable these reforms to be translated into legislation by providing the Parliament, the parliamentary time, and the political will to see them implemented.

B. Land reform legislation

The community right to buy provisions of the Land Reform Act have been in place since June 2004. Since that time, 68

communities have registered an interest in land and 7 have successfully completed an acquisition of land.⁷

There have continued to be mixed views about the effectiveness of the legislation. On the one hand, the Government has claimed that it has exceeded expectations.⁸

On the other hand, it has not turned out to have secured the rapid change in the pattern of landownership and empowerment of communities that was suggested by the LRPG.⁹ Particular concerns have been raised about the complexity of the legislation, the few communities who have managed to use it, and the restriction of its application to rural areas.

During the past four years, there has been much debate and discussion about the community right to buy and two research reports have been commissioned. To date, however, no action has been taken to review and amend the legislation.

In June 2006, Rhona Brankin, the Minister responsible said that there would be a review later that year.

In January 2007, Sarah Boyack stated that Ministers were committed to reviewing the Land Reform Act “during 2007”.¹⁰

In February, 2007, the Caledonia Centre for Social Development published a review of the community right to buy and produced evidence that suggested the need for a review of the Act. Some of this evidence was serious and involved allegations of maladministration by the Scottish Government.¹¹

In 2008, the Scottish Government published the results of a monitoring and evaluation study into the impact of land reform in rural Scotland which came to no startling conclusions due to lack of evidence.¹²

On 18 June 2009, the Minister, Roseanna Cunningham, responded to a parliamentary question on whether the Act would be reviewed by saying that “If there is evidence that the provisions are not working as Parliament intended then a review of the act will be considered.”¹³

In April 2010, the Rural Affairs Committee of the Scottish Parliament commissioned research from the University of the

⁷ Macleod, C et al. [Post Legislative Scrutiny of the Land Reform \(Scotland\) Act 2003](#).

⁸ This claim was made in a [Scottish Government Press Release 23 March 2010](#) and was expanded upon in a speech by Roseanna Cunningham at the [Highland Council Land Reform Conference on 23 March 2010](#)

⁹ See Land Reform Policy Group, [Identifying the Solutions](#) (Landownership 9)

¹⁰ Scottish Parliament Written Answers 18 January 2007, S2O-11669.

¹¹ See Wightman, 2007 [Land Reform \(Scotland\) Act 2003 \(Part 2 Community Right to Buy\) A Two Year Review](#)

¹² Slee, B. et al. (2008) [Monitoring and Evaluating the Effects of Land Reform on Rural Scotland: A Scoping Study and Impact Assessment](#).

¹³ Scottish Parliamentary Written Question S3W-24967 [answered on 8 July 2009](#).

Highlands and Islands into the implementation of all three parts of the Land Reform Act.¹⁴ In the brief, it stated,

“The Rural Affairs and Environment Committee is frequently contacted by stakeholders with concerns about the implementation of the LRSA. The Committee, which has a busy legislative workload over the next 12 months, wishes to make progress in examining those concerns and requires independent research to examine the provisions and criticism surrounding their implementation.”

The Committee took evidence and the Minister, Roseanna Cunningham gave evidence on 2 March 2011 in which she stated that “This is an opportune time to review the legislation relating to these rights with the intention of making things easier and faster for communities.”¹⁵

As part of their closing report on the parliamentary session, the Committee wrote to Scottish Ministers in March 2011 following consideration of the UHI report. Their letter sets out their concerns.¹⁶

To date, no formal review has yet taken place despite the oft-stated intention that it would.¹⁷

C. Legislation on countryside and natural heritage issues

The proposals by the LRPG on countryside issues have all been implemented.

D. Agricultural Holdings

The Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act 2003 implemented all of the recommendations in the LRPG’s *Recommendations for Action*. Since December 2004, over 1100 agricultural holdings have been registered though it is understood that none have been acquired.¹⁸

In 2010, the Scottish Government published proposals to make minor amendments to the Act.

E. Crofting Legislation

Part 3 of the Land Reform Act provided for a right to buy for crofting communities to acquire land under crofting tenure at any time (in contrast to the community right to buy in Part 2 which could only be triggered if and when the owner chooses to sell the land.

Part 3 of the Act has yet to be used successfully. As at March 2011, only the Pairc Trust has submitted an application and had

¹⁴ Macleod, C et al. [Post Legislative Scrutiny of the Land Reform \(Scotland\) Act 2003](#)

¹⁵ Scottish Parliament [Rural Affairs and Environment Committee Official Report 2 March 2011](#) cols. 3936-3937

¹⁶ [Letter from Rural Affairs and Environment Committee to Roseanna Cunningham, Minister for the Environment, March 2011.](#)

¹⁷ See, for example the commitment given in [Land Reform Action Plan August 2003](#) to report to Parliament. this has never been done.

¹⁸ See [Register of Community Interests in Land](#)

it approved by Ministers.¹⁹ Others have set out to do so but not proceeded very far along the route due to the hugely demanding process that is involved.²⁰

But the right to buy has not been the most prominent feature of crofting politics over the past decade. That accolade goes to the remarkable effort that has been expended on reforming the wider legal framework surrounding crofting tenure.

The LRPG recommended a series of wider crofting reforms. The right to buy was included in the Land Reform Act but the rest of the proposed reforms were to be included in a new crofting act. In March 2006, the Crofting Reform Bill was published and its proposals were quickly mired in controversy. In September 2006, during the Stage 1 debate on the Crofting Bill, these were passed to a Commission of Inquiry on Crofting chaired by Professor Mark Shucksmith.²¹ The Crofting Reform Act that emerged in January 2007 thus omitted many of the contentious issues.

The Commission published their final report in May 2008 and its recommendations were then taken forward in a further Crofting Reform Bill published in December 2009 (which was also mired in controversy) and which became law in August 2010.

It is worth noting how much time and effort has been devoted to crofting law reform over the past decade and how, even today

and two Crofting Acts later, there remains considerable dissatisfaction over the legislative framework of crofting. It is not clear why a system that governs the lives of 11,500 people has attracted such disproportionate attention.

F. Action without legislation & G. Issues for further study

A number of the issues raised in Sections F and G of the *Land Reform Action Plans* are of a minor nature and require no further comment. Others remain live issues and developments have taken place. These include,

F3 Land Fund

The Scottish Land Fund was established in 2001 to provide capital funding to communities to acquire land. The Fund was wound up in 2006 and since then a fund with wider application has replaced it - the Growing Community Assets programme of the Big Lottery.

F4 & G4 Compulsory Purchase

Compulsory purchase is to be the subject of a Scottish Law Commission review during 2010 - 2014. The Scottish Government recently issued a consultation paper.²²

¹⁹ See www.pairctrust.co.uk

²⁰ See Chapter 5 of UHI report [Post Legislative Scrutiny of the Land Reform \(Scotland\) Act 2003](#)

²¹ See [Crofting Inquiry website](#) for further details.

²² [Guidance on the Use of Compulsory Purchase](#), February 2010

G5 Law of the foreshore and seabed

The Scottish Law Commission published a report on the law of the foreshore and seabed in 2003.²³ Their recommendations for reform of the law have never been implemented.

F8 & G6 Landownership Database and information

The Scottish Executive explored the establishment of a landownership database and commissioned research into the idea.²⁴ Since then, Andy Wightman has established an online database which seeks to achieve the same goal.²⁵

G4 Legal protection for ground-lease holders

The question of legal protection for ground-lease holders arose in the context of a dispute taking place in the late 1990s at Carbeth Estate in Stirlingshire. The owner was threatening to evict the hut owners who, whilst they owned their huts, did not own the ground upon which they stood. The Scottish Executive commissioned research on the topic but noted in the Action Plan that an easy legislative solution was not available but that the position remained under review.²⁶

6. THE LOSS OF MOMENTUM IN LAND REFORM

The energy and focus that drove the Land reform Policy Group and delivered a wide range of high profile legislation between 1999 and 2003 has evaporated. After this intensive period of activity, things quietened down in 2003-2007 as reforms were

initiated and, since 2007, little has happened beyond the crofting reforms outlined above.

It is not evident that there is any particular political dynamic at work here and it is beyond the scope of this report to explore the politics of all of this. But it does focus attention on the overriding message of this report which is that,

Land reform has disappeared from the political agenda.

There are three broad reasons why land reform has been marginalised.

1. There has been a failure by civic society to sustain the agenda. This is related to understanding, competencies and capacity.
2. A persistent focus on rural land and the Highlands and Islands has left the impression that these are the exclusive domains of land reform.
3. As a consequence, there has been a failure by politicians and policy makers to deliver a clear narrative on land reform and to develop it as a theme around which many other issues might be integrated.

It is not the purpose of this report to criticise any political party and thus in noting the lack of action over the past four years, it is not to criticise the SNP Government per se but to warn of the costs of not sustaining effort in an important area of public policy.

²³ [Law of the Foreshore and Seabed. SLC Report 190, 2003](#)

²⁴ See www.andywightman.com/docs/Land_Study_CRU_2001.pdf

²⁵ See www.whoownsscotland.org.uk

²⁶ [Huts and Hutters in Scotland, CRU, Scottish Executive, 2000.](#)

The fault lies perhaps just as much with civic society in Scotland which, since 1997, has been aware of the developing land reform agenda and yet which, for the past 13 years, has done little to build capacity, mount intellectual inquiry and harness the potential that emergent topics hold for radical shifts in land relations.

Politicians will only act when there is a sustained and focussed campaign for land reform which embraces a wide range of measures which will materially alter the dynamics of power.

In September 2007, a six-point proposed programme for land reform in the 2007-11 Scottish Parliament was published. The proposals were selected to reflect areas of policy on which groundwork had already been done and which represented opportunities for moving the agenda forward.²⁷

None of this was followed up and the reason was not solely to do with lack of political appetite, but with the lack of capacity outwith Parliament to promote and support such a programme.

The extent of the retreat from 1999 is perhaps best demonstrated in a recent consultation paper called *Speaking up for Rural Scotland*.²⁸ The document was concerned solely with rural Scotland and was written by the Rural Development Council, a body set up in 2008 to provide the Scottish Government with advice on how best rural Scotland could contribute to sustainable economic growth.

²⁷ See www.andywightman.com/docs/landreform2007-final.pdf

²⁸ See www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/Doc/319168/0102002.pdf

²⁹ Part 1 of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003 is concerned with public access and the Act is frequently cited in access-related writing without noting that only Part 1 relates to access. See [this press release from Ramblers Scotland](#), for example.

Land ownership, land tenure and land reform are conspicuously absent from the report. So far has the topic drifted from the political radar that a report about how to boost economic activity in rural Scotland fails to address the ongoing barriers to rural development that the LRPG identified over a decade ago.

At this point it is worth exploring what we mean by land reform.

7. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY LAND REFORM?

In order to rejuvenate the land reform agenda it is important to be clear what is meant by the term. To date, the term has been used to cover two categories of policy reform, namely land law reform and reform of *some* land-related rural property matters such as access, community right to buy and agricultural holdings legislation.

Consequently, the land reform process is often regarded as being about the technicalities of property law (abolition of feudal tenure, title conditions etc.) or about essentially rural matters such as crofting, access and rural development. It is also, in some quarters almost exclusively associated with public access to the countryside.²⁹

This has contributed to the popular view that land reform is about rural areas, mainly in the Highlands and Islands and thus has limited relevance for most communities and individuals.

In fact, land reform is a process of reforming the relationship between land and people by means of, for example,

- extending property rights beyond a restricted elite
- modernising land tenure laws to provide greater security to owners and tenants
- changes in land policy to increase participation in decision-making
- fiscal and taxation reform to promote specific outcomes.

Land reform is thus a rubric around which a significant number of issues that may at first seem disparate should be given a coherent intellectual framework which fits with existing Government initiatives on, for example, community empowerment.

In relation to land reform in Scotland, a number of topics raised in 1999 remain unresolved. In addition, other topics have emerged that are also part of a land reform agenda. These include: -

- Land information and registration
- Leasehold reform
- Succession law
- Law of the foreshore and seabed
- Crofting
- Law of prescription and pre-emption
- Governance of the Crown Estate
- Community right to buy

- Agricultural holdings
- Local government finance
- Housing
- Open spaces & allotments
- Community based regeneration
- Common good land
- Common property regimes
- Land use policy
- Community forestry
- Asset transfer
- Public land
- Compulsory purchase
- Access
- Wildlife legislation
- Planning

Land relations is the common theme in these topics and there are numerous linkages.

1. Individuals and families have a need for land to build homes yet land is over-valued and communities wishing to promote affordable housing have few effective means of doing so.
2. Tax arrangements are designed to enable many of Scotland's wealthiest landowners to avoid inheritance tax. Such owners also do not pay business rates on their land even although they promote rural estates as businesses.³⁰ Millions of pounds are lost to the Treasury every year due to land being

³⁰ They may, of course pay business rates on specific properties such as retail outlets , though frequently it will be the occupier rather than the owner who pays.

owned in offshore tax havens and yet at the same time, there is a lack of finance to support community acquisition of land.

3. Communities wishing to pursue marine renewable energy projects have no rights over the seabed adjacent to them and are powerless to have any meaningful say over such developments since the Crown Estate Commissioners administer all the property rights.
4. Contracts are being negotiated with multinational energy companies to develop renewable energy projects on public land when such development would deliver greater value if controlled at least in part by communities.
5. Farmers, individuals and communities could benefit from and deliver a more diverse and integrated pattern of new forestry in the countryside and yet the Government has no policies in place to stop multinational companies buying land, receiving millions of pounds in public subsidy and profiting as a result.
6. Children have no legal rights to inherit land and thus Scotland continues to have one of the most concentrated patterns of private landownership in the world.
7. Scotland and the UK continue to experience unacceptable levels of social and economic inequality which are being exacerbated by the growing gulf between those who own land and property and those who don't (and perhaps never will). The richest 10% of the UK population own 44% of the wealth some £4,000 billion of assets out of a total personal wealth of £9,000 billion.³¹

How society chooses to govern public and private land rights and the economic and social benefits that accrue from these rights is at the heart of these issues.

Scotland has no coherent policy on land ownership, occupation and governance.

The LRPG adopted a very specific remit when they set their objective for land reform which was to “to remove the land-based barriers to the sustainable development of rural communities” In their final report in January 1999, the Chair, Lord Sewel, stated that,

“It is crucial that we regard land reform not as a one-for-all issue but as an ongoing process. The parliament will be able to test how this early legislation works and how it effects change. They will then have the opportunity to revisit and refine their initial achievement.

...These present recommendations are therefore by no means the final word on land reform; they are a platform upon which we can build for the future.”

Unfortunately, the last Parliament has substantially neglected to test, revisit and refine this ongoing process never mind build for the future.

³¹ Office for National Statistics, Wealth in GB 2006/08, Figure 2.2.

8. THE WAY AHEAD FOR LAND REFORM

Drawing from the long list of emergent topics presented above (upon which a number of organisations have done some very useful work) civic society needs to develop a new agenda for land reform which reflects upon the experience of 1999 - 2003 and moves forward in a more radical and imaginative manner.

There is no shortage of inspiration either from within Scotland or, increasingly, from our close neighbours in countries such as France, Denmark and Norway. Above all we need to redefine and articulate what land reform is and what it can achieve. We need to co-ordinate efforts across different issues in order to construct a new, imaginative, radical and inspiring agenda of land reform which is both visionary and practical.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

Scotland needs a ***coherent policy on land ownership, occupation and governance*** and a programme of land reform to achieve this. The following recommendations would, if adopted, achieve lasting change and provide the Scottish Government with a new framework within which to pursue land reform.

1. Promote land reform as a unifying strand of policy that can help deliver existing policies on community empowerment, asset transfer, regeneration, housing, local governance and finance, and renewable energy.
2. Introduce a land value tax and abolish business rates and council tax.
3. Re-introduce Town Councils with statutory powers over planning, land, environment, finance and enterprise.
4. Enact a new Common Good Act to improve the administration and management of common good funds and return them to local communities.
5. Review local governance at parish level with a view to introducing new statutory governance along the lines of French municipalities or Norwegian *kommunes*.
6. Expand community ownership of housing by community-based housing associations and provide them with greater statutory powers and responsibilities for regeneration.
7. Undertake a review of the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003 with a view to making it simpler to use and more flexible.
8. Bring forward a Succession bill based upon the recommendations of the Scottish Law Commission giving legal rights to children to inherit land.
9. Implement the recommendations of the Scottish Law Commission's Report on Law of the Foreshore and Seabed.
10. Review the governance of natural resources with a view to increasing local control and decision-making.
11. Transfer statutory powers of Crown Estate Commissioners to the Scottish Parliament and local authorities.
12. Relax planning laws to allow self-build of affordable housing.
13. Review the policy for allocation of forestry grants to prioritise farm forestry, community forestry and individual small-scale forestry.
14. Enact a Land Restitution Act to enable the restoration of common land rights.
15. Place a cap on the level of agricultural subsidies and limit subsidies to one farm per farmer.
16. Reform land registration legislation and the law on prescription.