Many of the regions in this type have a very low population density. In fact, eight of the ten regions with lowest population density in the EU are of this type. This includes the regions in North of Sweden and North and East of Finland (Lappi has with 1.8 inhabitants per square kilometre the lowest density) and some regions in Scotland. There are only two regions in this group that have a higher than the EU average population density: Cornwall and Isles of Scilly, and West Northamptonshire (both UK). The generally low density of the regions adds to the remote location to expect a very low urban impact on the land market. The growth of artificial land is in these regions, consequently, not dominated by urban residential sprawl but by the sprawl of economic sites and infrastructures. Examples are Norrbottens län (4239 hectare of economic and infrastructure sprawl), Inverness & Nairn and Moray, Badenoch & Strathspey (3041 hectare) and Lappi (2171 hectare) in which substantial sprawl of economic sites and infrastructures was between 2000 and 2018. The very large iron ore mining area in Kiruna (Norrbottens län) has for example a substantial impact on land use and life in the area (Nilsson, 2010).

In the very low-density areas, agriculture is a relatively small part of land use. In Lappi it is only 0.6% of the area; in 30 of the 46 regions of this type it is (far) below 25%. Outside the areas in Finland and Sweden, this is for example also the case in the Tiroler Oberland (5.1%) in Austria. In the remote regions in Denmark, France, Ireland and England and Wales and the Waldviertel region in Austria, agriculture is the most important land use with over 50% up to nearly 85% of the area. These areas have less than 10% of the territory of this type, but over 60% of the agricultural land use area. The type of agricultural land use (arable land versus pastures) differs per region, i.e., the Irish regions more pasture, the Danish regions more arable land. In the other regions, natural land uses, including forestry, are dominant.

The Austrian regions with low percentage of agricultural land are also the regions with the highest agricultural land prices in this type. This may relate to the scarcity of farmland in the valleys, and the pressures for touristic uses in the Alps (Tiroler Oberland has the highest prices). The lowest prices, both in sale and rent (€ 27 to € 54 per hectare per year) can be found in the North of Sweden, an area where about 2/3 of the farmers rent. With a GINI of 0.58, landholdings in these types are generally less unequal divided than in average EU regions. This is remarkable as in the other types of remote regions landholdings are much more unequal. There also exceptions: in the regions in Scotland, Tirol, and the North of Sweden landownership is more inequal than average.

Studies on three specific areas will be used to consider issues more in depth. That is the traditional land relationships in Scotland (5.1.1.1), the specific position of Sami in the North of Nordic Europe (5.1.1.2) and the shielded land market at the Åland Islands (5.1.1.3).

5.1.1.1 Scotland: Large landowners, small tenants

The 'Highland Clearances' by which many people were displaced from the highlands by the landowners in the 18th and 19th century have still a certain traumatic influence on discussion of land today (Glass *et al.*, 2019).

Scotland has a different system of property law than England and Wales, where many feudal elements have been abolished by Cromwell in the seventeenth century (Steven, 2004). In

many areas in Europe this happened also gradually, or instantly in Napoleonic times. However, in Scotland, some elements of feudalism has survived and have been formally abolished at 28th of November 2004 (Reid, 2003; Steven, 2004) by the 'The Abolition of Feudal Tenure etc (Scotland) Act 2000' (ASP, 2000). Owners could put affirmative obligations, 'real burdens', on tenants as part of their property right. In non-feudal property relationships, it is possible to restrict rights or to oblige tenants to accept certain uses by others, but owners cannot force tenants to work for them as part of the tenancy relationship, i.e., to oblige tenants with a real burden. In Scotland, this happened in ground leases, but also in sales the seller could put a real burden on the land, which resulted that many land holdings had a 'multiplicity of superiors' (Steven, 2004, 3) who could demand compensation payments if their vassals did not perform their burdens. Although this abolishment, was in many cases, a case of legal principle, it illustrates the conventional land tenure relationships in Scotland. The feudal origin did also survive in the law of succession (Reid, 2015), which is of course highly relevant for transfer of property between regeneration: 'Current law is suited to succession in a feudal system' (Anderson, 2011, 75). This conventionality has not only survived in law, but also in land market relationships, in which the situation is not changed fundamentally in 2004.

Scotland can be seen as an archetype of traditional land relationships with a few large landowners and many small tenants (Christophers, 2018). In 1872, 90% of Scotland was owned by 1380 private owners; in 2012, 60% of Scottish rural land had only 963 landowners (Elliot *et al.*, 2014, 162). In the history of Scotland, the interest of landowners often preceded that of the populations, such as, large scale land acquisitions by 19th century 'industrial magnates' who converted 'sheep farms […] to sporting estates managed for the shooting of deer and grouse as the primary land use' (Glass *et al.*, 2019, 8). In the Highlands and Islands there are still many 'shooting estates' of over 4,000 hectare and a lot of land is concentrated in a few even larger estates (Glass *et al.*, 2019). There is a large continuity in landownership and few transactions (Thomson *et al.*, 2016). The large inequality of landownership in Scotland, which has been analysed by various authors (Wightman, 2013, 1st ed. 2010; Thomson *et al.*, 2016; Glass *et al.*, 2019), has this also a counterpart in landholdings (which also includes tenants who are using the land). Only 17% of the farmers hold a farm over 100 hectares, but these large farms are good for over 89% of the agricultural area. Inequality of land ownership is in Scottish remote regions with a GINI of 0.77 much higher than the average region in the EU and higher than all other regions of its type. This inequality is also growing (in 2005 it was 0.74). This is the case in most of the remote regions. Studies indicate that in the last decades there has been a 're-concentration of landownership' (Elliot *et al.*, 2014, 163) and there are example of people consolidating land to a very large extent. The Land Reform Review Group (established by the Scottish Government in 2012) was very critical about the lack of data and studies on specific landownership patterns (Elliot *et al.*, 2014).

More recently scholars from Scotland's Rural College have prepared a report on 'The effects associated with concentrated and large-scale land ownership in Scotland' (Glass *et al.*, 2019) in response to a call for evidence by the Scottish Land Commission. Currently three quarter of the agricultural land is owner occupied and there has been a consolidation to bigger farms. Next to this, there is also in the last two decades a '**Growth in community ownership of land**, some major purchases (often in conjunction with environmental organisations) of private estates, often where there have been issues between the local communities and landowners.

Continued growth in area owned by environmental organisations, with some rationalisation of the area owned by the state' (Glass *et al.*, 2019, 10). The percentages of land owned by communities 3.1% and environmental organisations 2.5% in 2014 is still modest (Glass *et al.*, 2019, 12). In farmland: 'In recent years, the profile of rural landowners has shifted, with family farmers and life-style buyers joined by a range of institutional investors.' (Glass *et al.*, 2019, 17) This may negatively the potential for rural regeneration for small scale farmers: 'The treatment of land as a financial asset by institutional investors drives up demand and prices, causing new patterns of exclusion, potentially limiting access to land by local family farmers.' (Gallent *et al.*, 2018, 16) The issue of access to land for new entrants is an area of concern for the Scottish Land Commission (McKee *et al.*, 2018).

A very specific access-to-property aspect mentioned in a Scottish study (with 4 out of 6 case studies in remote areas) on 'The impact of diversity of ownership scale on social, economic and environmental outcomes' is the access to affordable housing: 'Lack of affordable housing (to buy or rent) is one of the factors that focus group participants in all case studies said led to out-migration of younger families.' (Thomson *et al.*, 2016, 50) This was amplified by the fact that there was a mismatch between locations with available affordable housing and locations with employment opportunities.

5.1.1.2 Sami

The Northern regions in Sweden and Finland, just as the adjacent areas in Norway and Russia, are the home of Sami who practice a traditional form of reindeer husbandry (Sara, 2019).

> 'As the situation stands today, the land and the way of life of the Sami people are under constant threat. The reindeer economy is especially endangered by competing land use. All three Nordic states have to be held responsible for the fact that they have reduced the grazing lands of the Sami reindeer herds through national exploitation of natural resources and through development projects.' (Carstens, 2016, 88)

This relates not only to mining explorations at which decision making Sami communities were not well involved, but Sara (2019) also found studies that indicated that Sami were not consulted in decisions on wind power plants and decisions to protect state-owned forests in Sweden. The potential construction of an Arctic Ocean Railroad in Finland may also impact the area. High costs and fierce Sami opposition have resulted in a standstill of this project (Nilsen, 2020). Recently the Swedish Supreme Court has ruled that hunting and fishing rights North of the agricultural boundary in Norrbottens län rest with the Sami communities and not with the county administrative board as was stated in the Reindeer Husbandry Act of 1886 because the Sami already exercised these rights, at least, since the mid-1700s (Ravna, 2020).

In Finland 90% of the Sami homelands are owned by the state (Carstens, 2016; Sara, 2019). The way, and legislation governing it, how the state allocates these lands is so of eminent importance. Most young Sami live currently outside the traditional Sami homelands and debates about Sami rights also includes discussions on who have access to land:

> 'Those living outside the Sami homeland claim that the existing legislation violates their right to transfer cultural heritage to next generations, since they are denied