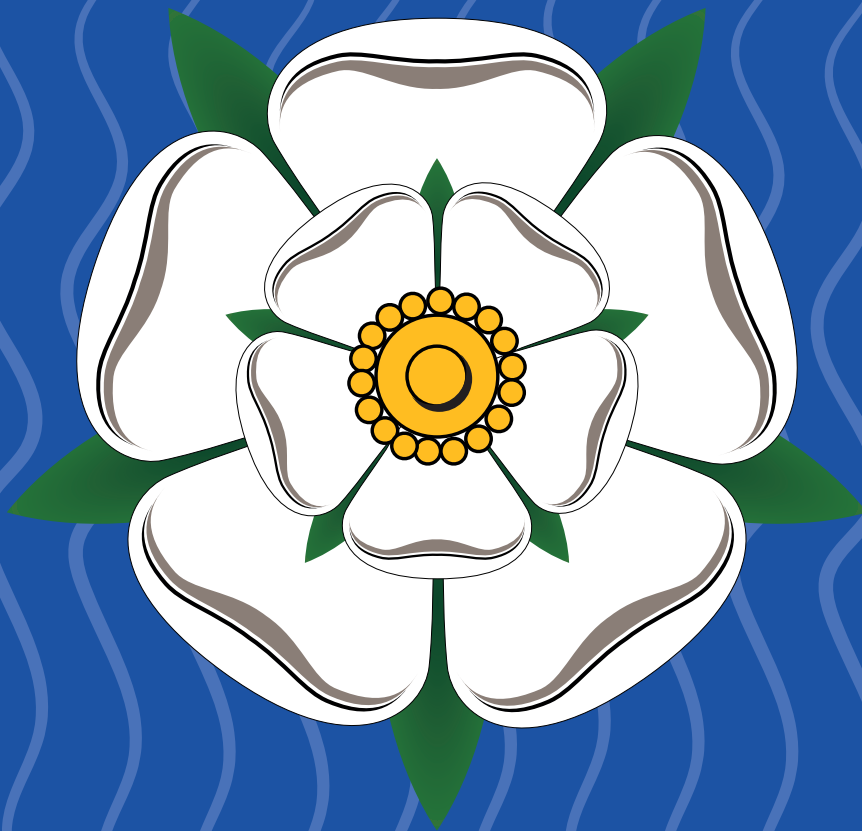


Heading Upstream

BARNSLEY'S INNOVATIONS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

by **Dr Simon Duffy**



Heading Upstream

BARNSLEY'S INNOVATIONS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

by **Dr Simon Duffy**

Published by the **Centre for Welfare Reform**



Publishing information

Heading Upstream © Simon Duffy 2017

First published September 2017

Heading Upstream is published by the Centre for Welfare Reform

If you copy and reuse any part of the material in this report then you must always cite both the author and the publisher and, wherever possible, provide a direct link to the Centre for Welfare Reform's website.

www.centreforwelfarereform.org

Designed by Henry Iles: www.henryiles.com

91 pp

ISBN download: 978-1-907790-92-8

Front cover image courtesy of By Greentubing - Modified a rose by w:en>User:Lupin, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=590399>.

Figure 25 courtesy of The Staff College

Figures 12 and 21 and all photographs courtesy of Barnsley Council.

All other figures © Simon Duffy

CONTENTS



Summary	5
Introduction	13
1. The social justice challenge	15
2. Citizenship solutions	28
3. Place-based work	39
4. Achievements.	49
5. Partnerships.	62
6. Next stage developments.	71
7. Policy implications	77
Final thoughts	82
Bibliography	83

Summary

For more than 10 years Barnsley Council has been one of the leading pioneers in defining a new role for local government in England. Barnsley has turned its back on the kind of state paternalism that converts government into a provider of public services and treats people as passive service users. But Barnsley has also rejected individualistic policies that lead to cuts in public services and which turn people into mere consumers.

Barnsley's policies are rooted both in local pride and a Northern commitment to social justice. It knows that people are at their best when they are active citizens, members of strong families and contributors to their local community. A good life is not about money, consumption or empty competition. Humans flourish when their own unique gifts are recognised and respected and when they work together to build a better world.

Barnsley has accepted the challenge of social justice: to enable everyone to be a full and active citizen and to develop strong and welcoming communities. Yet it may seem that there has never been a worse time for such a bold commitment to real social justice. Barnsley, like many other Northern towns, has seen its large industrial employers disappear and, while Barnsley remains a hard-working place, with low levels of unemployment, people's incomes are significantly lower than the UK average.

Not only is there less private money in Barnsley, there is also less public money. The UK is one of the most centralised welfare states in the world. Decisions are centralised in London and this is combined with much lower public spending in places like Barnsley. It is estimated that centralisation costs the people of Barnsley about £0.75 billion in lost public spending. This is about 40% of current local spending, and equivalent to more than £3,000 for every citizen of Barnsley.

On top of this Barnsley must bear the extra costs imposed on the council and on local people by austerity. Bank bailouts and low interest rates have provided an enormous subsidy to the London-based financial industry and to housing markets, especially in London; and the cost of this bailout has been transferred to places like Barnsley. By 2020 local government will have been cut by more than 50% and local people will have lost more

than £100 million per year in their personal incomes, through cuts to tax credits and to benefits.

These policies have reversed the natural principle of social justice. The UK, already the most unequal country in Western Europe, has targeted its cuts on the poorest people and on the poorest places. The people who are paying the price for the financial crisis are those who didn't cause it. The people who are paying for the house price bubble are those who never benefited from it.

This combination of industrial decline, centralisation and austerity would seem to be toxic for a place like Barnsley. But Barnsley is a proud Northern community, made up of many different towns and villages. It is full of people who have talent, energy and the will to transform their own communities. So Barnsley Council has decided to look forward and to renew its community life, by working in partnership with local citizens and its statutory partners.

Barnsley has recognised that social justice does not just mean spending more money on public services. Social justice means enabling every single person in Barnsley to be able to live a good life and to contribute as a citizen. Social justice demands that people are full and active citizens; and social justice also requires people to think as citizens in order to take responsibility for each other and their local communities. A thriving and innovative welfare state is not created by treating people as passive recipients or as consumers; a strong welfare state is one that is supported, challenged and sustained by its own citizens.

This certainly means ensuring that people get the support they need to be citizens, but it also means expecting people to play their full part as citizens. And the central challenge for making this real is not to change the people of Barnsley; for it turns out that there are plenty of people willing to act as citizens. The central challenge is to change the culture and behaviour of the council, and other public services, and to shift away from the paternalistic habits that have developed across much of the welfare state.

The welfare state is essential to social justice; but the risk is that the wrong systems and services become institutionalised. In particular there is a grave danger that money and power become entrenched in those services that do least to encourage citizenship. In fact resources and attention often seem to drift downstream to services, such as hospitals, prisons, schools or care homes, that merely react to crises or only meet

the immediate symptoms of a need. It is much harder to head upstream and to look at the underlying causes of need. There are no vested-interests to advocate for and protect the interests of citizens, families, communities, society or the environment; yet it is these that provide the essential ingredients for social justice and our well-being.

This problem is an opportunity. Instead of responding to austerity by cutting services Barnsley Council has endeavoured to go upstream and work with its communities so that new kinds of solutions can be found. In this way resources, even the reduced public funding now available, can be invested more effectively upstream. This approach welcomes and encourages citizen action across the life of the community.

In fact the potential for citizen action is very significant, if it is respected and supported. This report calculates that the level of care offered by Barnsley's citizens to each other is already worth about £435 million. In addition to this there is a further £1.3 billion's worth of potential time and energy available to Barnsley from those citizens who are not currently working excessive hours, nor caring, and who may have some time to commit to further community action.

The fact that Barnsley has understood how to turn austerity into a positive opportunity is also possible because Barnsley started to think differently about its role more than ten years ago. For instance, Barnsley pioneered the use of self-directed support in social care. Instead of slotting disabled and older people into existing services Barnsley has led the way in enabling people to take control of their own personal budget, to make their own choices and to use their budget creatively in order to develop new support solutions in their own communities. Barnsley remains one of the leading local authorities in England using personal budgets and has extended this way of working into its support for children and its joint work with the NHS.

Barnsley has also led the way in demonstrating that local authorities could do a better job at helping people find work. In the short period during in which the Future Jobs Fund was established it was able to demonstrate a much higher degree of efficiency than the current Work Programme, which is controlled by Whitehall. Barnsley has shown that working in partnership with local people and local businesses is far more effective than a regime of sanctions and the standardised support solutions offered by commercial organisations, contracted from London and parachuted into the communities of Barnsley.

Both of these ways of working recognise that social justice cannot be achieved unless people themselves become active agents, shaping their own roles and contributions, while also working together as families or within communities. Government cannot give people fulfilling lives; government cannot bring up children, nor do the work of active citizens. At its worst government can even undermine these essential elements of a decent society. However, at its best, government can ensure that resources are distributed fairly, can ensure essential services are in place and can ensure that there is the right framework for local action.

Building on these kinds of initiatives Barnsley Council is now engaged in a conscious and fundamental shift in its own culture and organisation. Its core objectives are not the objectives of a service provider; they are the objectives of a council that works to serve the local community by building on the community's own capacities. Barnsley Council's objectives are:

- ◆ Thriving and vibrant economy
- ◆ People achieving their potential
- ◆ Strong and resilient communities

8

Critically, this new approach requires the Council to foster conversations in different places. Instead of trying to draw an inevitably small number of citizens into the Town Hall, the council has structured the conversations of councillors and officers at a local level. This new place-based approach sees:

1. Ward Alliances where councillors and citizens make decisions about the local area together
2. Area Councils where commissioning decisions are linked to local knowledge and assets
3. Area Teams working with local councillors to use community development processes
4. Volunteering initiatives at every level, from council staff to commissioning policy and work with local businesses

The outcomes from this new place-based approach are very positive. Commissioning decisions are associated with high a very high Social Return On Investment (SROI). Councillors have seen their role evolve into becoming effective community leaders and volunteers and community groups have been able to engage more effectively with the Council, to

everybody's benefit. The increased productivity of this new way of working is built around these different elements:

- ◆ Understanding the root causes of problems and building on local priorities, visions and concerns
- ◆ Guiding decisions with information and connections to wider strategic problems and opportunities
- ◆ Expecting and respecting local effort, capacity, talent and knowledge
- ◆ Enabling resources to be pooled from government, charities, businesses and local citizens
- ◆ Celebrating success, acknowledging effort and sharing stories and evidence of achievements

Most importantly these changes in governance signal, and enable, a wider change in the culture of the Council and its relationships. Barnsley, like other councils in England, has not only been targeted for cuts, it only has a limited ability to directly control public spending in Barnsley (11%). Most public resources are controlled by other statutory bodies, such as police, health and education, while private resources are under the control of citizens, businesses and charities.

However, as the primary democratic body within the community, local authorities can play a critical leadership body within their local area, for example:

- ◆ Working with South Yorkshire Police, Barnsley have established a new approach to safer communities, one which delivers integrated neighbourhood teams organised around the Council's Area framework, supported by an integrated approach to addressing the challenges that multiple disadvantage and vulnerability bring. They call this their *Safer Neighbourhood Services*; this is a partnership that brings the police and preventive services together.
- ◆ Working with the NHS Barnsley Clinical Commissioning Group Barnsley is using a system of social prescribing to help reduce pressure on the NHS and to redirect people and resources back into local communities.
- ◆ Working with the voluntary sector and charitable funders Barnsley is strengthening the systems to further support volunteering and to develop of new forms of community ownership and action.

Now Barnsley Council is at the point of reviewing its progress to date and the potential next steps. Significant progress has been made to develop a culture that supports citizen action and builds on community capacity. In particular this report makes seven recommendations for Barnsley Council for further action:

1. Build on its pro-community, pro-innovation approach; in particular focus on the lessons on joint-working that are emerging from the *Dearne Approach*.
2. Carve out the spaces necessary for the Council, its partners and for communities to keep on looking for ways to make innovation attractive and easy to achieve.
3. Continue the drive for new ways to work across organisations at a place-based level, just as has been recently achieved with the redesign of neighbourhood policing.
4. Clarify the offer and relationship with local communities, be clear about the Council's responsibilities and its limits.
5. Create further opportunities that enable public servants to reconnect back with the communities they serve.
6. Develop further the role of councillors as local leaders and facilitators; ensure people get the chance for personal development and the chance to support innovation and community leadership.
7. Learn together, find out what works, bring people together from different organisations, work with local citizens and pay attention to local priorities.

Barnsley's path makes sense. Its policies do not legitimise the harm and unfairness of austerity; however these policies are possibly the only way to respond to austerity without abandoning the demands of social justice. However there is one further responsibility that Barnsley must accept and which might also be a positive opportunity to serve the people of Barnsley.

Some other councils are also trying to find a positive way to respond to austerity and redefine their role. Barnsley could work in partnership with others to share its experiences and learn from others. In addition this collaborative work could help Barnsley be stronger in advocating for wider system changes and for tackling the challenges ahead.

Currently there is much talk of a new kind of devolution deal for councils and Barnsley is part of discussion about some kind devolution at a regional level. However, the future of the proposed devolution deal and the long-term relationship between local and central government in England, is far from clear. The long-term tendency for power and money to remain

centred on London is unlikely to change without concerted pressure and new proposals for reform.

Barnsley's leaders could play an important role on a number of fronts:

- ◆ Help to establish learning networks where ideas about supporting citizen action can be developed further and which enable practical collaboration.
- ◆ Work with other local authorities in the region to explore their learning, to share in progress and develop policy proposals for the future.
- ◆ Engage in policy conversations with peak bodies, like the Local Government Association (LGA) think-tanks, civil servants and politicians; share its experiences with the general media.

Barnsley is a place full of potential. It has a population equivalent to a small country like Iceland. There is no reason why the people of Barnsley cannot take back control of their own communities and work together to make brilliant things happen.

Introduction

I was very pleased to write this report describing Barnsley Council's work to advance citizenship and strengthen local communities. The report was commissioned by Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council (which I've shortened to Barnsley Council) but the report offers an independent perspective on the changes that the Council has introduced over several years. In particular the report focuses on the changes in culture and organisation and the development of new kinds of governance, including the new Area Council and Ward Alliance model.

I have drawn upon existing research, both published and unpublished, and carried out some fresh analysis of publicly available data. The primary goal of this research is to try and understand the meaning of Barnsley Council's work and to help communicate the importance of these changes to a wider audience. Hopefully this information will also be useful for other councils and policy-makers and that it might support those seeking to bring about similar changes in their communities.

The impact of austerity on Barnsley Council has been severe, and austerity has followed years of industrial decline and policies, defined in Whitehall, that have not always provided the best help to a proud Northern town, keen to strengthen its status and dignity. In the face of deep cuts in funding it would have been easy for the Council to dig in and blame central government for any inevitable cuts in service. It is to Barnsley Council's credit that they have refused to allow things to simply slip backwards; instead they have endeavoured to find a positive way through this crisis.

At its simplest Barnsley Council's strategy has been to show faith in the people of Barnsley. It has committed itself to build on the gifts and capacities of local citizens and to challenge low expectations and prejudice. This has required creativity and leadership in order to demonstrate what is possible. The fact that Barnsley set off down this path many years before austerity has probably helped it develop such a powerful platform for radical change and ongoing innovation.

The title of this report reflects two critical assumptions. The first assumption is that many of the problems we face have been created by systems that don't always help people and places to flourish. Too often resources and attention have been invested in the wrong kinds of solutions, while underlying problems are not addressed. It is not the welfare state that causes this problem, but the current design of the welfare state does not help. We need a different approach. The welfare state, at its best, can be empowering and supportive; it does not need to be paternalistic and controlling.

The second assumption is that the challenges and innovations necessary to make progress are challenges of social justice. They are rooted in a commitment to establish communities where there is more democratic control, greater solidarity and a higher level of equality. It is not by moving towards economic liberalism, individualism or by giving into the power of the market that we will move forward. Social justice demands that we rethink the role of the welfare state in order to achieve a sustainable approach to advancing social justice.

It is my view that Barnsley Council is showing us the way forward. We need to maintain a commitment to social justice, but this is not achieved by giving more power and control to the state. Social justice requires active citizenship, stronger communities and greater equality. Local councils have a critical role in giving life to these ideals and policy-makers need to better understand the conditions that make these kinds of changes more likely

I'd like to acknowledge and thank Barnsley Council for all the opportunities it gave me to meet with councillors, officers and the many different people of Barnsley, whether they were working as paid employees or just giving their free time to be active and responsible citizens. It was an inspiring and encouraging experience. There are too many individuals to thank everyone by name; however I'd particularly like to thank Wendy Lowder, who continues to be a model of quiet and powerful leadership. I'd also like to thank Jacqui Bradley, whose gentle tact, kindness and efficient organisation helped me to weave my way around all the various people, departments and systems that make up the modern welfare state in action.

1. The social justice challenge

Local government exists for the sake of justice, and in particular for social justice. The creation of the welfare state after World War II saw an enormous growth in education, health and welfare services, funded or administered by Whitehall. But almost all of these services were established by taking over control of the schools, hospitals, care homes, institutions and welfare systems that had originally been established by local government, trade unions, local communities or faith communities. The pre-war welfare system was inadequate, but it was also real and rooted locally.

Since 1945 the relationship between local government, central government and the general public has changed and the UK is now considered one of the most centralised welfare states in the world (The Economist, 2010). When the 2007-08 banking crisis led to a bail-out of UK banks then central government began an austerity programme that has targeted local government for cuts in services (Duffy, 2013e). Despite this, in the last few years, there has been much talk of devolution and a return of powers to local government; yet as we shall go on to discuss; there is great uncertainty about what this will really involve (LGA, 2016).

The premise of this report is that social justice must remain a central concern for local leaders. Inevitably, in a highly centralised system, local leaders will often have to adapt to policies that they don't agree with; however there is almost always room to innovate and to create solutions that work for the local community. Barnsley Council may not be able to control everything, but it is right that it continues to seek solutions that advance social justice, even during this most difficult period.

15

1.1 Industrial change

While the welfare state has, until recently, been quite slow to change, there have been significant changes in and around Barnsley. The town's primary period of growth lasted from 1860 until the 1950s and it was primarily driven by mining and manufacturing (particularly glass-making), both of which started to significantly decline in the 1970s. Today more than 50% of all jobs are in the service sector and there are no working coal mines.

Although Barnsley has experienced industrial decline there is still a great deal of economic activity in Barnsley. Employment is high and unemployment relatively low, with levels that are close to the national average. However the median gross weekly pay is £477 per week (£24,800) which is 12% lower than the national average of £541 (£28,132).

For the region of Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham the average gross income per head is £15,019, which is £2,946 (16%) less than the average for the UK (£17,965), but £2,948 higher than Leicester, which is the poorest region in England. Barnsley also has 12,900 people who are not working because of long-term sickness, which is higher than the national average, and is probably a legacy of Barnsley's mining and manufacturing history and its legacy of industrial diseases.

Barnsley has a population of 231,200 which has been broadly level since the 1950s (2011 Census). There are 104,926 homes which meaning the average household size is 2.2. There has been very little immigration into Barnsley and the population is largely white (97.9%). Politically Barnsley has been solidly Labour, with 55 Labour councillors and 8 others. However, like many other Northern towns, the majority voted to leave the EU, with 68% voting for Brexit.

Overall Barnsley has held its own through difficult times. It has retained a strong sense of pride and identity. Although, during a period when the UK population has grown, Barnsley's static population perhaps suggests that many people are leaving the town to seek opportunities elsewhere and that the remaining population balance is ageing faster than the UK average.

1.2 Responding to austerity

For the last two decades UK economic policy has been underpinned by a policy of low cost borrowing and investment in the financial and service sectors. This has in turn led to significant inflation in house prices, which has benefited home owners, the better-off and those in and around London. This policy has been politically attractive for incumbent governments, for it has also tended to benefit middle-income groups and those parts of 'Middle England' that have been critical for electoral success in UK General Elections.

However, the long-term impact of this policy seems far from benign. Not only has the policy led to growing disparities in wealth and income (inequalities that have further exaggerated previous regional differences) it has also created an economy with extremely high levels of debt. UK Government debt is currently over 80% of GDP and private debt is now close to £1.5 trillion. This indebtedness, combined with the behaviour of banks and financial institutions, created the 2007-08 banking crisis. Banks, threatened with collapse, were bailed out by national governments.

In the UK the bailout to the banks was extremely costly and the Labour Government began to make cuts in public expenditure in 2009. In 2010 the Coalition Government accelerated this process and began an austerity programme that has seen cuts in public spending higher than any that there have been since the creation of the welfare state after World War II. This policy was continued by the Conservative Government elected in 2015. Some commentators believe that this policy goes far beyond anything that might be justified by the banking crisis, instead it seems to be a matter of ideological commitment (Taylor-Gooby & Stoker, 2011). The severity of the cuts and the way in which they seem to target disadvantaged groups has led to two reports from the United Nations condemning the UK for breaching the human rights of its own citizens (CESCR, 2016; CRPD, 2016).

Moreover, although the rhetoric of austerity seems to imply cuts might fall evenly across the board and that the poorest would be protected, the reality has been precisely the reverse. Cuts have been highly targeted and have fallen hardest on those on low incomes and on English local government, particularly the North of England. A report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation noted:

“Between 2010/11 and 2015/16, English local authorities cut spending by 27 per cent in real terms, compared with 11 per cent in Scotland... Cuts were driven primarily by reductions in central government funding, although the (partial) freeze on Council Tax in both countries also contributed.”

Hastings et al. 2015

In fact about half of all cuts have fallen on English local government or on people relying on benefits (Figure 1) (Duffy, 2014).

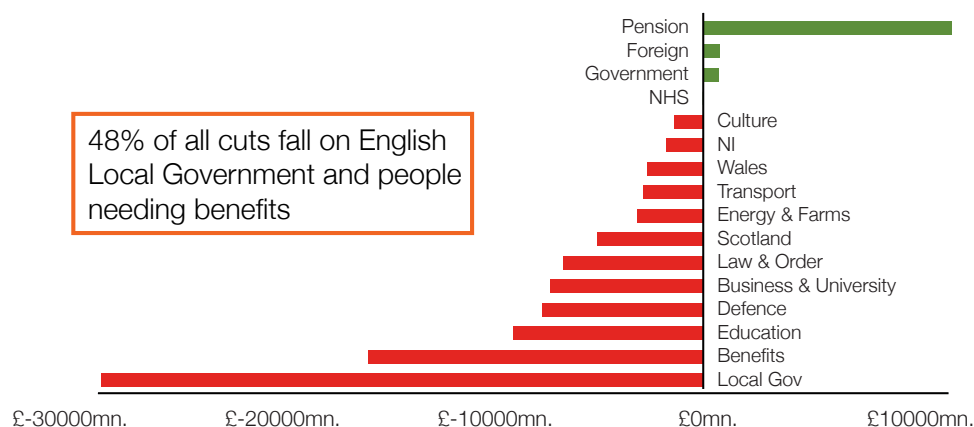


FIGURE 1. Change in UK Government spending 2008-16

The impact in places like Barnsley has been dramatic, particularly as the precise nature of the cuts has also varied with place. For instance, The Guardian calculated that Barnsley was the 47th most deprived area in England (out of 326 areas), but that it faced the 49th most severe cut of any area (Guardian, 2012). In the five years from 2011 to 2016 Barnsley has cut its expenditure by £87 million, and while Barnsley is still spending £168 million today, that is a reduction of 31% (BMC, 2016a); and these cuts are set to continue.

Moreover, this is just the impact on Barnsley Council’s services. Just as significant has been the cuts in the incomes of local citizens. Sheffield Hallam University estimated that cuts in benefits have already reduced the income of the average working age adult in Barnsley by £440 per year and have taken £33 million out of the local economy (Beatty & Fothergill, 2016). What is more they estimate that by 2021 those figures will have grown further and that the average working age adult will have lost £869 per year and £129 million per year will have been lost in total. Again these figures are significantly higher than the national average for cuts, meaning Barnsley is not just losing income; it is losing more income than other places, many of which were already better off than Barnsley.

1.3 The cost of centralisation

These injustices are layered on top of longer term problems in the fabric of the welfare state. It is widely assumed that the welfare state redistributes resources at the level of the individual and the region: poorer people become better-off, poorer regions become wealthier. However, on closer examination, the redistribution is minimal and sometimes goes in reverse. For instance, Table 1 brings together all the data for public spending and benefits in Barnsley (DCLG, 2016; SYP, 2016; SYFR, 2016; HMRC, 2015; HMRC, 2016; DWP, 2016 plus personal correspondence with NHS Barnsley CCG).

		Spend (£ mn)	Percent
DWP	Pensions	331.90	
	Other benefits	352.90	
	Total	684.80	37%
NHS	Locally Commissioned Healthcare (CCG)	380.40	
	Regional Specialised Commissioning	58.17	
	NHS England Commissioned (Pharmacy, Optical, Dental)	22.38	
	Total	460.95	25%
DfE	Education	301.33	16%
BMBC	Highways and transport services	10.61	
	Children Social Care	46.72	
	Adult Social Care	74.15	
	Public Health	21.31	
	Housing	1.94	
	Cultural and related services	6.31	
	Environmental & reg. services	23.24	
	Planning and development services	14.95	
	Central services	10.77	
	Total	209.99	11%
	HMRC	Child benefit	46.07
Child & working tax credits		122.84	
Total		168.90	9%
SYFR	Fire and rescue services	14.00	1%
SYP	Police services	13.00	1%
	TOTAL	1,852.97	100%
	TOTAL (by head of population)	2,600.00	
	Missing Public Expenditure	747.03	

TABLE 1. NET public spending in Barnsley 2015-16

We can compare Barnsley’s spending with overall public spending in the UK, which is about £722 billion (HMT, 2016b). The total population of the UK is about 65 million, so that means average public spending per head is about £11,100 . So, if public spending were distributed evenly, on the basis of population alone, then we would expect to see public expenditure in Barnsley to be about £2.6 billion. However actual public spending in Barnsley seems to be about £1.85 billion. This means that about £0.75 billion is missing from Barnsley; this is about 40% of all current public spending, equivalent to more than £3,000 per head of population.

Of course, some of this missing money may be legitimately being spent elsewhere or on services that are missing from this analysis (e.g. prisons and the armed forces). But, by any measure, this is a very large figure to be missing from the local economy of Barnsley. It is also certainly the case that this money is being spent somewhere, just not in Barnsley.

A similar situation could be found in many other Northern towns, cities and counties, for example, a similar level of funding was found missing in Calderdale in earlier research (Duffy & Hyde, 2011). Although further analysis is necessary, it is most likely that this missing money reflects a long-term imbalance in the UK welfare system, one which has seen some benefits for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, plus a huge concentration of power and money in London and the South East.

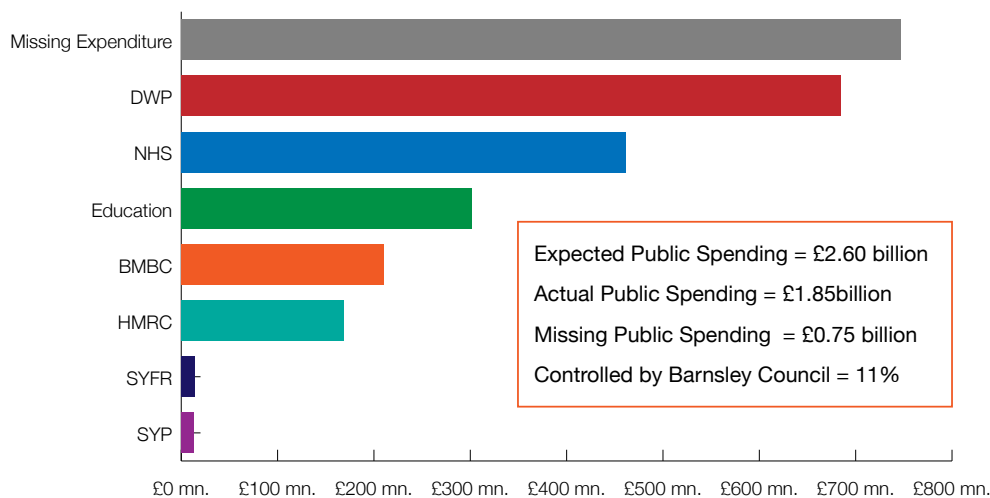


FIGURE 2. Public expenditure missing from Barnsley 2015-16

All of this raises profound issues about the centralisation of power in Whitehall and the opaque nature of public finances. The population of Barnsley is only a little smaller than the population of a small country like Iceland. Yet it has no significant control over its own resources, nor does it seem to get a fair proportion of national resources. There is much talk of the possibility of radical devolution; but given that the UK is the most centralised welfare state in the world it seems unlikely that this will be an easy change.

1.4 The flow downstream

Obviously these facts reveal a significant level of injustice in central government policy. However there is nothing Barnsley Council can do directly to change these political and economic realities. The critical question for leaders in Barnsley Council has been to decide how to respond to these cuts and how to turn them, to the extent possible, to the advantage of the citizens of Barnsley. That may seem impossible, but there are good reasons to believe that there are some changes that can be made, in the face of austerity, which are broadly beneficial.

We are sometimes held back by not thinking deeply enough about how systems actually work. For instance, political debates about the welfare state are often rather simplistic. Some critics identify problems with the welfare state and then propose shrinking or eliminating the welfare state, as if that might be the solution. They seem to forget that the welfare state developed because countries around the world recognised that democratic societies could only survive if they reduced inequality and addressed the social and economic needs of ordinary people. Without an effective welfare state chronic insecurity, income inequality and poverty had led to fear, revolution and war (Duffy, 2013d). The creation of the welfare state was an effort to put an end to these toxic social conditions and to ensure the full weight of law and government was put behind the demands of social justice.

However, advocates of the welfare state can also fall into the trap of treating public spending as if it were a good proxy for social justice and wellbeing. There is a tendency to lazily assume that more public spending is good, whilst less public spending is bad. Too often there is no careful analysis of what kind of spending is most useful and which parts of the welfare state might even be harmful.

One particular problem that has dogged the welfare state has been the way in which it becomes easier to spend money on problems as they become more difficult to solve; whereas it seems harder to solve problems early, even if that would be a more efficient and effective strategy. The challenge is to ‘move upstream’ and Mayer tells a brief but powerful story to help explain this concept, which I summarise here (Mayer, 2008):

Imagine yourself walking up a river with a group of friends. Suddenly you see a baby in the water and so you dive into save the child. But as you rescue one baby then you see another, and after a while you are busy picking one baby after another out of the water. Then one of your friends gets out of the water and starts to walk upstream. You shout, “Hey, where are you going? We’ve got all these babies to save.” But she replies, “I’m going upstream to find out who’s throwing babies in the river.”

There are number of important elements to this story which ring true for many of us who have worked in public services. Many social problems are closely associated with upstream problems, yet public services tend not to address those problems, they only deal with their after-effects. For instance, income inequality is associated with poor mental health, increased levels of crime and many other problems (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2011). But income inequality is not a problem that services can easily address.

Even when it is possible to see that there are better ways to solve a problem upstream, there is often resistance to change. For instance, it took many decades to close long-stay institutions for people with disabilities and to invest resources in better community solutions. Change is hard and often the least effective solutions are also the most effective services at resisting change. In fact it is likely that as a service begins to feel out-of-date so it will put more energy into defending the status quo. Resources tend to head downstream and it takes true leadership, creativity and hard work to reinvest those resources upstream (Figure 3).

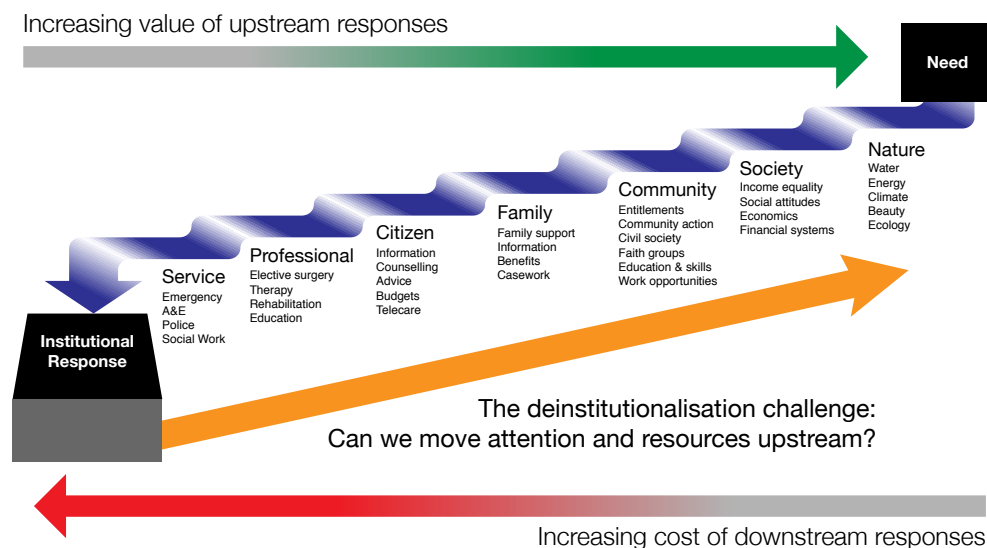


FIGURE 3. The challenge to move focus upstream

However, while difficult, moving upstream is worth the effort. The lives of people with disabilities have been doubly transformed by deinstitutionalisation. At first the closure of long-stay institutions and the development of community services reduced abuse and increased people’s ability to live better lives. Later the development of personal budgets further increased people’s ability to take control and enable people and families to develop solution that increased their ability to contribute and to be active citizens (Duffy, 2016).

Arguably, as we head upstream, we can distinguish different sets of solutions which differ in terms of their cost, value and underlying logic. Downstream solutions have the lowest value and the highest cost, and are also the hardest to change. Upstream solutions have growing value, high rates of efficiency, yet often lack effective forms of advocacy or constitutional protection. Problems head downstream for a reason:

- 1. Institutional responses** - The institutional response is typically not a solution to a problem but a form of containment. For example, few older people wish to end up in residential care, yet most social care funding is spent on residential care, despite the fact that residential care is associated with many problems, including high levels of abuse. Prisons, institutional care services, special schools and unnecessary hospitalisation are all examples of institutional responses to upstream problems.

2. **Service solutions** - Sometimes we need services (for example, ambulance, fire, police and social work) to respond to serious problems urgently and directly. However we also know that demand for these services is often driven by factors that can be better controlled. For example, using smoke alarms radically reduces the demand on emergency fire services and stronger families need less support from social workers.
3. **Professional solutions** - Sometimes we need professionals to use complex skills on our behalf. It takes a competent doctor to carry out an operation and while a citizen must consent to the operation they cannot carry out the operation on themselves. However it is also possible to over-professionalise solutions rather than teach skills, empower others and reduce demand for professional solutions (Crisp, 2010).
4. **Citizen solutions** - Citizens can also play a critical role in solving their own problems and can become less reliant on professional solutions. Often information, budgets or access to community resources plays an essential role in enabling citizen-led solutions. For example, with a personal budget an individual can tailor support that strengthens their place in the community and reduce the risk of an institutional response (O'Brien & Mount, 2015).
5. **Family solutions** - Families, in their many forms, are a critical source of value. We all need love and support, particularly children, who will go on to become citizens. Family-focused strategies enable families to create their own solutions. Strengthening families with resources, information and respectful assistance can create more sustainable solutions and avoid unnecessary crises (Duffy & Hyde, 2011).
6. **Community solutions** - Citizens and families become even stronger when they work together to establish forms of peer support or new community associations that can act as foundations for richer forms of citizen and family life. For instance, when people with mental health problems help each other they can do so in ways which benefit everybody's wellbeing (Duffy, 2012). Alternatively when social work systems are converted into systems of local area coordination there is evidence that problems are avoided and communities strengthened (Broad, 2015).
7. **Social and political factors** - Often there are social factors which alter the rate at which other social problems arise. High levels of income inequality, lack of time to invest in family and friends, prejudice or racism and many other factors can increase the risk that communities, families and citizens will not have the practical or emotional resources to respond to problems (Friedli, 2009). Accountability and democratic structures also play a critical part in enabling people to find good solutions and avoiding the risk of despair, disenchantment or alienation.
8. **Environmental factors** - There are also important factors which are rooted in nature, the built environment and the climate. Health is radically undermined by bad housing and social isolation grows when people lack places where they can meet and talk. Pollution in the atmosphere can cause significant harm to cognitive development and shorten life-expectancy.

The hierarchy of upstream solutions, as I've outlined them here, may not be quite so precise in reality; however it is clear that some problems are caused or increased by upstream factors. It is also clear that some kinds of solutions are readily turned into services on an industrial scale (e.g. schools, hospitals or prisons) and that these services quickly take on a momentum and power that may be poorly correlated to their actual value. In contrast there is little substantial advocacy for solving the problems that may benefit all of us, such as income equality or reduced pollution. Heading upstream is challenging and often threatens vested interests or embedded ways of thinking.

1.5 Strategies to head upstream

If we look in detail at one of the largest elements of public spending in Barnsley - healthcare - then we can see how patterns of investment do tend to reflect this upstream challenge. Table 2 provides an outline of all health expenditure by type.

	NHS CCG Contribution (£ mn)	BMBC Contribution (£ mn)	Local Health Spending (£ mn)	Percent
Acute Healthcare	182.60	0.00	182.60	45.09%
GP Prescribing	50.20	0.00	50.20	12.40%
Primary Care	44.60	0.00	44.60	11.01%
Mental Health	31.60	5.00	36.60	9.04%
Community Health	31.70	4.50	36.20	8.94%
Better Care Fund	9.30	9.00	18.30	4.52%
Continuing Healthcare	13.00	3.10	16.10	3.98%
Ambulance	8.50	0.00	8.50	2.10%
Administration	5.00	0.30	5.30	1.31%
Other (inc. vol. sector)	3.90	0.00	3.90	0.96%
Substance misuse	0.00	2.60	2.60	0.64%
Area Councils	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.02%
TOTAL	380.40	24.60	405.00	1.00
Percent	93.93%	6.07%		

TABLE 2. NHS Barnsley CCG financial position 2015-16

As we will see below, NHS leaders are also quite aware of the need to shift resources upstream. Public health expenditure is a critical area of joint concern which particularly aims to develop upstream solutions for improving the health of local citizens. Barnsley NHS CCG currently makes a very significant contribution to the budget of BMBC, which is included in the expenditure for Barnsley Council under the heading of Public Health in Table 1.

There are also important points of contact and overlap between NHS and Council responsibilities, in particular mental health, social care and substance misuse services represent important areas of joint concern and action. Nevertheless the dominant forms of healthcare expenditure are the provision of professional services, often within hospital services, and the purchase of prescription medication.

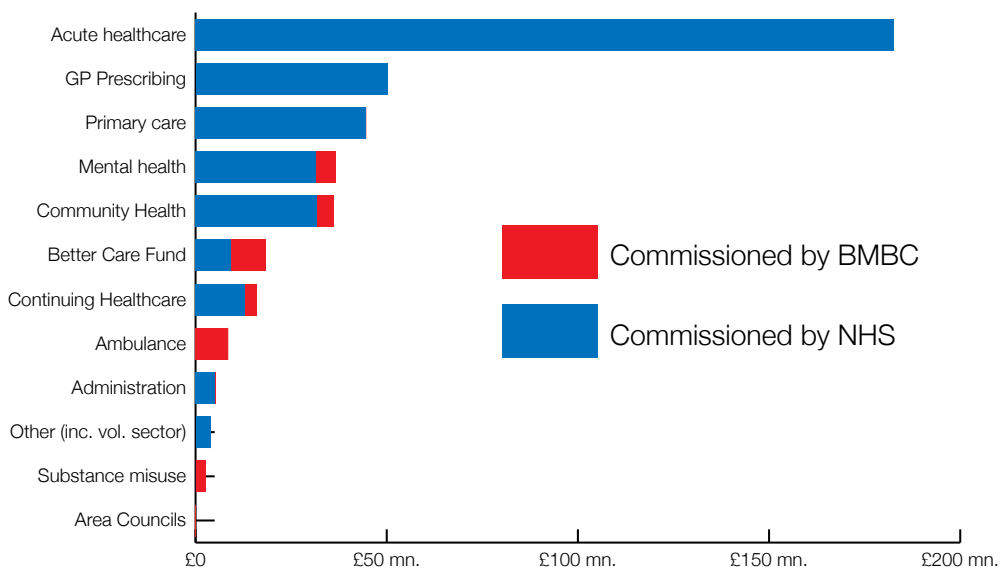


FIGURE 4. Local health and social care expenditure in Barnsley

24

Often the challenge to solve solutions upstream can take decades. Important public health improvements, like reduced smoking, require changes to the law, and these can only be achieved after significant effort. Long-stay institutions took over 40 years to close, and a number of private institutions still remain in place today. Direct payments, enabling people to control social care budgets, were made possible by legal changes in 1996; the right to a personal budget for everyone in adult social care was enshrined in the 2014 Care Act, but these systems are still not fully transformed. The path upstream can be very steep and sometimes it requires changes at the highest level.

However, there is still much that can be achieved at the local level, and often these local changes act as the first essential first steps to achieve more ambitious goals (Figure 5). Working within the existing constraints it is possible for local leaders to:

- 1. Set a clear direction** - Define the problems that need solving and the general direction that is required. Detailed plans may not be possible, as the actual solutions required may not be known, but this is no obstacle, as the key challenge is to help local people develop new solutions and innovations.
- 2. Enable leadership** - Innovation requires multiple forms of leadership, both to help define solutions, organise effort and coordinate actions. Formal systems need to create clarity about who is leading their efforts and to spot and support any leadership that emerges to address the challenges ahead.
- 3. Free up resources** - Moving upstream requires disinvestment from the old system. Initially it may only be possible to free up modest levels of the available resources; however enabling these resources to be used flexibly in order to head upstream is critical.
- 4. Let people join in** - Positive change requires reinforcement and growing levels of support if it is to be established as a new path. It is important that innovations are not stifled or converted into ‘pilots’ with a limited lifespan. Building increasing levels of momentum is critical to strategic change.

- 5. **Set rules** - Rules cannot provide momentum, but they can ensure that the necessary changes remain coherent and sustainable. Helpful rules can encourage principled action and can be reviewed as part of the strategic process change process.

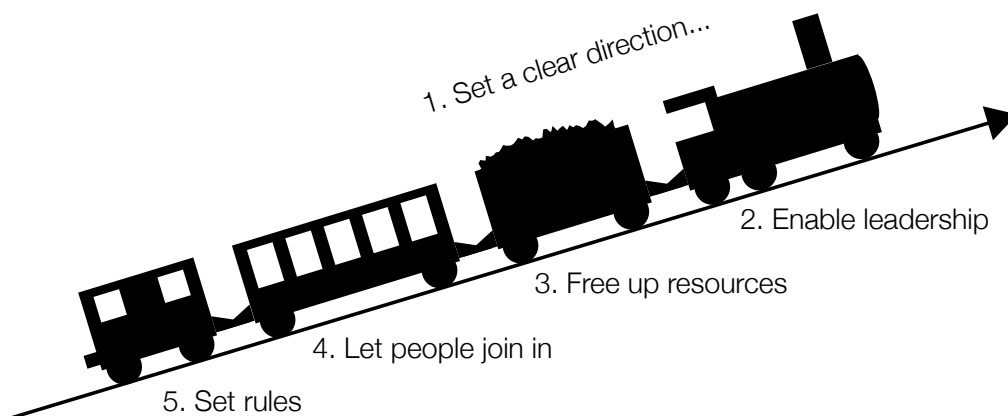


FIGURE 5. How to head upstream

As we will see below, each of these 5 strategies plays an important part in Barnsley’s efforts to head upstream and to develop new solutions that improve social justice. Barnsley has not looked for one-off structural change to solve its problems, it has been engaged in a serious process of on-going and evolving innovation.

1.6 Austerity as accelerant

It is often said, in a times like today, “Don’t waste a good crisis.” In other words, moments of crisis, while they can often lead to panic and harm, also provide leaders with an opportunity to set a new, more positive direction. But a positive response to crisis is not inevitable; it is unusual. It is more common for people to respond to crises in ways that increase their problems. Across England we’ve seen many signs that austerity has made our problems worse.

“...research suggests that local authority disinvestment in preventative and public good services, in order to prioritise statutory services for those at most risk, has already begun.”

Buddery, Parsfield & Shafique, 2016

Poverty and personal debt has increased for many groups, leading to human suffering and indignity, the growth of food banks and increased mental illness and higher suicide rates. Cuts in social care services are leading both to increased institutionalisation and problems in over-loaded acute hospital services. Councils have often been forced to sell public resources and close public services.

These kinds of responses, which can seem inevitable in the light of such radical reductions in benefits and public spending, are clearly creating deeper problems upstream and leading to further crises downstream. Centralised policies to reassess, support and sanction people with disabilities and long-term health needs into work do not seem to be achieving their primary goal, but they are certainly causing desperate problems, which then have negative consequences for public services (Barr et al., 2015). Increased numbers of people are in prison, there is increased pressure within the healthcare system, there are increased rates of exclusion from school (Travis, 2016). The interface between public services and the citizen is becoming increasingly fraught.

However we are not restricted to using these dysfunctional strategies. Local government can act differently and it can work with local citizens to respond to austerity more positively. One approach, which is described in *The Inflection Point*, by Booth-Smith and Ainger, is to focus on the demand for local authority services (Booth-Smith & Ainger 2015). The long-standing efficiency drive within local government has tended to lead to efforts to create efficiencies in the process or in the price of service provision; whereas growing demand has been treated as either a given, or as a measure of success ('We helped more people'). However this approach does not seem remotely sustainable in the future.

Radical funding cuts leave local authorities standing at a critical point where their options become clearer. Some local authorities may simply shrink their community services and focus more on the complex needs of fewer and fewer citizens. Others may try to make cuts across the board without changing their basic approach. Others may seek to retain as much of their old community investment as possible, but will not challenge themselves or others to make fundamental changes (Figure 6).

26

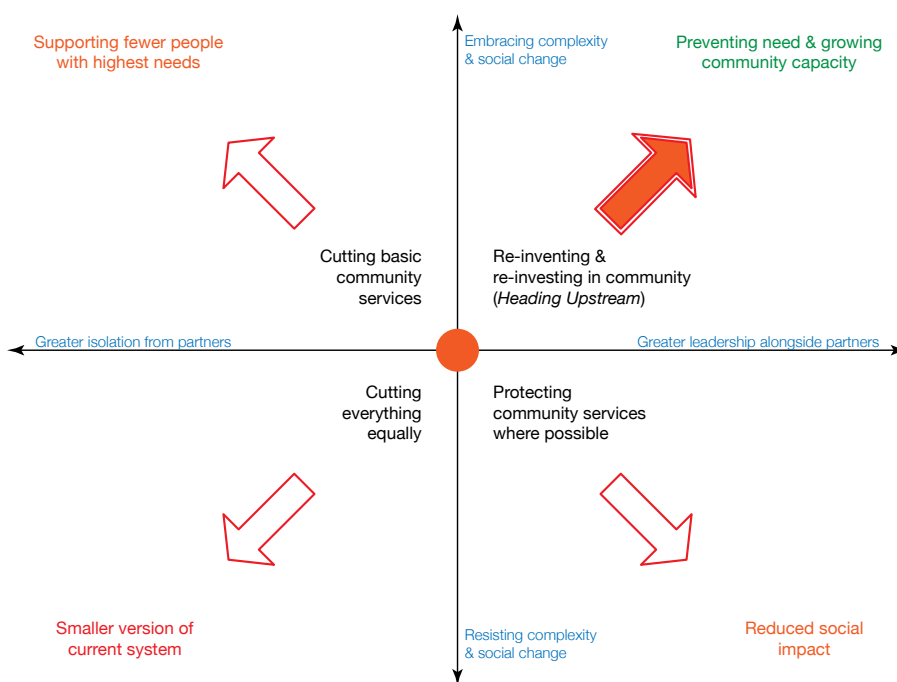


FIGURE 6. The choices facing councils

The only positive path out of this moment of crisis means embracing two challenges, neither of which is easy, and neither of which has been tested and developed to any significant degree to date in Western welfare states:

- 1. True leadership** - Exercise greater strategic leadership, bring together statutory and non-statutory partners (including citizens and communities themselves) in order to work together to change behaviour for the common good.
- 2. Rethinking need** - Understand the true nature of need and the demand for services and explore how changes in behaviour can develop which will reduce need and strengthen local capacity.

As we shall see, Barnsley Council have been trying to work in this way for many years and so it has been able to respond to austerity with a high degree of creativity and attention to the possibilities of finding better solutions upstream. As one councillor put it:

“We’ve had the fire for some time, but austerity put gasoline on the flames.”

Barnsley is trying to take a different route, it is trying to head upstream and focus on understanding how communities can become stronger and the need for council services can be reduced. They are seeking to build a different future:

“...the really exciting future, a future free from the central government yoke, is one where local authority success is defined by helping local people avoid unnecessary need for statutory services in the first place. A win-win for the local community and for the taxpayer.”

Booth-Smith and Ainger

Austerity certainly radically changed the urgency and radicalism of Barnsley’s efforts, but Barnsley had been exploring approaches to increase citizen action and strengthen communities for some time and this has provided an important platform for its more recent innovations.

2. Citizenship solutions

Austerity was not the trigger for Barnsley Council to pursue upstream solutions, instead the Council has been challenging itself to work in this way for some time. Partly this may just be because like-minded leaders have emerged and have worked to develop a shared vision; but it also seems to reflect the fact that the leadership has tapped into a deeper seam of moral value: local solidarity and the proud culture of Barnsley.

2.1 Challenging paternalism

Several of the people I interviewed reflected on the fact that in the past the Council had fallen into trap of offering paternalistic assistance: the welfare state meets needs, but doesn't grow citizenship or community. It can be too easy, when times are good, to provide services in a way that is both paternalistic and which leads to unrealistic and unhelpful expectations. As one councillor put it, Barnsley Council's behaviour often encouraged an expectation that the Council should do many things that ordinary citizens could do more effectively for themselves:

"People wanted us to catch the snowflakes before they fell."

A welfare state that focuses only on providing services to meet needs invites a damaging relationship between itself and its citizens. People are invited to identify their needs, rather than develop better solutions. Services or organisations are rewarded for meeting needs, rather than for preventing them. A gap grows between people and services and a false sense of superiority replaces the essential solidarity required within a decent society.

This is a particular challenge for places like Barnsley where there had been a reliance on a small number of critical industries, which have then gone into decline. Unemployment or low pay, combined with a paternalistic culture, can feed a false image that the people of Barnsley are somehow dependent, not only on the council, but also on financial support from wealthier parts of the country. This attitude is toxic and conflicts with natural Yorkshire pride. Instead, as Leader of Barnsley Council, Councillor Sir Steve Houghton CBE put it:

"...we're tapping into something out there that's been around for a long time. People are proud of their villages and their towns and communities. People are prepared to do more, if they are given the chance. So now that is what we are trying to do, and the response so far has been absolutely incredible."

One of the common themes in my conversations with councillors and officers from Barnsley Council has been the critical role of the leadership team in changing the kinds of conversations that frame how decisions are made. This is also reflected in the latest corporate planning documents. It is striking that Barnsley Council's objectives are not the objectives of a service provider, nor do they reduce local citizens to customers or consumers; instead the focus is on strengthening the community's own assets (BMBC, 2015):

- ◆ Thriving and vibrant economy
- ◆ People achieving their potential
- ◆ Strong and resilient communities

A better, stronger and fairer Barnsley is the central focus, not the services provided by the Council. This means a focus on people, their potential, their resources and the relationships that enable people to develop and grow. Shifting the focus from services to citizens also means changing the way in which the Council thinks about itself. As Barnsley Council's Chief Executive, Diana Terris explained:

“What is required is a cultural shift, from a paternalistic ‘What can I do for you?’ to a partnership and an exploration of ‘What can you do?’ This is about different kinds of conversations, both within the Council and between the Council and local communities.”

This focus on cultural change is reflected in the values that the Council has declared are at the heart of its work. These values focus on personal and citizen virtues, with a strong Yorkshire edge:

- ◆ We're proud
- ◆ We're honest
- ◆ We'll be excellent
- ◆ We're a team

These values put personal integrity and collective achievement at the heart of things. They express values everyone can share and which put no distance between a councillor, a council employee or a citizen of Barnsley (Figure 7). Solutions must be developed in partnership and that partnership is human and is based on ethics - not power.

From “Why haven’t **they** done that?”

...to “Why can’t **we** do this?”

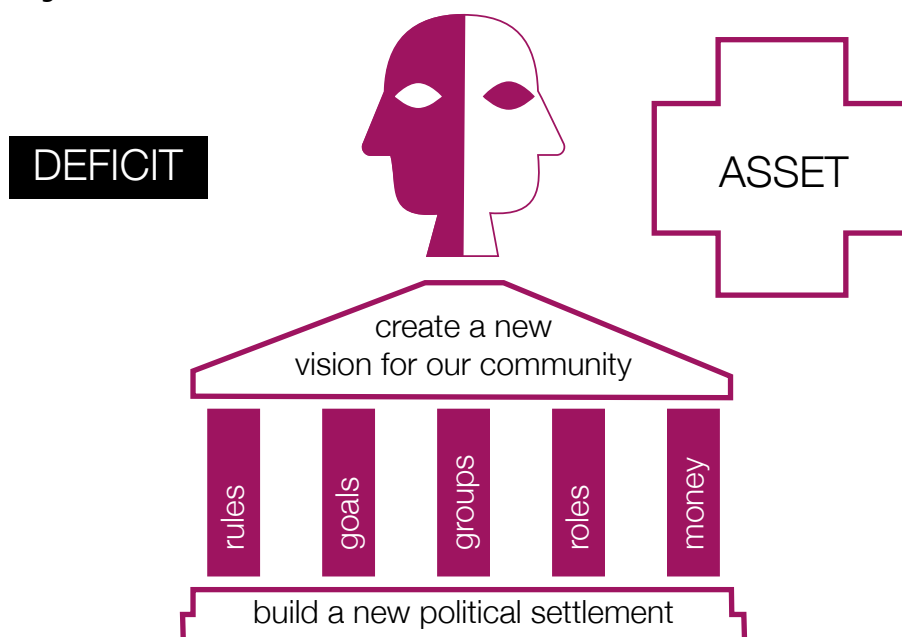


FIGURE 7. Shifting the culture away from deficits and towards assets

2.2 Focusing on real wealth

Barnsley’s new way of thinking is also highly consistent with a focus on capabilities, which has become one of the most helpful ways to think about social justice in the 21st century. In the past social justice was often treated as if it was merely an act of the powerful, on behalf of the weak, to ‘meet their needs’. However the idea that we can meet other people’s needs in this way is very problematic. There is a severe danger that you will both dictate how those needs should be met and undermine the person’s sense of freedom and personal development.

However, in recent years there has been more focus on capabilities, first developed by the Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen, which has challenged this paternalistic model (Sen, 1999). He argues we should treat people as free agents of their own destiny, who can build lives of meaning for themselves and for those they love. The role of the welfare state should not be to meet an individual’s needs. Instead the welfare state should equip each citizen with the resources they need and should then expect and support them to lead their own development.

Pippa Murray’s recent reformulation of ‘capabilities’ as real wealth is another extremely helpful way of understanding what it takes for people to lead positive lives. When citizens control resources and direct their own support they are better able to build on their own real wealth (Murray, 2010).

Figure 8 shows how real wealth is made up of:

1. **Gifts** - needs, strengths, aspirations and skills.
2. **Assets** - money, also including free time, energy and capital.
3. **People** - networks of family, friends and wider connections
4. **Community** - accessible groups, jobs, peer groups, services and places
5. **Spirit** - inner resources, including a sense of hopefulness or resilience

Seen in this light it becomes clear that the whole notion of meeting needs, which was central to the way in which the post-war welfare state was conceived, is very risky. The essential elements that make up a good life cannot be controlled or owned by the state. Any intervention is an intervention in the course of a life that must be led by the person themselves. It is essential that the welfare state is sensitive to people's fundamental need for freedom and creativity.

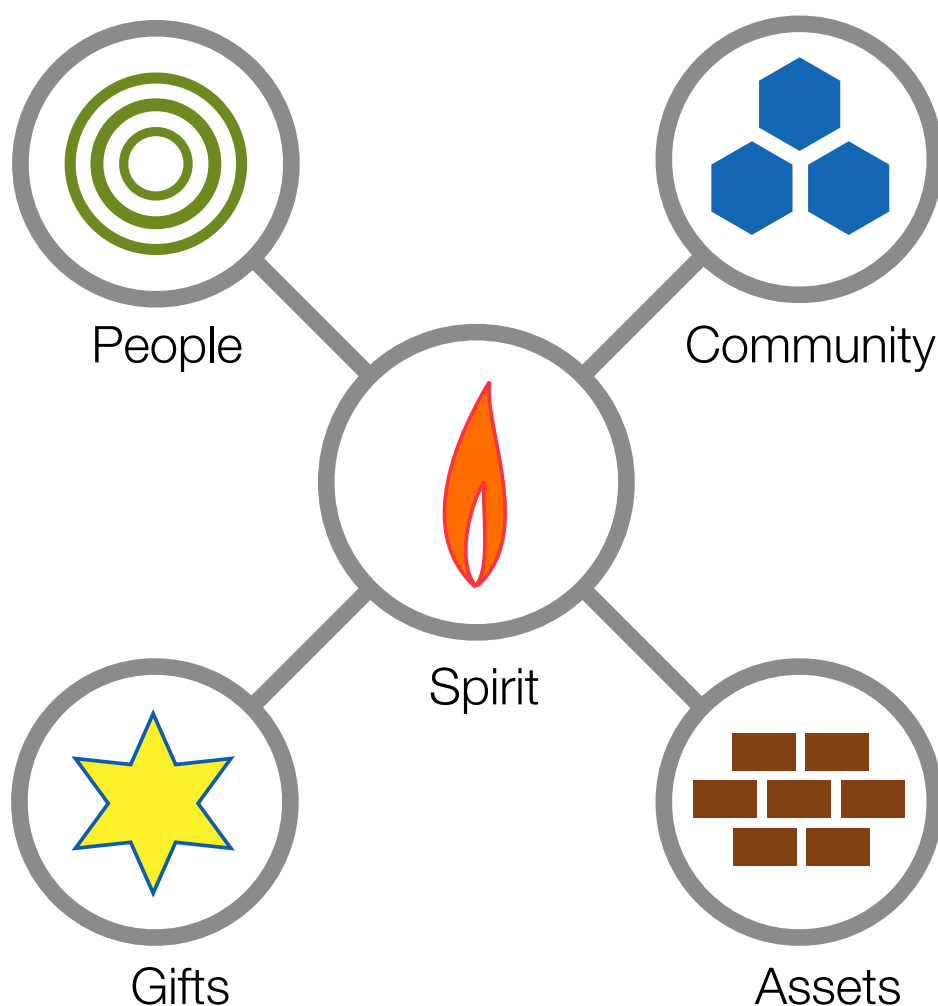


FIGURE 8. The elements that make up real wealth

2.3 Leading on self-direction

One area where Barnsley has already led the way nationally has been the use of what are called personal budgets for social care. Historically social care services were delivered as ‘professional gifts’ which local citizens had to take or leave (Duffy, 1996). Day services, domiciliary care and residential care services were provided from on high, and citizens had little control over how those support services were designed nor how they fitted into their lives.

For people with disabilities, for families or for older people, this inability to control support also makes it difficult to shape your own life, develop or maintain relationships. Too often these professionally defined services eroded the person’s real wealth rather than enhanced it. For this reason innovations like personal budgets were developed to enable people to control their own support. Instead of simply providing services as a defined and uncontrollable gift, people are given budgets which, with more or less assistance, they can use to purchase or organise their own support (Figure 9). This new approach is known as self-directed support.

32

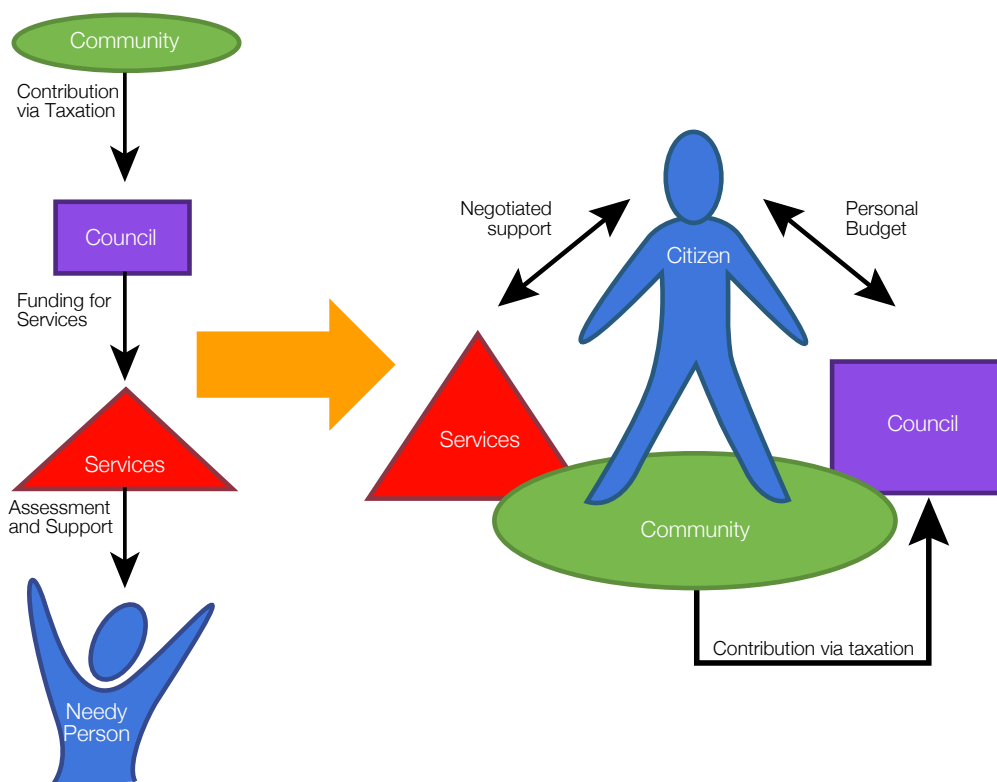


FIGURE 9. Shifting from a professional gift to a citizenship model of support

Barnsley Council has been one of the pioneers in self-directed support and it has had significant success in using personal budgets in social care. It began developing systems of personal budgets in 2005 and is now one of the leading places in the country for best practice.

At the end of March 2016 97% of eligible service users (1,625) were in receipt of a personal budget. 650 people (40% of these) were using direct payments, the model which gives the citizen the most control. This level of performance is much better than the vast majority of English local authorities. There are also 80 direct payments for families with disabled children and Barnsley also delivers 27 personal health budgets in partnership with the NHS Clinical Commissioning Group (CCG).

This high level of performance is probably largely due to the fact that Barnsley has developed a dedicated *Brokerage and Personalisation Support Team*. The team ensures that people get choice and control, with the opportunity for citizens to talk through what this means and what choices are possible. There is also a local system for recruiting, training and employing personal assistants, as well as a service for people who wish to buy their support online.

The impact of these changes has been very positive for local citizens. People don't need to do everything for themselves, but they can set the purpose and direction of their support, and they can use resources flexibly to enhance their life and their place in the community. Research carried out in Barnsley echoes international findings; quality of life improves, without spending more money overall (Lawson et al., 2010). These findings are set out in Figure 10. The key is giving people control, flexibility and just enough support to take charge.

Currently this system does not extend to people in residential or nursing care homes. Barnsley currently funds 120 people to live in nursing care and 922 who live in residential care services.

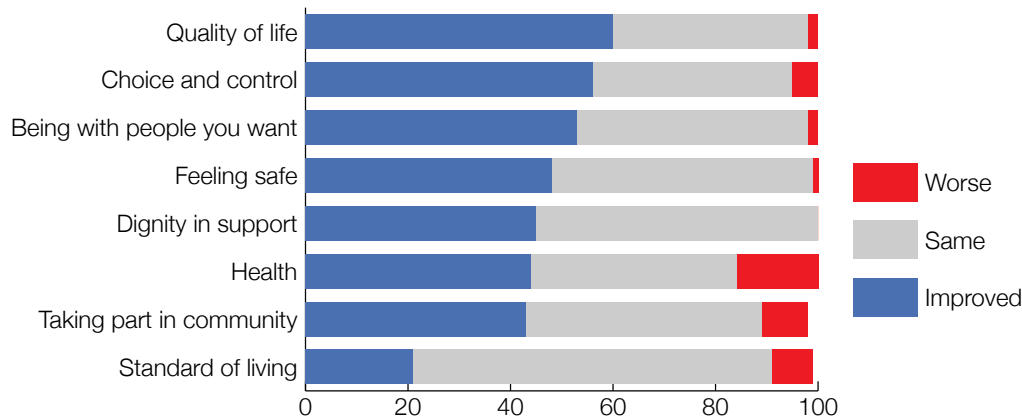


FIGURE 10. Data on the impact of self-directed support in Barnsley

2.4 Locally shaped employment support

Another pioneering effort to shift the approach of the welfare state was led by Barnsley Council's leader Steve Houghton, who pushed for central government to enable local communities to take the lead in creating jobs by working in partnership with local employers and communities. In the *Tackling Worklessness* report Houghton (Houghton, Dove & Wahhab, 2009) argued:

“The effects of the recession are being felt across all areas and in all communities of the country. Because we believe worklessness is shaped by place and that its solutions are very much to be found in localities, we believe the issue of worklessness or long term unemployment and economic inactivity must become mainstream business for local authorities, their partners, employers and residents.”

This report in turn led to the creation of the *Future Jobs Fund (FJF)* in 2009. This programme had only a very short life, but it offered a rare opportunity for local communities to shape their own responses to worklessness and focus, less on centrally driven targets, and more on the real needs and opportunities in local communities. However, after the Coalition Government came to power in 2010, this programme was closed down.

Despite this closure the government's own report into the *Future Jobs Fund* found that it had been very successful in helping people find real meaningful long-term work (DWP, 2012). The Guardian reported:

“...an impact analysis for the Department for Work and Pensions has found that society gained £7,750 per participant through wages, increased tax receipts and reduced benefit payments.”

Syal R, 2012

An independent evaluation of the *Future Jobs Fund* also found many other positive outcomes from the programme and shared examples of its human impact (Fishwick, Lane & Gardiner, 2011):

“An FJF employee in Barnsley had been in and out of jail, on and off probation, and using heroin for 7 years. She had applied for 22 jobs in 3 weeks but because of her criminal record and history of drug abuse, she was not given a chance. Shortly afterwards she was given an FJF placement with the council. She described this as the chance of a lifetime. She worked with the public doing surveys, road shows and canvassing opinions about council services. She said she gained as many qualifications as she possibly could during this time. She now has a secure job with a permanent contract, which she says has provided her with a reason to get up in the morning. Since starting work she has got married, moved into a new house, and remained clean from drugs. She says, “I will never look back on my old life, I’m so grateful that the FJF gave me a chance to prove myself, I wouldn’t be where I am today if it wasn’t for the scheme.””

This kind of success stands in sharp contrast to the kinds of initiatives run by central government. Whitehall's current model, known as the *Work Programme*, effectively excludes local government from any influence. Support providers, dominated by national and international profit-making bodies, are commissioned by Whitehall, work to centrally defined processes and have demonstrated very poor value for money. The *Barnsley Chronicle* reported on the comparative success of the two schemes and noted that the current *Work Programme* appears to be very poor value for money:

“The Government's Work Programme has created only 170 jobs in Barnsley in one year - at a cost of more than £350,000 for each job. Of the 4,700 applicants in the borough in the 12 months before July this year, only 3.6 per cent went on to find a job. Nationally, the government has spent £436m on the programme - to date in Barnsley it has cost £356,490 per job.”

Barnsley Chronicle, 2012

As this example demonstrates, local control may be better, but this does not mean that the existing system is willing to transfer meaningful control back to local communities. Significant shifts in power and control will require deeper constitutional changes. This is an issue to which we will return.

2.5 Unlocking citizen capacity

One of the most useful approaches for heading upstream is called *Asset Based Community Development (ABCD)*. This methodology was developed by McKnight and Kretzmann in the USA (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). At its most fundamental this approach rejects the dual assumption that communities should be understood in terms of their needs and that the role of services is to meet those needs. Instead the focus should be on the way in which citizens, through community action, make the best use of their available assets to strengthen and develop their community in positive and sustainable ways.

This is simple to state, but it requires a fundamental change in approach for leaders working within the current welfare state. For it is the identification of need which typically gives leaders the authority to deploy resources. *ABCD* does not ignore need, instead it reframes need and treats it as another kind of asset.

Assets can be identified in any number of ways. It is not primarily about money, it is about the gifts and multiple sources of potential for contribution, exchange and connection that are created between human beings in community. Someone who loves to sing has a gift, someone who loves music has a gift, when these two individuals connect in a concert both gifts (or assets) are realised and add value to the community. Assets, in this sense, are not like money and they are not lost when they are used. True assets grow with use and through exchange.

This way of thinking offers us a different way of thinking about community capacity. See for example the data set out in the Table 3 below which brings together some key demographic data about Barnsley from the 2011 census.

	Barnsley	Per Ward (av.)	Per person in very bad health
Total	231,900	11,043	56
Under 18s	48,690	2,319	12
18-64	142,521	6,787	34
65+	40,010	1,905	10
Dwellings	104,926	4,996	25
Average per dwelling	2	4,996	25
Activities limited a lot	29,147	1,388	7
Activities limited a little	26,121	1,244	6
No disability	171,953	8,379	42
18-64 free from paid work	38,942	1,854	9
18-64 75% free from paid work	8,086	385	2
18-64 50% free from paid work	22,357	1,065	5
18-64 25% free from paid work	61,102	2,910	15
18-64 lost to paid work	12,034	573	3
Over 65 and active	20,588	980	5
Carer for < 20hrs	15,473	737	4
Carer for 20-49 hrs	4,075	194	1
Carer for 50+ hrs	7,619	363	2
in Very Good Health	96,194	4,581	23
in Good Health	77,649	3,698	19
in Fair Health	37,956	1,807	9
in Bad Health	15,278	728	4
in Very Bad Health	4,144	197	1

TABLE 3. Census data for Barnsley

There is a tendency for official data to define people by categories that can be useful in one narrow context, but are often misleading out of that context. For example, 55,000 people have some kind of disability. This seems like a lot of people and by the very nature of the terminology we tend to focus on the costs that we may believe are implicit in the category 'disability'. However, if 55,000 have a disability in Barnsley that is 55,000 people with capacities, relationships, passions and a contribution to make. These people should not be 'defined by' their disability. In fact a disability is itself is an opportunity to create identity and community. It is also important to remember that the 49,000 children or the 40,000 people over 65 are also people full of talent and with much to offer back to Barnsley.

In the same way we can re-examine unemployment data. Official data focuses on unemployment as if it were merely a negative state, as if the only valuable activity is carrying out paid work and paying taxes. However, valuable as these activities are (in the right balance) they are not the only valuable activities.

A person free from paid work is a potential citizen, whereas a person working more than 40 hours per week will often be lost to citizenship, for they may be working too hard to be involved in their community or to care for others. The over-valuation of paid work creates a damaging view of human potential. However, we can instead reframe unemployment as citizenship-in-waiting. People who care, volunteer or have needs also play a valuable social role. In fact a good life requires a balance between these different activities. This becomes clearer if we simply analyse the figures for unemployment to examine how much time people might have available for citizenship, after we subtract the time lost to paid work or caring.

Table 4 uses available data to estimate the amount of citizen capacity available in Barnsley. The value of time spent caring for each others by Barnsley's citizens is equivalent to more than £435 million. The amount of time, over and above this, which could be available for further citizen activity is £1.3 billion.

When we put the level of care and potential for community action alongside the spending on public services then we can see the vast actual and potential contribution of citizens to the creation of well-being and a stronger community (Figure 11). This is not to say that all this time is currently being used for the purpose of contributing to community life in Barnsley - but it represents a vast reserve of largely untapped resources that could be available, in the right circumstances.

	Number	Av Hours	Rate	Value (£ mn. pa.)
Caring <20 hrs	15,473	10	11.09	£89.23
Caring 20-49	4,075	35	11.09	£82.25
Caring 50+	7,619	60	11.09	£263.62
TOTAL				£435.10
Free from work	38,942	35	11.09	£786.00
75% free	8,086	25	11.09	£116.58
50% free	22,357	18	11.09	£232.07
25% free	61,102	5	11.09	£176.18
Lost to work	12,034	0	11.09	£0.00
Over 65 and active	20,588	35	11.09	£415.54
TOTAL				£1,726.37
NET				£1,291.27

TABLE 4. Estimating citizen capacity in Barnsley

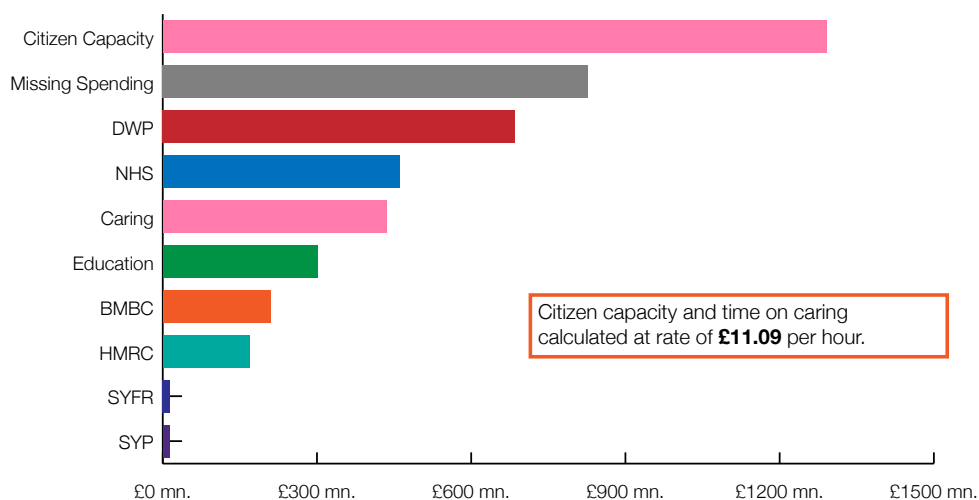


FIGURE 11. Citizen capacity, caring and public expenditure

It is also important to notice that official data often tends to focus on a large scale; yet capacity often only becomes clearer at a much smaller scale. For instance, there are over 4,000 people in very bad health in Barnsley, this sounds like a very large number. Yet for each one person who is seriously ill there are 55 who are not (see Table 3) and there are also the whole time equivalent of 22 adults available with the free time to act as citizens. In fact the vast majority of people have some citizen capacity, with only 3 adults in 55 people completely lost to citizenship by working very long hours.

Looking at human societies from the perspective of these much smaller communities shows the enormous level of positive capacity, far outweighing what is commonly deemed as need. Needs themselves can also be seen positively, for they often act as the glue that brings communities together.

Unlocking the positive community capacity within communities can rarely be done from Whitehall, or even from the Town Hall. It is important to get much closer to the action, to change the scale, so that community assets become more visible, and so that conversations can focus on local priorities and opportunities.

I think this is what is implied when people use a term like place-based work to describe what Barnsley is doing. Place-based means working at a smaller scale to uncover the sources of energy and potential from within. Place-based work means respecting the sources of pride and the priorities of local people and real communities. Barnsley Council has taken these ideas seriously by reforming its own governance arrangements to take council decisions closer to local communities.

3. Place-based work

It is impossible to work closely with communities and encourage citizen action if the scale of action is wrong. A focus on place means going much more local, focusing in and engaging people in their own defined communities and neighbourhoods. Barnsley's current municipal structure is based on 21 wards (Figure 12); but it is possible to identify at least 68 different communities within Barnsley Metropolitan Council, extending alphabetically from Ardsley to Worsborough. In addition there are over 100 schools and colleges, 38 GP practices and many churches, community groups and other sources of local identity. Barnsley is an intricate patchwork of overlapping communities; not one place, but many.

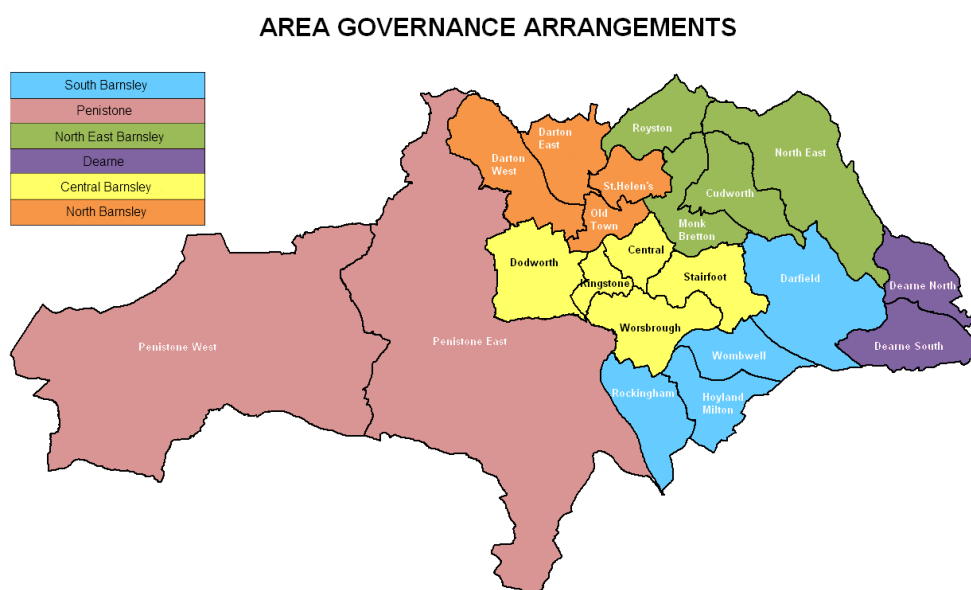


FIGURE 12. Wards and Areas in Barnsley

However, the long-term drift of UK public policy has not been towards empowering the local; instead there has been a growing level of centralisation. This is particularly surprising given that, by international standards, the UK is already highly centralised, with a small number of large local authorities and with most public services controlled directly or indirectly by Whitehall.

Nevertheless, however unreasonable this centralisation might be, the reality is that this centralising trend places even more pressure on Barnsley to define the role of its local councillors. Under increasing financial pressure the Council might be challenged to justify why it needs 63 councillors, when so many decisions are made by other systems, council officers or by the Council's cabinet of just 8 councillors. So, changing the role of the councillor is not just important for the sake of working differently with communities, it is also essential to justify the existence of the councillor's role into the future.

3.1 The basic structure

In order to change the role of the councillor and the relationship of the Council to its communities it has been necessary to redesign the basic system of governance within the Council. After a significant period of planning and discussion these new arrangements began in May 2013.

There is no pretence that these new arrangements are some panacea or a final settlement. Instead this structure is part of a strategy of intentional ongoing innovation: a first-stage experiment in creating a new kind of democratic framework for the welfare state in Barnsley. In outline the key elements of the initial model are these:

1. 19 Ward Alliances, made up of 3 or 4 local councillors plus several non-elected community representatives. Each Ward Alliance has a starting budget of £10,000 per year and 50% of spending must be matched by local volunteering or other assets.
2. 6 Area Councils bring together councillors from the Area to control and monitor Area budgets, equivalent to £100,000 per ward. Commissioning decisions are made locally and monitored closely by members of the Area Council.
3. Councillors work together with officers from the Area Team in community development roles to strengthen community action. They enable a strong focus on information sharing, publicity and the use of social media.
4. There is a strong strategic focus on the value of volunteering across all areas of activity, connected by Barnsley's *Love Where You Live* brand and support for a wider Neighbourhood Network of voluntary organisations.

Critical to this whole approach has been the willingness of local councillors to go on a journey to discover the appropriate balance of roles and responsibilities, to learn new skills and develop a different kind of partnership with fellow citizens (Figure 13).

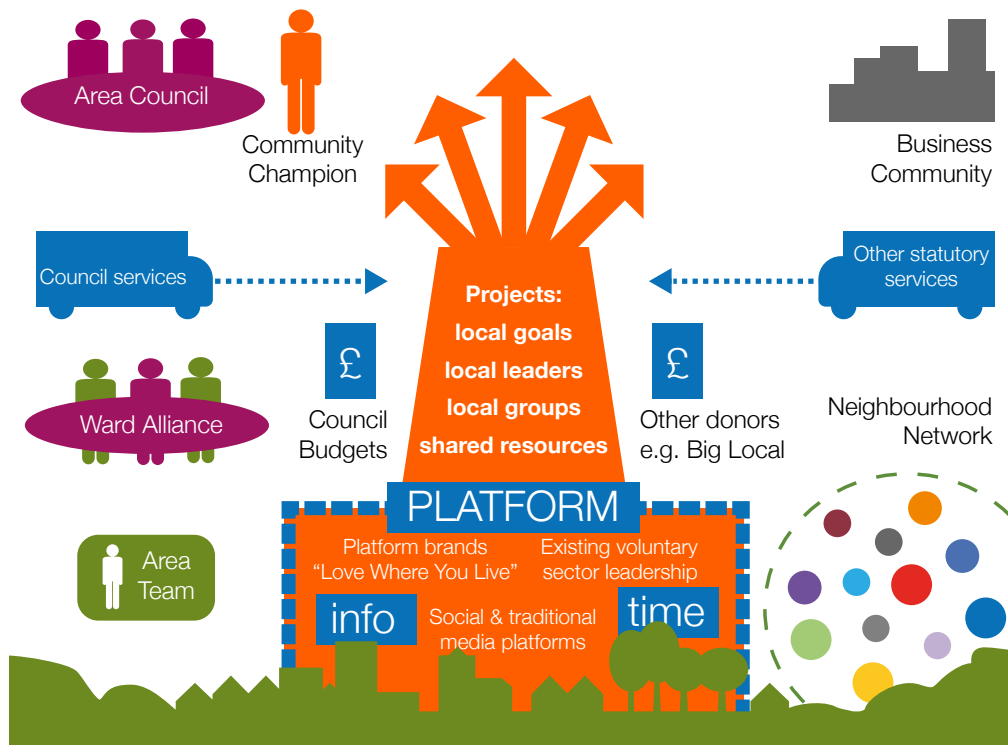


FIGURE 13. Barnsley’s area governance arrangements

It was useful therefore that officers from the Communities team decided to consistently check out how councillors felt about these new arrangements. Overall there has been a high degree of satisfaction with the new arrangements, although clearly there is also a very small minority who do not like the new system (Figure 14).

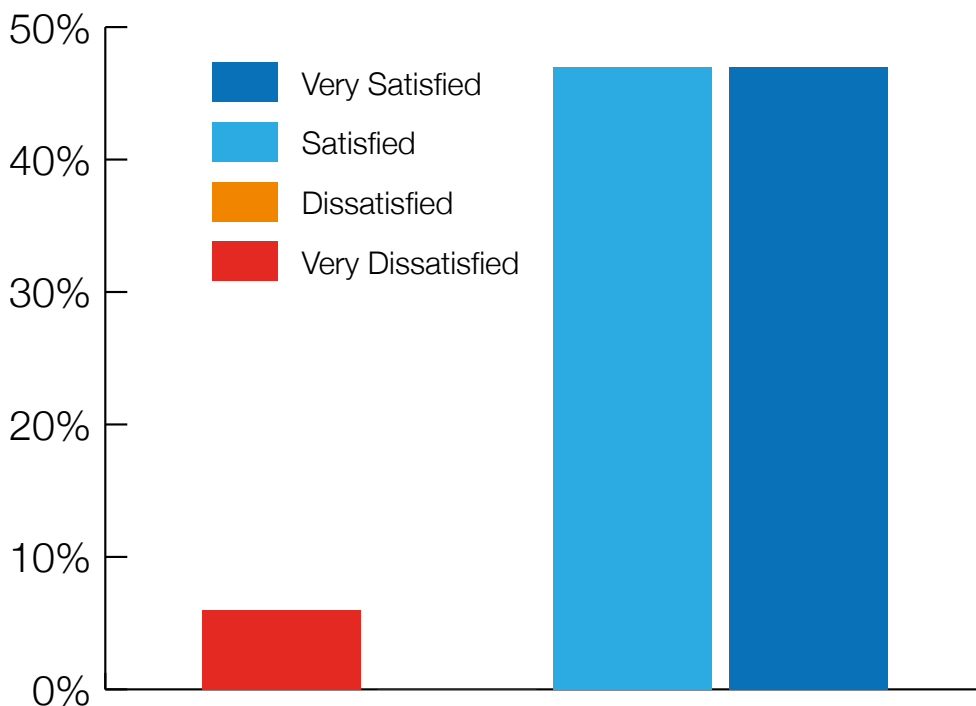


FIGURE 14. Satisfaction with area governance arrangements

Comments from councillors included the following:

“The new governance arrangements are an excellent vehicle for supporting partnership working and long may they continue.”

“The freedom and flexibility offered by the new arrangements encourage the innovation and well judged risk-taking that is essential for our survival in the new financial environment.”

To begin with we will examine some of the elements of the new governance arrangements, highlighting some of the most interesting features.

3.2 Ward Alliances

Ward Alliances bring together all the relevant local councillors (sometimes from different parties) and 8 people from the local community. In the past councillors used to have small budgets to complete local projects at their own discretion; this system has been replaced with one where local decisions are made by the whole group. The Ward Alliance structure has been designed to open up discussions with local citizens and to encourage a greater emphasis on volunteering. Each Ward Alliance has a starting budget of £10,000 per year (although sometimes additional funding can be drawn down) and 50% of spending must be matched by local volunteering or other assets. In addition decisions about funding also seemed to be influenced by questions such as:

- ◆ Can people work together?
- ◆ Will this benefit local people?
- ◆ Have people done any fund-raising themselves?
- ◆ Is this really creating new opportunities?
- ◆ Is there not something more effective that can be done instead?

There are clearly significant benefits to this approach in reshaping councillor behaviour towards the role of community champion. At the meeting I attended the focus was on a local football team, the sports ground, the local park and issues of local security and policing. There was a shared understanding of the need to develop solutions where the community itself led the way and took responsibility. Generally it seems that the vast majority of councillors themselves are broadly satisfied with the Ward Alliance arrangements (Figure 15).

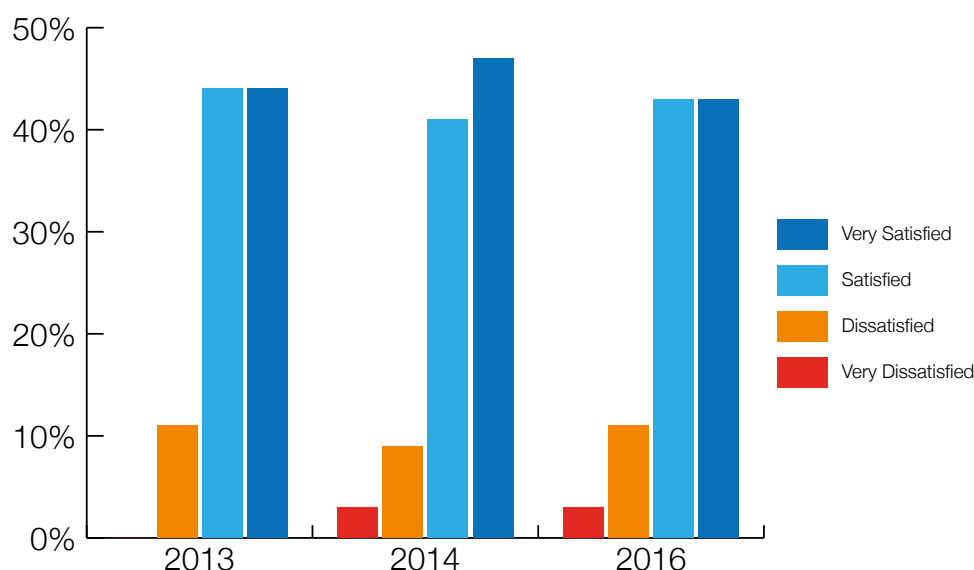


FIGURE 15. Satisfaction with Ward Alliance system

When I met those involved who were not councillors I found local citizens who were very enthusiastic about being able to work alongside local councillors in this way. Some of the key themes from these conversations included:

- ◆ **Giving something back** - There are many people who have strong sense of civic pride and understand that they have something to offer.
- ◆ **Local priorities** - People are aware that their own smaller communities need advocacy; it can feel that voices are not being heard and this process helps make the Council be more accountable.
- ◆ **It's beyond politics** - People don't want to see these processes become 'party political' and are relieved to find that its primary focus is on the community.
- ◆ **There's capacity out there** - There are many more potential citizens in our communities and the Ward Alliance can play a critical role in galvanising action.

Talking to people who have been in contact with Ward Alliances suggest that there is also an appetite to go further with this thinking. For instance, one observer from a local community group observed that perhaps the dominant focus on funding was not always so helpful. Perhaps more could be done simply by exercising coordination and leadership from within the community:

"I'd like them to be out championing what we do. I'd like them to come and visit. I'd like them to come and meet people. Negotiating, spotting silly conflicts or competition, valuing what's already there and encouraging development. Could there not be a gathering, where people could connect to each other and find out what each other is doing? Could they be the central point that puts the patchwork together? Why not have a big shared meal? Why not ask different community organisations to take a lead on different things? Be a parent to the community leaders - play nicely."

This same point was echoed by one councillor who noted:

“We could help better coordinate the efforts of voluntary groups to work together, avoid duplication, and make it easier for our residents to get involved in their own communities.”

In fact many of the volunteers had a strong sense that things could go much further to further strengthen the work of the Ward Alliance. Ideas included:

1. **Strengthen promotion** - Use the *Barnsley Chronicle*, volunteers, open-days, notice boards
2. **Widen the network** - Connect to different voluntary organisations, local businesses, churches and schools
3. **Share the knowledge** - Make it easier to find resources, meet up, share good ideas, share between Ward Alliances
4. **Support the leaders** - Encourage and support those willing to take on leadership activities, which are critical in mobilising local citizens.

One volunteer member of a Ward Alliance described how her engagement started with a desire “to clean up Dodworth.” She had the will, but it took time to find the allies, identify the available resources and learn the skills to become the leader necessary to make things happen. The people I met, while they did think things could go further, had no doubt that Barnsley Council was going in the right direction.

3.3 Area Councils

Ward Alliances were a development built on the pre-existing ward structure, but the Area Councils are somewhat younger, although there have been other approaches in the past that operated at the meso-level (between the local ward and the Town Hall). For example, in the 1990s, Area Forums were set up to act as consultation bodies.

However Area Councils are not consultation bodies, they are commissioning bodies. There are 6 in total, bringing together all councillors from the Area and they monitor and control Area budgets, equivalent to £100,000 per ward. These budgets are not large compared to the total budget of the Council; however the delegation of budgets to the local area in this way is still relatively unusual. Most councils have tended to progressively centralise decision-making, particularly as austerity has bitten more deeply. The Central Area Council also includes one representative from the local NHS Clinical Commissioning Group (however that representative was not present at the meeting I attended, and there was some dissatisfaction with the state of the current relationship).

It is important to note however that as the Area Council’s way of working is driven by a series of practices which ensure that decisions are based on a real engagement with the underlying issues, local opportunities and priorities:

- ◆ Workshops are used to explore key issues
- ◆ Area-based profiling enables councillors to see relevant data
- ◆ Outcomes are built into contracts and monitoring is outcome-focused
- ◆ Commissions must increase social value and volunteering
- ◆ Councillors are involved in monitoring performance
- ◆ Councillors can raise issues and call in key local leaders to challenge and explore issues

This is a dynamic and detailed process where local knowledge, feedback from local citizens and the long-standing commitment of councillors to their own local ward ensures a high level of engagement.

One of the features of this approach is that all the spending is on non-profit or private organisations. Local council services remain controlled at a Cabinet level. This seems to be creating a higher degree of accountability as local councillors can compare the services they commission with those they provide at a high level of detail. It was particularly striking that one local private business was commissioned to carry out much of the environmental work at a local level, and there was significant satisfaction expressed about this service at several meetings I attended.

More important than whether funding should be spent on private or public services was the question of whether money would be spent locally or not. It is estimated that 88% of the funding stays in the community; however sometimes it does not. For instance the enforcement agency - which is used to issue penalties for littering, parking and dog-fouling (issues that have a high priority for residents) is a national company. In one discussion about priorities for the future there was a lively debate about whether pooling funds was useful or unhelpful and more likely to diminish the market and lead to expenditure outside the community. These seem like healthy debates about important issues for the future.

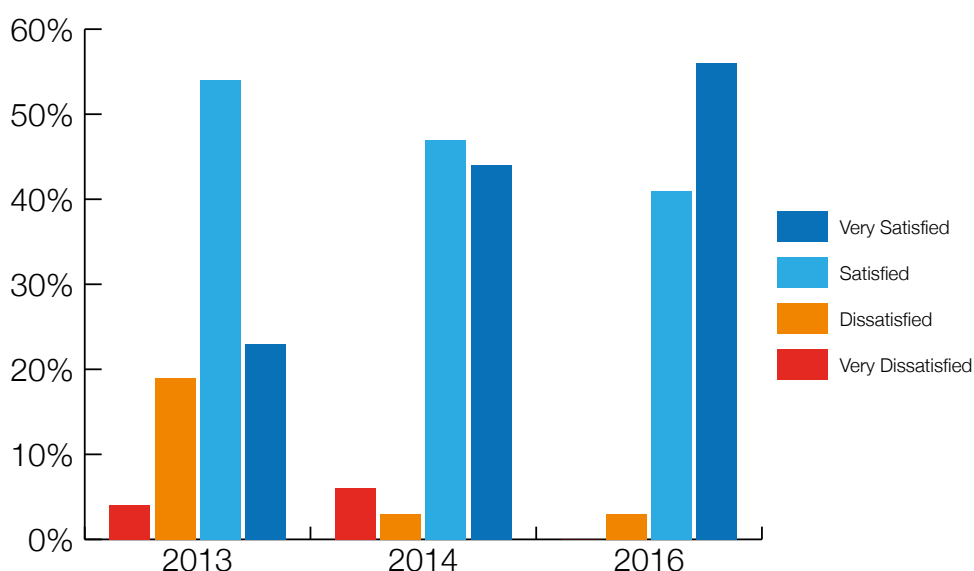


FIGURE 16. Satisfaction with Area Councils

It is also noticeable that over a three year period satisfaction with the Area Council arrangements has grown considerably (Figure 16). Area Council arrangements were initially the most challenging, for while councillors had been used to a level of autonomy at the ward level, the newer Area Council arrangements have involved a mixture of new responsibilities and strategic decision-making.

3.4 Area Teams

The role of councillors at the ward and area level would be impossible without the work of the Area Team. There are 6 Area Team managers, and 1 Community Development Officer for every 2 wards and the community development function and thinking is central to their work. The Area Team's role can be defined in terms of these 5 functions:

1. **Community mapping** - finding out what is going on in the local community
2. **Community connecting** - fostering connections across the virtual neighbourhood network of local community groups
3. **Social marketing** - coordinating communication and information for the community
4. **Social prescribing** - helping people find the right community resource for them
5. **Facilitation** - encouraging self help by helping groups solve their own problems

46

In addition the Area Team's officers serve the Ward Alliance and Area Council meetings. A critical feature of these discussions was the high level of detailed information provided by the Area Team (the officers who serve the Area Council) and close scrutiny of outcomes achieved by these commissions. Councillors were very aware of what was going on, what was working and what was not. As the survey shows, there is a high degree of satisfaction from councillors about the work of the Area Team (Figures 17 and 18).

The following comment from one councillor was matched by many similar:

“The help from and interaction with the Area Team is excellent and this makes for an excellent working relationship. This is vital to ensure we deliver the best to our residents and our community as a whole.”

It is important to note that the role of the Area Team is built on the discipline of community development which has a long history, but which has often been overshadowed by the service delivery functions of local government. In effect the Area Team is bringing those skills and disciplines into a functional partnership with elected members. Community development is beginning to be seen as a central function of local government activity - this is a rare development.

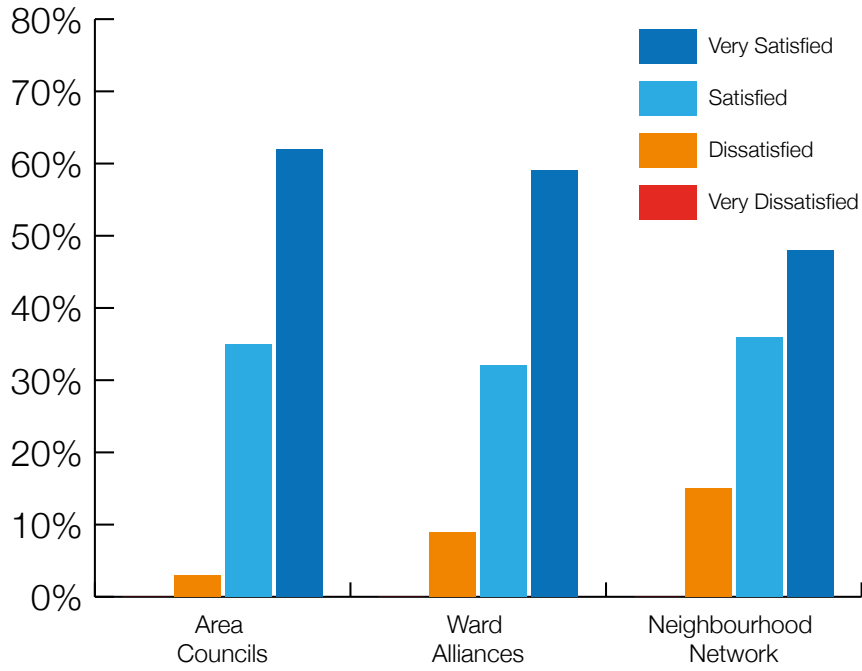


FIGURE 17. Satisfaction with support from Area Team

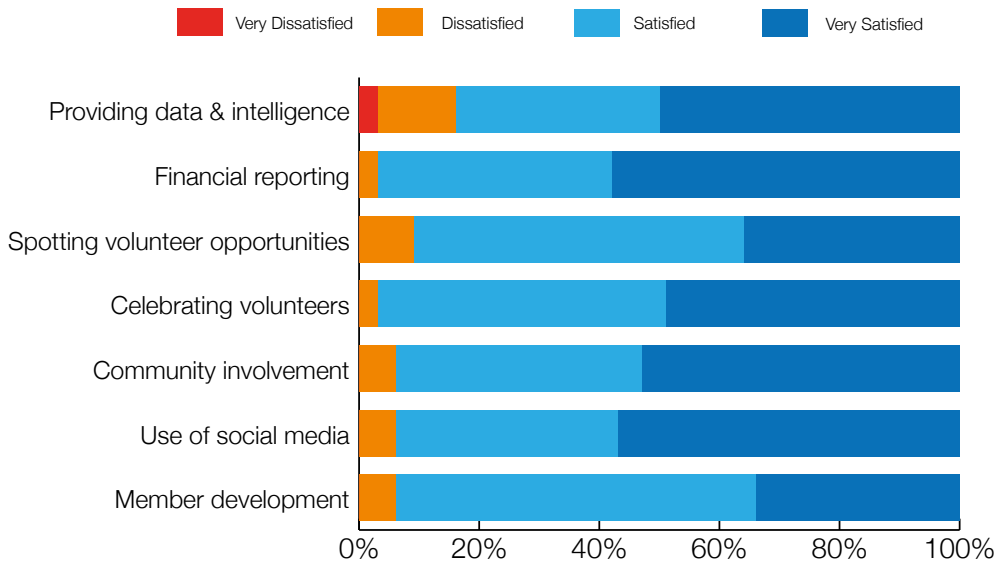


FIGURE 18. Satisfaction with different kinds of support from Area Team

3.5 Love Where You Live and volunteering

Area Teams also play a critical role, alongside other colleagues in the Communities Directorate in ensuring that volunteering is stimulated and supported. The commitment to volunteering at every level is a critical component of Barnsley's approach.

For this reason the new governance arrangements were complemented by the Love Where You Live campaign, which is a Barnsley-wide campaign to encourage volunteering. This is built on the previous volunteering service, run by the Council, but it was rebranded in order to make much clearer the connection of volunteering to local community development. Barnsley was also one of 7 councils who were part of the *Cities of Service* initiative, supported by NESTA, which was linked to a successful programme from the USA to increase impact volunteering - initiatives that make a measurable difference to the community. Volunteering is encouraged at many different levels:

- ◆ Marketing, celebrating and encouraging volunteering across the area using traditional and social media
- ◆ Encouraging leading volunteers to play a part within Ward Alliance structures
- ◆ Building an expectation of volunteering into projects, commissioning decision and partnership discussions
- ◆ Enabling Barnsley Council's own staff to play their part as paid volunteers in their own communities

48

This final point is important because it links the work of the new system of area governance to the wider cultural change necessary within Barnsley Council itself. Lisa Smith is Head of Benefits, Taxation and Income and she expressed, not only the sense of satisfaction involved in volunteering, but also how it can help improve staff's understanding of their own communities:

"My team all really enjoyed it and all want to do more of it. I asked that they talk to colleagues back in the office to let them know all about it... They also saw the difference that a morning's work made in terms of improving the park for the benefit of the community. Two of them live in Royston and have decided to become friends of Royston Park."

"I wanted them to see how as a service we could link into the Area Council work. Also I think that the work the Area Councils do is fantastic and fascinating and I wanted them to get an insight. In the afternoon they had a slide show session with Caroline and the team to give them the full picture of the North East Area Council's work. The bowling club treated us well with buns and coffee too."

"In my view there is lots of good work going on in the Area Councils and much needed support that links back to what we do as a service e.g. debt advice, but also wider than that, communities coming together to make a positive change out there, despite all the cuts that they have faced over the years."

Barnsley Council's work suggests that they are making real progress in turning volunteerism from a minor additional element, to a core component of the Council's way of working.

4. Achievements

Of course the critical measure of the success of these new arrangements does not lie in the councillors' satisfaction ratings, but rather in how effective they have been. Fortunately there are several measures that indicate that this work has been successful. In fact, as we've seen, one of the great strengths of Barnsley's approach has been a strong focus on using and sharing data, to help guide decisions, but also to help people understand the value of this new way of working.

Here I want to focus on three ways of understanding the success of the new place-based approach in Barnsley:

- ◆ Overall data on performance
- ◆ Social Return on Investment analysis
- ◆ Two case studies

There are many more great stories and examples that emerged in the course of this research, but I hope these examples provide enough sense of the depth of the change that is currently going on.

49

4.1 Overall measures of performance

Barnsley began its new area governance arrangements in May 2013. From May 2013 until October 2016 the Area Councils achieved:

- ◆ **94** different commissions for a total value of **£6.4 mn.** (that's an average of **£68,000** per commission, although some commissions have been to the same agency).
- ◆ **88%** of all expenditure stayed local to Barnsley.
- ◆ **132** jobs were created
- ◆ **60** apprenticeships were offered
- ◆ **215** work placements were established

In addition, through the Ward Alliances:

- ◆ **1,486** Ward Alliance projects, with a total cost of **£1.96 mn**
- ◆ The average spend per project is **£1,320**

In the period from April 2015 until October 2016 the efforts to recruit volunteers achieved:

- ◆ **13,999** volunteers recruited (although this includes repeat volunteers)
- ◆ **98,898** hours of volunteering (and this excludes ‘administrative’ time e.g. attending meetings etc.)
- ◆ If we apply a rate of rate £11.09 per hour that gives a total value of volunteering of **£2 mn.**
- ◆ A survey of volunteers showed that **90%** felt an increased sense of local pride after volunteering (NESTA, 2016).

In broad terms this suggests that Barnsley’s approach is helping it to achieve its objectives. Expenditure is being channelled in ways which increase local economic activity, encourage personal and educational development and strengthen communities ties and activity.

In terms of broad focus the dominant purpose of this work was to improve the local environment. The area which had the lowest level of attention was health and well-being (Figure 19). However this is shifting somewhat and this data is based on an earlier analysis (Turner et al., 2016).

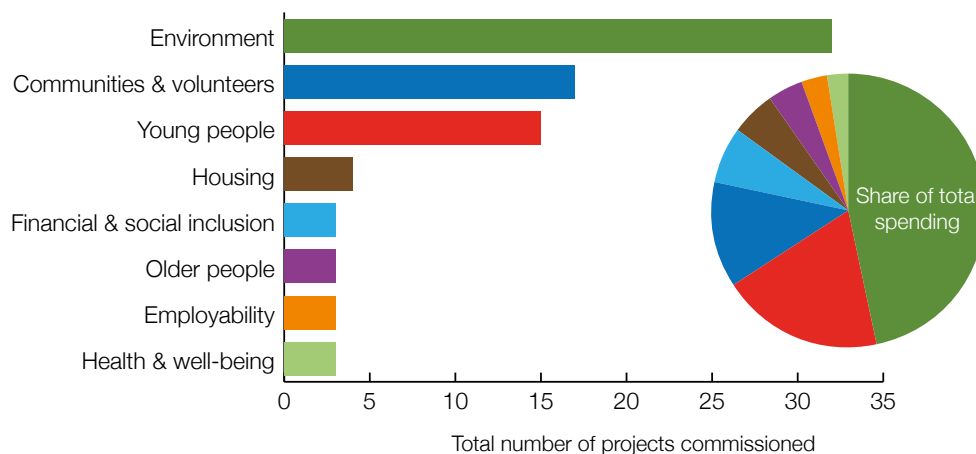


FIGURE 19. How commissioning budgets are used

4.2 Social Return on Investment

A more detailed analysis of the benefits of the new approach was provided when research on the Social Return on Investment (SROI) was carried out by Rocket Science, an independent evaluation team (Turner et al., 2016). They sampled the first 80 projects and examined 8 projects in detail. They then analysed each project in terms of 8 objectives. They then used a range of local survey information and data to correlate local achievements against existing research findings in order to estimate the benefit of each programme, described in financial terms.

The key 8 objectives, plus one example of the kind of relevant correlation, are described below:

1. **Active, inclusive and safe** - e.g. there is evidence of increased happiness when people live closer to green spaces.
2. **Well run** - e.g. increased numbers of volunteers shows an increased capacity for local problem-solving.
3. **Environment** - e.g. there are significant health benefits from the increased consumption of fruit and vegetables
4. **Well designed and built** - e.g. there are significant social and financial costs to homelessness
5. **Well connected** - e.g. there is much evidence of the cost and harm done by social isolation
6. **Fair for everyone** - e.g. there are important benefits from enabling people to be able to get access to democratic processes
7. **Thriving** - e.g. there are costs to poor work place practices and many benefits from helping people develop new skills
8. **Well served** - e.g. people and the economy benefit when people can access apprenticeships and other work opportunities

The 8 projects that Rocket Science analysed, in descending order of impact, were:

1. **Welfare Rights Service** - This was provided by Citizens Advice Barnsley in a targeted approach with advisors working in community venues within the South Area. The advisor worked in two libraries and a children's centre, where people could just drop-in. The service was free and confidential and provided information and advice on all aspects of social security, housing, employment and money related issues. The estimated of this project SROI was a return of **£27.62** for each £1 spent.
2. **Reducing Loneliness and Isolation in Older People** - The *Barnsley Inclusion Service* was run by the Royal Voluntary Service to address loneliness and isolation amongst older people living in the Central Area with a variety of activities designed to help people connect. The project supported 204 older people and achieved an SROI of **£17.40**.

3. **Let's Grow** - The Council, with support from the NHS, and working with Voluntary Action Barnsley, encouraged and supported people to grow their own food. People are offered training, encouragement and opportunities to connect. 590 volunteers have worked on 40 sites with a SROI of **£14.37**.
4. **Training for Employment** - This project helped unemployed residents from the Dearne with bespoke training packages to help them learn new skills and prepare for the work environment. People were helped with transport costs, lack of affordable childcare, lack of confidence and low skills and there was a SROI of **£11.69**.
5. **Love Where You Live** - This was a project to revitalise volunteering in Barnsley. It organised events such as *National Clear-Up Day* and many other events. Outcomes have included 5,025 bags or 74 tonnes of rubbish collected, with a SROI of **£11.39**.
6. **Youth Development Fund** - This was a small grants fund pot which awarded £1,000-£10,000 for projects providing youth activities across the North East Council Area. The Fund benefited 85 people, working with 9 different voluntary organisations, with an SROI of **£10.97**.
7. **Countryside Skills** - This was a practical training course, run by Growforest, offering 16-24 year olds from Penistone training in countryside skills. The course lasted for 15 weeks and provided participants with practical skills in dry stone walling, hedge laying and woodwork. There was a SROI of **£7.48**.
8. **Summer Holiday Internships** - This was a programme focusing on employability skills for under 16s. Children (aged 14-15 years) from the North Area were given a 2-week blocks of work to provide them with a greater understanding of the work environment and to offer them a work experience placement. This project achieved an SROI of **£5.30**.

52

Overall they found that the return on investment was very high indeed, with an average return of **£13.81** of value for each pound spent (Figure 20). This research suggests that the overall effectiveness of council decisions has increased as councillors have been able to get closer to the needs and opportunities created by their own situations. These initiatives reflect the diversity of Barnsley and the need to tune different solutions to different communities.



FIGURE 20. SROI from 8 projects commissioned by Area Councils

It is also interesting to note that the most effective solutions were actually the most capability focused. Helping people to maximise their income, claim what they are entitled to and to avoid debt is primarily a matter of maximising an aspect of the person’s real wealth - enabling them to meet their own needs in their own way. Similarly the training for employment and support to grow food are efforts to help people to do their best, in their own way, rather than dictating to people how they should meet their needs.

4.3 Case Study I - *The Dearne Approach*

The Rocket Science data is useful because it offers us a way of seeing the high level of return across very diverse projects. However the danger is that we lose a sense of the human reality behind these findings. So I’ve chosen two case studies to provide a different perspective.

The first example comes from the Dearne valley and I think it is interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly the area is one of those that had been most scarred by the closure of the coal mines. For instance, the village of Goldthorpe was featured on the BBC news when residents burned an effigy of Mrs Thatcher. It was also featured in the leading ‘benefit-porn’ documentary Benefit Street which tries to turn the lives of people on low incomes into a demeaning form of national entertainment.

It is also an area where there have been long-standing efforts to rethink and reorganise public services and reconnect them to the community. In fact the *Dearne Approach* offers a rather different model of governance, which overlaps with the Ward Alliance and Area Councils described above (Figure 21).

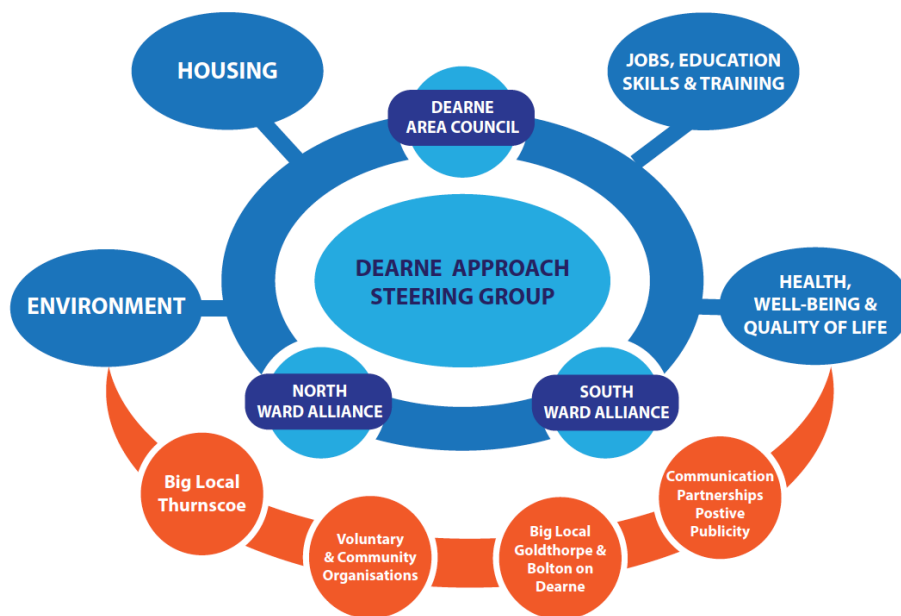


FIGURE 21. The Dearne Approach

Compared to some of the other meetings I attend the Dearne Approach Steering Group was more diverse, and while the leadership of the Council played a critical role, the voices of other groups emerged more strongly. There was a very strong sense of share responsibility and the others attending the group were clearly coming with commitment and further resources for solving local problems. One member put it bluntly:

“The Council were baby-sitting us and so now we must take ownership.”

There were multiple examples of projects that were helping people find out more and to take action into their own hands:

- ◆ Restorative justice was being used to clear up over-grown allotments
- ◆ The Community College led a horticulture project and adopted part of the Dearne Valley
- ◆ People were getting access to solar panels, funded from a Social Impact Bond
- ◆ Families were being offered Emotional First Aid to help with resilience
- ◆ Local people were adopting the flower tubs

These are just a few of the examples of local action which directly or indirectly served to strengthen the community and drive initiative back into the hands of local citizens.

A further positive feature of the *Dearne Approach* meeting was the efforts made to listen to each other and to reach a real understanding of what was causing a problem. For instance, there had been an on-going problem of fly-tipping associated with people living in private rented accommodation. However the group came to understand that this problem was connected to the extreme poverty of the tenants, who could not afford the £20 fee for a Council black bin. Punishing people didn't work, because people couldn't afford to pay the fines. So, local landlords came up with a solution themselves and rented a skip that the tenants could use.

One of the most dramatic and exciting developments in Dearne was to restore the railway cuttings that run through Goldthorpe and repaint the railway bridges that had become rusty, ugly and scarred with graffiti. An alliance was constructed from:

- ◆ Councillors and the Area Team officers
- ◆ Network Rail
- ◆ The Princes Trust
- ◆ Goldthorpe Development Group
- ◆ Big Local (funded by the National Lottery)
- ◆ Twiggs (a private gardening company)
- ◆ BDSS Traffic Management Services
- ◆ ASDA
- ◆ Canal & River Trust
- ◆ The Salvation Army
- ◆ hOurbank (the local timebank)
- ◆ Council's housing enforcement officers
- ◆ Students from Sheffield University

Working with local residents they worked to repaint the bridges and to restore the old railway banks into an attractive countryside walks as part of a new initiative: Goldthorpe Railway Cuttings. The aim is to further develop the area as an attractive public green space.

The paint for the first bridge was funded from the Dearne South Ward Alliance. Then the Prince's Trust provided funding to help the community paint the other three bridges. Network Rail agreed to remove the refuse that had been fly tipped and constructed new fencing. Big Local funded the installation of CCTV with support from the community safety team. Interest and support from local residents grew as the project developed:

- ◆ Painting the first bridge engaged **15** volunteers.
- ◆ There were **30** volunteers helping with the second bridge.
- ◆ **45** people helped with the third bridge.
- ◆ over **50** people helped to repaint the fourth bridge.

A group has now been established to maintain support and protection for the green space, in the heart of Goldthorpe, which this project has now created.



4.4 Case Study II - Milefield Community Farm

The second example also shows the enormous potential impact of volunteering, and the potential for projects to draw in significant support from the community, in this case, the business community.

The project was led by Volunteer It Yourself (VIY) who are a not-for-profit Community Interest Company. VIY combine volunteering and DIY skills and challenge young people aged 14 to 24 to help fix youth clubs and community centres in need of essential repairs. VIY helps transform the community through citizen action, while also helping people increase their skills, qualifications and employability. The Wickes store in Barnsley also offered a job interview to every young person aged 16 or more who was not in education or work and who graduated from the project.

Contributor	Contribution	Value
North East Area Council Grant (Youth development)	cash	£9,100
North East Ward Alliance	cash	£1,000
Symphony	kitchen	£15,000
Wickes	materials and tools	£5,500
Sash	windows and doors	£500
Keep Moat	plaster	£350
XPO Logistics	coat & wellie rack	£1,200
XPO Logistics	catering	£200
XPO Logistics	security survey & camera	£1,500
Milefield School	wall removed	£3,000
Milefield School	wiring	£6,200
Milefield School	toilet	£7,500
Milefield School	skips	£1,000
Milefield School	animal shelters	£4,500
Community volunteers	840 hours @ 11.09	£9,316
Symphony fitting	42 hours @ 11.09	£466
Wickes	17 hours @ 11.09	£200
Trade skills mentor	70 hours @ 11.09	£776
Dearne valley college - trainee plasterers	77 hours @ 11.09	£2,562
Barnsley Council (voluntary support)	27 hours @ 11.09	£300
XPO Logistics	270 hours @ 11.09	£2,995
Outwood school	154 hours @ 11.09	£1,708
TOTAL VALUE		£74,873
Ratio to Barnsley Council spend		£7

TABLE 5. How the Milefield Project was funded

In July 2016, Milefield School in Barnsley asked for help from VIY, Voluntary Action Barnsley and the North East Area Council (using their *Youth Development Fund*). They needed assistance to convert a derelict former caretaker's bungalow into a new external community learning space as part of their Milefield Community Farm project. Working together with a range of partners an impressive array of resources was combined (Table 5).

The project has helped in the formation of Milefield Community Farm Group, which is now a fully constituted group, and is supported by Milefield Primary School. Teresa Clarke, the Project Manager said:

“Without the fantastic voluntary help from the local community and the support of local businesses, the North East Area Council, and Voluntary Action Barnsley, all working together in partnership, we would not have been able to have achieved this amazing project in our local community. We are looking forward to working with all our partners in the future to continue to develop our lovely Community Farm.”

This project perfectly exemplifies that way in which a partnership approach can create community resources, strengthen citizen capacity, reduce need and maximise the impact of local authority spending. The economic value of the transformation was 700% more efficient than an approach that would have seen Barnsley Council take full responsibility for organising, funding and delivering the project themselves.

4.5 Overall impact

The place-based approach to local governance is clearly work in progress. It is only three years old and it is still evolving. However there are already signs that it is making a significant impact on the community and helping to further develop the Council's overall strategy to head upstream and solve problems in communities, working in partnership with local citizens.

The key successes seem to have been:

- 1. Getting really local** - There is a new quality to conversations at the ward level. Local citizens are becoming community champions and local councillors and citizens are working together to bring about significant change at that level. This brings a new level of understanding to decision-making, getting closer to understanding underlying problems and seeing the potential for local solutions.
- 2. Expecting citizenship** - Volunteering is becoming integral to the Council's way of working; there is a recognition that local people have got something to contribute and an expectation that solutions that are rooted in local community action will bring multiple benefits. There is no apology for expecting more from each other; talk of deprivation and need is being replaced with talk of pride and solidarity.

3. **Effective commissioning** - There is a new and strong focus on commissioning assistance from within the community and monitoring services more closely at a local level. This is combined with greater understanding of what is being achieved by others and a new level of accountability for the Council's own services as councillors work alongside citizens.
4. **Community development** - Together councillors and members of the Area Team are able to focus on strengthening and challenging local groups and leaders. The Council has started to escape the role of service provider and start to become a vital advocate, working on behalf of the whole community.

These are significant successes in just 3 years and they have been achieved in the most difficult of circumstances. Resources and leadership have been committed to local innovations and there are growing levels of support, both within and outside the Council. The spirit of these changes has also been pragmatic, flexible and with an eye to the need to keep learning about what makes them work. As one councillor put it:

“The development of Area Councils has coincided with significant personal development to become a more effective local councillor and this has been rewarding and fulfilling.”

4.6 Issues for the future

The new place-based governance arrangements are an evolving experiment and there are several issues that will need to be explored in the future. Three areas might be particularly fruitful for further exploration:

- ◆ Deepening community leadership
- ◆ Clarifying subsidiarity principles
- ◆ Strengthening partnership working

One of the key issues that came up repeatedly was how to understand the role of the councillor as a community champion. Some of the comments made included:

“The role of local councillors as community leaders needs more focus.”

“Sometimes it feels like there are more chiefs than indians.”

“The general public still don't know who we are.”

“The role of community support officers and councillors can sometimes conflict.”

“As an Area Council and Ward Alliance we do not publicise the financial support given to community groups enough.”

“Further development opportunities are needed for councillors to play their role as community leaders at Ward and Area levels.”

These are complex issues and the best forms of leadership are often the quiet, behind-the-scenes, efforts to foster the energy and talent of others. But it is clear that this issue is likely to be central to how the new governance arrangements develop in the future. In particular effective leadership is often about helping other people lead.

For instance, some community leaders spoke about the kind of leadership they would like to see more of:

1. **Co-ordination** - understanding the patchwork of community activities and support already looks like, reducing overlap, duplication or unnecessary competition, helping to spot gaps
2. **Education** - helping people understand the current structures, their purpose and how best they can get involved
3. **Networking** - more opportunities for people involved in community action to connect with each other. e.g one person suggested regular community meals.
4. **Mentorship** - helping less experienced people by connecting them to someone who is already involved in local community action.
5. **Protection** - respecting small community groups and initiatives and protecting them from being supplanted by bigger groups or charities seeking to duplicate their work.

One observer who leads a community group expressed nervousness at the larger contracts and funding being provided. Her perspective was that small amounts of funding, spread widely, would actually be more effective at maintaining and improving the existing community fabric. Another said:

"Small personal groups can reach people in communities who people think don't fit in and can't be helped. These groups can weave these people back into the fabric of communities, make them feel valued and help them achieve what they want to."

This issue is also connects to the second major theme, and it may be one that would benefit from more reflection. As it stands Ward Alliances and Area Councils, working within some broad parameters, have a lot of discretion on what they do with their relatively small level of funding. At the same time the Council, and its many partners have many more resources and spending decisions on this funding remains centralised. The success of this approach is that the local arrangements allow for ideas to be tested and there is significant evidence that this approach has much merit and leads to greater engagement with the local community, greater efficiency and closer monitoring. However the overall sense of direction is not so clear:

1. **Are local initiatives simply to be run in parallel to central initiatives?** e.g. local welfare rights work seemed highly effective, but welfare rights is now going to be a centrally funded initiative. On this model the local is a test-bed for improved central control and this may sometimes make sense.
2. **Is local decision-making able to take on better management of some council services?** e.g. many feel the locally commissioned environmental services are more effective and efficient than the centrally managed service. On this model certain decisions should be left to the local level.

- 3. In reverse, is it clear what decisions should be left to the centre and why?** e.g. social work and care services are critical services where the local authority has a important legal liabilities. At the same time there is significant evidence that such services can benefit from a more local approach.

None of this is to suggest that these matters are either easy to resolve or that there is some straightforward and obvious rule to apply. Nevertheless the challenge of heading upstream is also very similar to the idea of subsidiarity:

the principle that a central authority should have a subsidiary function, performing only those tasks which cannot be performed at a more local level

Oxford English Dictionary

Respect for subsidiarity does not mean everything should be done at a local level. But it does mean that there should be a good reason and evidence for not doing something at a local level. A decent system will always be pushing to see what can be done by the citizen, the family, the community or by the most local level of local government. This is what heading upstream means, it is consistent with Barnsley's overall strategy and there will need to be ongoing attention paid to these kinds of issues.

This brings us to the third and most challenging issue to consider in the future: What kind of partnerships can be formed at a local level to support Barnsley's objectives?

5. Partnerships

Although Barnsley Council is the central democratic body for citizens of Barnsley it has a relatively small degree of control over public spending in Barnsley (11%). Most public spending is directly or indirectly controlled by Whitehall. What is more the funding controlled at a local level (Ward and Area) is only a small fraction of overall spending by the Council.

What this means is that Barnsley Council must exercise much of its leadership role in strategic partnerships with other statutory bodies or civil society organisations. As we have seen from the example of the *Dearne Approach*, these partnerships are critical in bringing about lasting change. Yet there are many pressures and tensions which can make joint working difficult. Often bodies are working to priorities that are set in Whitehall or elsewhere, and these may not correspond to local priorities. The tensions even exist within the Council itself as centrally managed services may have a different sense of the right solution to those that would be identified at a local level.

The range of opportunities for new kinds of action and new partnerships is so extensive that it is impossible to capture it all here. For the purposes of this report I have chosen to highlight some of the key strategic partnerships where progress has begun or where possibilities seem both fruitful and realistic. I have also tried to put set these different areas in their wider policy context.

62

5.1 Council Run Services

The largest service funded by Barnsley Council is social care, and as we discussed above, this is an area where Barnsley has already demonstrated significant leadership. It is also an area where statutory responsibilities for children and adults make cost cutting particularly challenging in the face of austerity.

As it stands these services are perhaps least touched by the development of the place-based approaches and there may be several reasons for this. Eligibility for social care is largely a private matter, and often driven by urgent critical issues of risk or need; identifying a role for volunteers in these circumstances is more challenging. At the same time Ward and Area Councils are also highly sensitive to questions that concern the whole environment and which touch all local citizens immediately. This is probably why environmental issues have been the priorities in the early years.

It is interesting to note however that there is an important social work tradition which emphasises the importance of working in and with communities, preventing crises and supporting people to stay connected. Clearly some local funding has also been invested in these initiatives. To build on the Council's work already there are a range of initiatives which may be of interest.

- ◆ **Neighbourhood Groups** are local hubs for connecting with and support people to stay part of their community. Leeds has been leading important work in this area for some time (TLAP, 2016).
- ◆ **Local Area Coordination** is a way of embedding social workers or others with similar skills within the community where they live and focusing on supporting people to avoid crisis, build social capital and get involved in community life. It has a strong track record and is being developed in Derby and several other places in England and Wales (Broad 2012; Broad, 2015).
- ◆ **Small Sparks** is an initiative imported from the USA which uses small micro-grants to encourage people with disabilities to lead community activities for the greater good. This model is currently being used in Gloucestershire (Poll et al., 2006).
- ◆ **Personalised Support** involves designing hyper-personalised support for people with complex disabilities or challenging behaviours, avoiding expensive institutional care and reconnecting people to community life (Fitzpatrick, 2010; Duffy, 2013f).
- ◆ **Peer Support** brings people with disabilities together, often working from a community location, to enable them to self-organise and bring about wider social change (Duffy, 2012).
- ◆ **Women Centres** have developed some of the most appropriate and effective support for women and families, particularly in the face of domestic violence, mental illness and abuse (Duffy & Hyde, 2011).
- ◆ **Community Businesses** are enterprises, that operate in the commercial world, but with a social purpose. There are exciting examples which help ex-prisoners, people with disabilities and people with mental health problems find a safe way of getting involved in community life (Wyler, 2009).

These are just a few of the approaches that are increasingly emerging as promising alternatives to traditional social care services. Often these services need only minimal investment or support to establish themselves, and they seem to have the potential to reduce demand for more expensive services and to improve the quality of community life for everyone. They fit closely with the current corporate goals.

It is not just in social care that there is potential for more place-based developments. It was clear that the local commissioning undertaken by Wards and Areas was also encouraging people to envisage different solutions for other community services. For instance, for local environmental services the key seemed to be less whether a service was state-run, private or voluntary. The critical issues were:

- ◆ Was the service was good?
- ◆ Are relationships trusting?
- ◆ Is money being reinvested in the local economy?

In fact Yapp and Howells have argued that commissioning in general could be re-conceptualised as *Community Sourcing* - not buying in solutions, but enabling home-grown solutions to develop and flourish (Yapp & Howell, 2013; Howell & Yapp, 2013). This may be a helpful framework for Barnsley's overall commissioning strategy and more consistent with a place-based approach even when services continue to be purchased or delivered for the whole area (Figure 22).

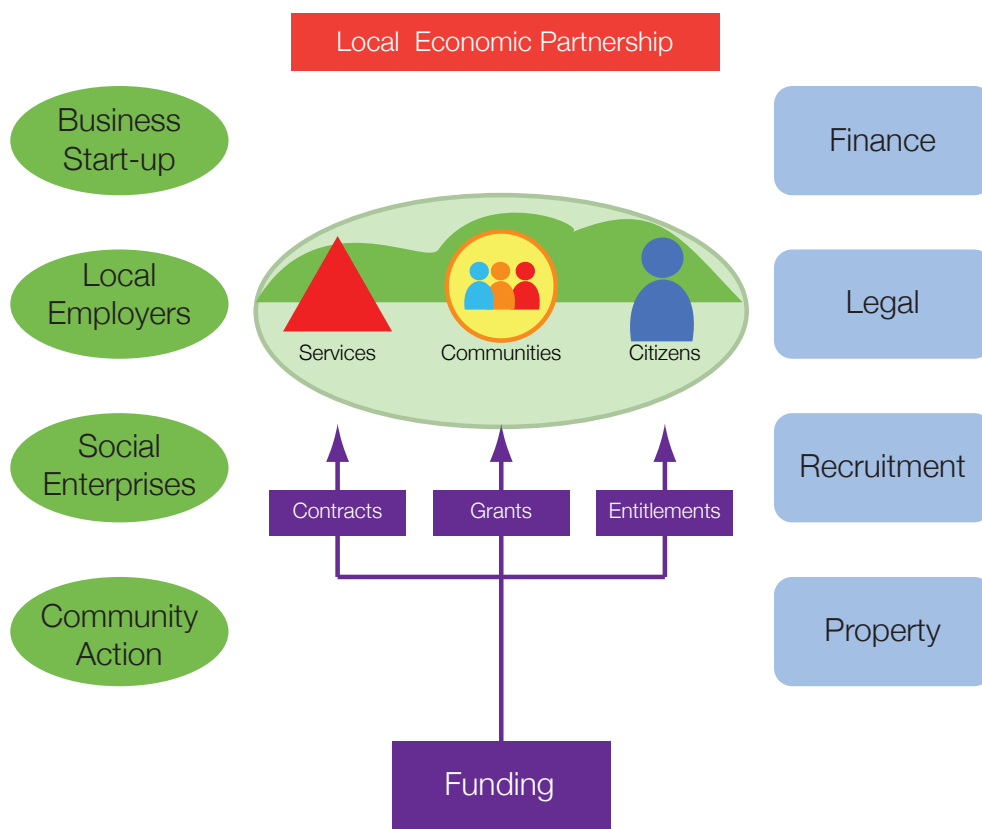


FIGURE 22. Community Sourcing

5.2 Health and the NHS

Health and wellbeing is central to the concerns of Barnsley Council, although it is an issue where progress can clearly only be made in partnership with citizens, families, communities and professionals. It is an area where acting as a leader means encouraging other groups to come together and to learn from each other and there has already been some great progress.

One very practical example of this kind of work was the *Sloppy Slipper* event funded by the Hoyland, Milton and Rockingham Ward Alliance. Every year in the UK, one third of adults aged over 65 experience a fall, and poorly-fitted slippers are one of the main culprits. The event was held in Holland Library and brought together a wide alliance of groups concerned to improve the well being of older people in the community:

- ◆ Slipper Exchange
- ◆ Ward Alliance
- ◆ Barnsley's Carers Service
- ◆ Barnsley's Aid and adaptations
- ◆ Barnsley's Sensory Team
- ◆ Barnsley's One Stop Shop
- ◆ Be Well Barnsley
- ◆ South Yorkshire Fire and Rescue
- ◆ South Yorkshire Police
- ◆ Berneslai Homes
- ◆ Barnsley's Central Call
- ◆ Alzheimers Society
- ◆ Barnsley's Device Doctors
- ◆ NHS Podiatry Service
- ◆ Neighbourhood Watch

241 people brought along old and ill-fitting slippers. Wyndsors Shoes supplied the slippers on a sale or return basis, Tesco provided free refreshments and Walderslade GP Surgery provided some volunteers for the event through their Patient Participation Group. The event also led to referrals to a range of other organisations who could help people with aids, adaptations, information and other assistance. This was just one of several health-focused events organised since the creation of Area Councils.

After the DWP (benefits, pensions etc.), the NHS makes the largest public investment in the economy of Barnsley and the role of the NHS was a frequently raised issue by participants in this research. On the one hand people were keen to see even more involvement from Clinical Commissioning Groups (CCGs), GPs and other NHS leaders and professionals. At the same time there was a sense from some councillors that these actors could also unbalance the local conversations.

At the same time, on the health side, there was a clear understanding of the benefits of a place-based approach and the need to address health and social care needs earlier and more effectively. This raises questions, not just of commissioning, but of frontline organisation. For example, perhaps social workers, nurses, GPs and others could work in a more coordinated and locally focused manner. Barnsley is making progress here too as Community Nursing Services and Community Mental Health Services are now redesigned with a place based approach.

The on-going pressure in acute services, as support for social care and community services weakens, is in danger of leading to a severe crisis in the NHS. Previous research indicates that, for citizens, much of the current service systems feels incredibly complex and fragmented (Figure 23). However the most used point of contact with public services, for many local citizens, is the GP service (Duffy & Hyde, 2011). Innovation that increases active citizenship in the healthcare system is almost inevitably going to have connect to those parts of the healthcare system that truly operate at a local level.



FIGURE 23. The complexity of the service system

One of the main challenges for all such discussion is the ongoing flux in NHS organisational arrangements. Currently the NHS is shifting to the use of Sustainability and Transformation Plans to reshape service provision. There are two levels to this work. The South Yorkshire and Bassetlaw Plan will focus on reorganising the NHS at a sub-regional level. However a separate Barnsley place-based plan is also being developed which will offer up opportunity to consider the future design of community health care services within a place-based model. The community nursing service has already been designed on that basis and there is now a significant opportunity to focus networks of GP's practices to better align with innovations within local communities.

Achieving positive structural change, shifting resources out of acute services and investing in local preventative services, will remain a challenge, particularly in the current policy context, for spending on the NHS is low by European standards and spending by local government on social care will continue to reduce. However there is support both centrally and locally for a different approach. Lesley Smith, who is CEO of NHS Barnsley CCG was clear:

“We need to have local, truly local conversations and we need to develop experimental models for these local conversations, not pilots, but prototypes which we can develop and improve over time.”

Certainly the Dearne might be one area where the significant progress to date might offer hope of establishing different delivery and accountability structures that ensure local people talk with local clinicians, and coproduce solutions that further improve the local community fabric. Already forms of social prescribing (where support is offered to people to identify or create local solutions) are gaining support across the NHS and there is already a well established model in Rotherham. Moreover £300,000 is now being used invested in a social prescribing programme for Barnsley, which began in 2017.

Of course, this is not entirely new ground for the NHS, which has already shown a commitment to community and preventative action. For instance dental staff help people with oral health, primary care staff address risks from smoking and alcohol and there are other important strategies:

- ◆ Self-care is now being promoted to help people learn more about how to manage their own health needs.
- ◆ People are increasingly being invited to co-design solutions through patient participation groups.
- ◆ Volunteering is common and there are programmes at the South West Yorkshire NHS Foundation Trust and at the Barnsley Hospital NHS Foundation Trust.
- ◆ The health service is also working closely with the voluntary sector, for instance Barnsley CCG has supported the local Community Shop, which provides lower cost food.

One particularly striking example is the development of the *Future in Mind Transformation Plan* for Barnsley, developed by the NHS and the Council together. This includes programmes to help young children develop resilience skills in school, supporting peer mentoring, reducing mental illness and the risk of suicide and helping to reshape local statutory services.

5.3 Policing

Meeting with leaders from South Yorkshire Police it was clear that there was a very high understanding of the role and value of the new local area governance arrangements in Barnsley. As Tim Innes, then Barnsley District Commander, said:

“It’s the analysis that’s missing often - just buying in solutions - bringing in enforcement - that can just make people poorer. Some of these communities are, because of austerity, very fragile indeed and they cannot take much more pressure. We wouldn’t want to lose the ability to have the right conversations at the local level”

The relationship of crime to social conditions is very clear for the Police. The rapid slide from upstream social and economic problems to downstream responses of enforcement, penalty and imprisonment is also very obvious:

- ◆ Fly-tipping increases as bin collections reduce
- ◆ Poverty increased vulnerability and domestic violence
- ◆ Cuts in benefits and increased sanctions cause mental health crises

This understanding is in some tension with the enormous economic pressure the police have faced, and will continue to face, from significant cuts in funding. In fact local area policing was an early casualty of the cuts and it is noticeable that some of the early investment in enforcement by Area Councils mirrors the disinvestment by the Police force.

However Barnsley is leading the way in creating a new design for integrated community safety which will bring the Council’s own community safety resources together with Police resources into neighbourhood policing teams, aligned within the place-based structure - the *Safer Neighbourhood Services*. In addition they are working together to establish a core hub for the police, fire services and the Council, where those people with multiple complex needs can be supported through much closer integration, shared triage and primary case worker enabling the full suite of resources in the system to be used more effectively and removing complexity for the individual and families. Policing will be connected more closely with more preventive measures, using the skills of:

- ◆ Welfare rights and housing officers
- ◆ Officers working asylum seekers, travellers and other groups at risk of exclusion
- ◆ Enforcement staff, checking compliance with planning and housing standards
- ◆ Officer working on domestic violence and victim support
- ◆ Community leaders

This will enable Barnsley Council and the Police to not only collaborate, but also to ensure that their efforts are focused where they need to be. In particular this will help avoid confused or conflicted approaches to those individuals and families who need the most assistance and who often end up in harmful and dangerous situations. Domestic violence on its own is one of the most serious challenges facing women and families in England, and a more coordinated approach could help reduce the significant risks faced by many women and children.

These innovations on their own would be worthy of significant research and support. It is testimony to the ability of Barnsley Council to build collaborative and supportive relationships at a senior level that the Council and the Police are in a position to establish such an ambitious and wide-ranging piece of partnership work. This work is influencing the broader strategic plan for the Police across the county.

5.4 Education

The education system used to be controlled by local government, but it is now essentially run from Whitehall. It is an area where, despite decades of talk about devolution or localism the actual shifts in power have been towards the centre and away from the local. Nevertheless, as Rachel Dickinson, Executive Director of the People Directorate noted:

“The conversation we have with our children about their citizenship is critical. Schools should be teaching citizenship.”

However making this real is not easy. The role of the school is set by national attainment targets. It is hard for schools to think of the community as either their audience or as a source of expertise and support. This is becoming increasingly the case as 40% of schools are now either free schools or academies, with even less connection to the local community.

There is hope, as the *Dearne Approach* shows, schools and children can be engaged in projects which capture the imagination. Similarly, Milefield School actually came to the Ward Alliance to develop a project in partnership with the Council. But it is clearly going to take much more work to bring the education system closer to community life.

69

5.5 Civil Society

NESTA’s *Cities of Service* initiative created an ideal structure for exploring how best to lead and grow volunteering from a council perspective. For such a vital issue it makes perfect sense that an officer or elected official takes a senior leadership role in driving forward volunteering efforts. In principle, and as we have seen, citizen capacity dwarfs what councils can do with paid assistance.

It is also very encouraging to see how wide-ranging has been the approach to volunteering and civil society. As well as engaging with the traditional voluntary sector the Council has been dynamically engaged with the business sector as the Minefield and Dearne case studies also demonstrate.

However volunteers are not a proxy workforce. They are citizens and their actions cannot be controlled and their motivations are independent of council plans. Given this it is striking that in Barnsley much of the leadership in encouraging volunteers is led by the

Council and not by the Voluntary Sector itself. This is an important issue because as one member of the voluntary sector noted:

“It’s harder to get volunteers for projects branded by Barnsley Council. For people tend to think ‘We pay our rates for that - I’m not helping the Council.’”

This may seem a rather negative point, but it reflects a reality which came up in many different conversations. If people see an initiative as a Council initiative then they are more likely to disengage. If they see it as a community and voluntary effort they are more likely to get involved.

On the other hand some of the most active volunteers were not aware of any of the central resources provided by Voluntary Action Barnsley (VAB). Yet what people were looking for seemed the kind of thing that should be provided by a peak body like VAB. In particular volunteer leaders were hungry for information:

- ◆ What are others doing?
- ◆ How do you set up organisations?
- ◆ How do you get the necessary insurance?
- ◆ Can people on benefits really not volunteer?

There was a strong sense that the Council’s direction was right, and that things needed to go further. There were questions about whether churches and other groups could be connected in. Volunteers were not interested in party politics or organisational competition. As one of them put it:

“There’s no competition - we’re all working for Barnsley people.”

As other groups suggested, information, communication and promotion - a real celebration of what Barnsley is and what it can do - is critical to forward progress. Joe Micheli, who headed up the *Love Where You Live* campaign, noted that one of the key lessons was the need to say thank you:

“It’s important to celebrate and say thanks. This has been done at a local ward level through volunteer award ceremonies, Area Council level celebrations and the borough-wide high profile Proud of Barnsley awards – which saw Love Where You Live volunteers swamp all award categories. Ensure you take time to celebrate and link neighbourhood awards with the strategic goals of the city.”

Sustaining such voluntary effort, where the Council cannot be in control, requires motivation and support and it is particularly important to celebrate volunteering. For this reason each Area holds celebration events each year.

Overall the potential for further change towards a greater use of place-based approaches seems significant. Many partners already see the value of the approach and there has been success on many fronts. However the Council will also need to lead by example and reflect on how its own services and commissioning can become even more attuned to the local.

6. Next stage developments

Over the course of this report I’ve covered both the background to the recent changes in Barnsley, described some of those changes in a little detail and also tried to look forward to the kinds of partnership and strategic changes that these developments hint at. However, while we can lift our heads from time to time, in order to scan the horizon, most of our action will need to be focused on the short-term and what can be done now, in our current circumstances.

For Barnsley Council this will not be a matter of simply introducing a new model. The new models currently in place will also need to evolve and will change as they develop. New kinds of thinking will be required at different stages and continuous learning will be essential.

As many recognise, how innovations and new ways of working are accepted and adopted varies depending on the attitudes and the values of those who are touched by them (Keohane, 2011). In addition there are some areas where the Council has a high degree of control, but there are many where the Council has only limited influence.

Ongoing innovation requires work at four different levels, all at the same time (Figure 24). It also means confronting the forces that resist innovation and understanding how to take people with you at different stages of the journey. Simply having good ideas or a new vision is not enough. Innovation strategies evolve.

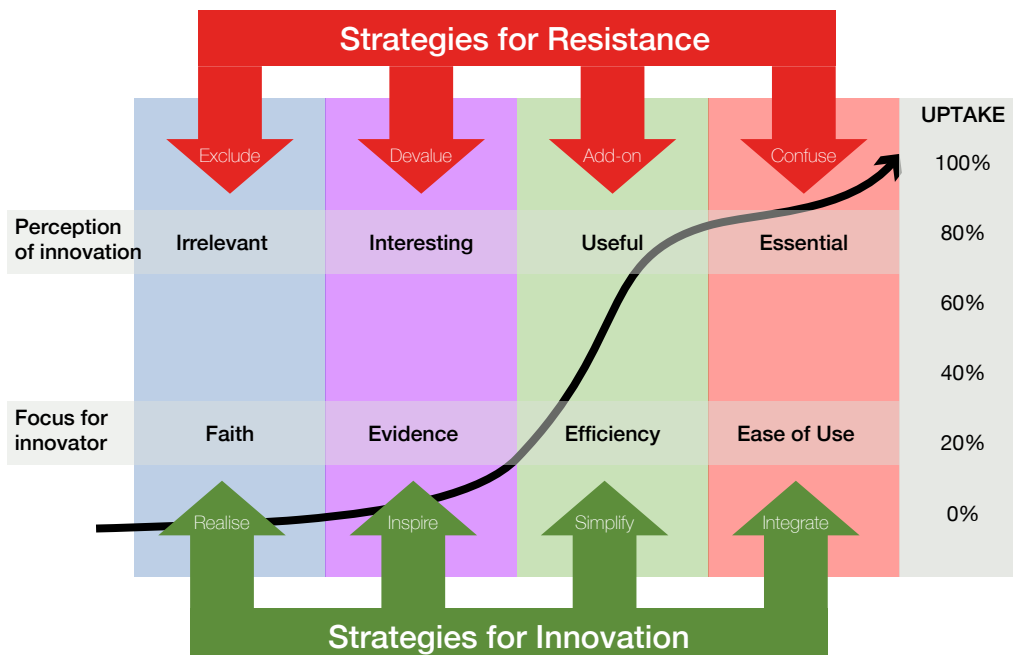


FIGURE 24. Stages of innovation

Recommendation 1: Develop local governance further

One of the main challenges for supporting innovation is simply to make real change happen. This becomes easier where resources can be used flexibly, at the level of the community, family or citizen. It often requires backing people who may not be part of the system and inviting people into conversations who may seem different or challenging.

As resources are centralised or pooled then innovation becomes harder. When discussions move further away from the real problem and from the local community, with all its own resources, then innovation becomes more difficult.

Barnsley has gone against the grain and committed itself to promoting innovation and change at a community level. They have invested time and resources in keeping the conversation local and reaching out to groups that rarely get the chance to influence change. As it now reviews its area governance arrangements Barnsley Council must ensure that it extends its pro-community, pro-innovation approach.

The *Dearne Approach* offered a particularly powerful model of what can be achieved if partnerships can be built with others. Where local conversations become richer then there seems to be a better chance of understanding need and designing the right response. The restoration of the bridges in the Dearne shows how many different groups will come forward to help solve a long-standing problem which public services, on their own, had not been able to solve. More importantly the solution to the problem is one that can become self-sustaining and which has grown local community capacity and resilience for the future.

The recent developments to work more closely with police and with community nursing services at an area level both present an important opportunity to incrementally test and develop local governance further. As we have seen in the *Dearne Approach*, the power of more locally-based conversations is not only a better understanding of local problems, but also a better appreciation of local resources, leadership and energy. This is then reflected in better relationships, greater trust and a willingness to innovate.

It will be important for Barnsley Council's councillors and officers to work closely with their partners in the Police and the NHS to ensure that people from each organisation get the chance to forge new relationships, collaborate and to develop personally, within the new area-ward framework. Committed public servants value the opportunity to do meaningful work and to feel part of a real movement for local community change. It will also be important to explore how other civil society leaders can also be included and encouraged. It is likely that this next phase of development will be critical to better understanding the governance arrangements necessary for the future and that stronger partnerships between statutory partners, at a local level, will be the litmus test for the success of the approach.

Recommendation 2: Make innovation natural

Achieving positive change is the first step, helping people see the value of that change is the second step. The high profile commitment of the Council Leader and the involvement of councillors at every level has clearly had a significant impact in giving legitimacy and support to community activities. The Council continues to support wider understanding through a range of measures:

- ◆ **Sharing stories** - Human stories are the life-blood of social innovation, they give meaning and grow personal commitment.
- ◆ **Gathering the right data** - Barnsley has continued to gather high quality data on a range of different variables in order to support and guide its activities.
- ◆ **Celebrating success** - Barnsley uses a range of techniques to celebrate success, reward great community work and reinforce the value of citizen action.
- ◆ **Cups of tea** - It is important to meet with people, share experiences and help nudge the policy conversation in the right direction. Sustainable change is not about some grand plan, it is about the hearts and minds of all those involved.

The next stage for this work may be to make the development of new ways of working easier to identify. Exploring the key elements of different innovations and getting innovators to talk together and to share their experiences across the whole community and beyond will help increase the commitment and understanding for these new approaches. The council, its partners and communities need to continue to look to ways to make innovation attractive and easy to achieve.

It is important to make spaces for those supportive conversations and for innovators to come together and build new ideas. Barnsley could create a virtual innovation hub that would allow people to share their story and celebrate success.

The changes in Barnsley feel as if they are hinged at a point where they could become even more natural and secure. However this will require attention to some of the key decision-making processes and partnerships. Some of the key questions that will need to be explored over time include:

- ◆ Do the public understand the new way of working and the new ground rules?
- ◆ Can we go further and deeper into our local communities?
- ◆ What is the role of other Council services in the future?
- ◆ Can we engage more effectively with other statutory or non-statutory partners?
- ◆ Can we further develop our use of social media and the more traditional forms of communication?

Making place-based working the norm does mean giving serious thought to the relationship between the new area governance arrangements with other council services and other community activities. The current model is good, but it will need to be developed further.

Recommendation 3: Keep the place-based focus

The council and its partners need to continue the drive for new ways of working across organisations at a place based level.

The recent reshaping of the *Safer Neighbourhood Services*, around local Areas is an important development that demonstrates that the Council's framework for place-based working can provide a helpful platform for wider change. As Councillor Platts, the Cabinet Spokesperson for Communities, states:

“This new integrated approach will have some really positive benefits for communities. The local neighbourhood teams will identify emerging problems and provide an improved response. They’ll provide flexible working at evenings and weekends to make sure community safety issues are addressed in a timely manner.”

Ensuring the evolution of the place-based approach will require on-going leadership and the ability to share stories of success and challenge. Decades of professional control and top-down decision-making will not be over-turned quickly. New opportunities for innovation will emerge, often in the form of crises or unexpected problems that will require creative solutions.

There are so many positive solutions emerging in communities across Barnsley; and their outcomes do not fit neatly into organisational silos, yet they bring vital benefits and enable the Council and its statutory partners the means to better fulfil their responsibilities. *Knit and Natter* groups combat social isolation, health inequalities and mental health problems. Work to improve a local nature reserve is benefiting health, skill development and creating opportunities for the community to enjoy a local resource. Local people and local business benefit from a renewed focus to bring market life back to the high street. But the only way of tapping into the energies and enthusiasms of local people is by keeping the focus local.

74

Recommendation 4: Establish a new contract

For any council to be sustainable there needs to be a clear offer to communities. Barnsley Council needs to better describe what it does and what it doesn't do.

To this end, and building on the success of places like Wigan, leaders in Barnsley are exploring how to develop *The Barnsley Deal* which will describe the nature of the relationship between the council and communities. This kind of approach make explicit the changing relationship between citizen and council and offers a framework for partnership. This will work will emerge through the future community engagement strategy and is currently at an early stage of development.

Recommendation 5: Develop staff roles further

Barnsley Council must continue to create opportunities that enable the workforce as public servants to reconnect back with the communities they serve.

This is not just a matter of continuing to build on the current community development role, it extends to all staff working for the Council. Since 2014 the Council has been using an *Employee Supported Volunteering* (ESV) scheme where employees get 4 days per year as special paid leave to make a contribution to the local community. Not only does this bring benefits to the community it also helps educate Council staff on the local community and provides opportunities for team-building and personal development.

The Council's intention is to build this further into the Council's *Workforce Development Plan* and use it as an additional means to secure and sustain *Investors in People Gold Status*.

Recommendation 6: Strengthen community leadership

Councillors as local leaders and facilitators must continue to be a key part of this journey.

It will be vital to ensure the personal development of local leaders in the context of community leadership and innovation. Councillors are currently supported with a *Member Development Programme* which offers training and development opportunities to all councillors. The Council will be building on this work to secure *Member Charter Plus* status as part of the nationally validated programme for local authorities, developed by the Local Government Association (LGA) and subject to peer review by councillors from other areas.

Recommendation 7: Understand and learn together

Barnsley must continue to focus on the things that matter most to local people.

Investing in shared learning and development across organisations and communities will enable strengthened relationships and improved outcomes. It will be important to review the performance framework to ensure it reflects the issues that matter most and support local communities to develop their own plans. Through this we must value people lived experiences and stories to help the system improve. In the future local change will be the result of real and sustainable partnerships:

- ◆ Sometimes this will be a matter of supporting the existing enthusiasms of established groups, like the *Greenspace Group*, when they need support to plant 7,000 bulbs across their local community.
- ◆ Sometimes councillors, through their ward alliances, will help bring together various existing groups and organisations to help local people, as they did with the *Sloppy Slippers* events, which helped many hundreds of older people.
- ◆ Sometimes local leaders will help people benefit from initiatives from elsewhere, like *Playing Out*, which helps local communities make their streets areas that children can play.
- ◆ At other times local leaders will help create something new, as they did recently, supporting the creation of the *Barnsley Main Heritage Group*.

76

Listening positively, listening for potential, listening for leadership and listening for solutions must be the central function of the Council in the future.

Recommendation 8: Influence national policy

Barnsley must connect with other areas exploring similar ideas and try to encourage a better understanding of these issues amongst policy makers.

Fundamental changes will take more time. The policy and economic environment will remain challenging for some time. However Barnsley is in a good position to play a leading role in some of the regional and national discussions about the kind of local government required in England. There is much talk of redesigning the relationship of the state to the citizen; Barnsley is one of the few places to have set about that task systematically and in a way that begins to alter the real culture and organisation of the local council.

7. Policy implications

Local government leaders must lead, even in the most difficult of circumstances. Moreover, in Barnsley there is a resilient spirit which has encouraged a positive response to the severe challenges of austerity. However, it is important to acknowledge the difficult context within which local policies are being made:

- ◆ Cuts to local authority funding are deeper than cuts to any other public service, and the cuts in places like Barnsley are deeper than in most other authorities.
- ◆ Cuts to other public services also impact on Barnsley Council services, for example as the police are cut so the Council finds itself having to invest more in enforcement.
- ◆ Cuts have been matched by a rhetoric of localism and, more recently, by more ambitious plans to devolve control of local communities further to elected mayors.

However it is unclear how much real control will be given to local areas and the underlying financial settlement, which means local authorities keep more of their business rates, but get less central support, seems likely to benefit some authorities much more than others. For instance a recent report concluded:

“...business rates devolution in its current guise is less about devolved power and more about the devolution of risk and the associated, potentially negative, effect on services.”

Bettany V (2016) Devolution: Beyond the Rhetoric. Manchester: CLES

In addition to these changes Barnsley is part of the Sheffield City Region and there are ongoing discussions about a wider devolution deal for the region, which may involve changes in governance and the election of a mayor. This is a policy which may centralise powers within the region in the hands of the mayor and clearly there are some tensions between the kind of pro-community approach adopted by Barnsley and a Whitehall-led policy which seems to aim at creating large regions with a modest degree of devolved powers.

Nevertheless, Barnsley must cope with these changes and cuts, despite all their inherent unfairness, and it must find a way of identifying a positive path up, towards a better and stronger Barnsley. This brings us back to the strategic challenges we discussed at the beginning of this report. We can identify the challenge, but now we have a better sense of some of the positive measures that the council can take to ensure a focus on social justice, even in these difficult times.

Moreover it is important that Barnsley does not make these changes on its own or in isolation from other pioneers. Ongoing instability is the political order of the day. The Brexit Referendum result and the future instability in both economic and foreign policy, mean that there is little chance that yesterday's policy pronouncements will provide a secure foundation for tomorrow. It is important that councils establish strategies that can cope with ongoing change and look towards each other, more than to Whitehall, for some degree of stability.

7.1 Public Service Reform

One area where Barnsley is leading, but could perhaps play a bigger role, is in the ongoing development of a new account of public policy for the 21st century. Organisations like The Staff College are defining a different vision for public services, which they call *New Public Governance* (Figure 25).

This model includes many of the ideas we’ve discussed. *New Public Governance* implies, instead of the kind of detailed services management and contracting associated with the Thatcher and New Labour years, a structure that aims to engage citizen action, both at the level of the individual and civil society. There is much clearer acknowledgement of the need to respect community priorities and ensure that there is room and support for citizen action.

Critically for Barnsley, this kind of model enables better learning from a diverse range of sources and it supports collaboration between diverse bodies. Governance, rather than management, reflects an awareness that communities and citizens do not belong to government, rather government’s leadership role is primarily about creating a framework with clear rules. Barnsley’s area governance arrangements are a clear case study in this kind of approach.

78

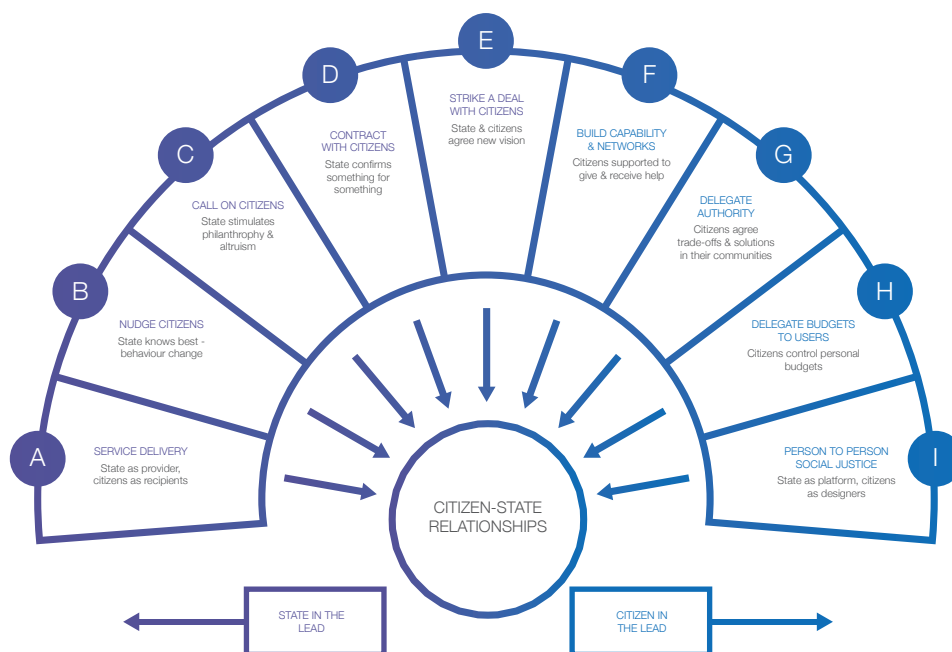


FIGURE 25. New Public Governance

We are still at a very early stage, and while some new patterns of behaviour are emerging, there is still a long way to go before any new vision can be expressed with clarity:

“Over the longer term, the question becomes whether and how the state will continue to shift away from the traditional New Public Management (NPM) model towards New Public Governance (NPG), blending a range of more subtle and sustainable approaches for citizen and state to engage.”

Buddery, Parsfield & Shafique, 2016

Barnsley should ensure it plays a role in helping to define this new understanding of the role of local government and the future of public service reform.

7.2 Regional developments

In this complex and contested context it is important for local leaders to explore strategies that strengthen and deepen recent initiatives. Barnsley have been leading an important place-based approach and has much to share with others; but there are other examples, in other areas, which have may also help Barnsley:

- ◆ Manchester have supported Forever Manchester lead a range of asset-based initiatives across a range of localities, defined and sustained by local residents in neighbourhoods using **ABCD** principles (Hopkins & Rippon).
- ◆ Durham County Council have a **Community Building’s Asset Transfer** and the Durham Ask manages reductions in public spending by empowering communities to take control of the services and assets they value most (Murphy & Wallace, 2016).
- ◆ Kirklees Council have developed a model of working called **New Council** to drive expectations of volunteering and citizen action into the heart of planning and development (NESTA, 2016).
- ◆ Stockport Council have radically **redesigned care and mental health services** to increase community action and citizen control (Sellick, 2016).
- ◆ Wigan Council have introduced the **Wigan Deal** which describes expectations for citizens, combined with a series of pledges designed to save money and improve quality of life (Buddery, Parsfield & Shafique, 2016).
- ◆ Derby City Council are using the Western Australian model of **local area coordination** to embed social work capacity in local neighbourhoods (Broad, 2015).

Where an initiative is only developed by one local area then it becomes vulnerable to unexpected policy changes. It would be useful to develop an intentional network or alliance of bodies testing these kinds of approaches, sharing learning and leading on advocacy within the policy world.

- ◆ Working with the LGA on policy advocacy
- ◆ Working with Whitehall and the DCLG on future policy
- ◆ Connecting with leading independent policy bodies and foundations, many of whom are working on projects in this general area.

7.3 A new settlement

Beyond all of these medium-term challenges lie some long-term questions which we rarely have time to consider. However having some strategic vision is always helpful when navigating difficult waters. In particular local government must begin to develop its own sense of what kind of devolution settlement it really wants; for while current power rests with central Government, a sustainable vision for local government must be rooted in the values of local government itself. If there is to be a sustainable long-term shift in power and responsibility back to local government then local government's constitutional status should surely change (Figure 26). Currently:

- ◆ Central government is pushing for larger local government bodies and less democratic engagement through the use of mayors
- ◆ The House of Lords remains unreformed and, unlike in many other countries, offers no effective representation of local communities
- ◆ The basic law creates minimal rights for local government, neither protecting the right of local people to define their own priorities, create their own systems of governance nor local laws.
- ◆ Most public services are not controlled locally and the overall financial settlement is regressive and does not support a fair distribution of resources within England or the UK.

80

So, while there is a significant stress on localism at the level of rhetoric, an emphasis that has grown alongside with austerity and the threat of Scottish independence, there has yet been no substantive reassessment of the wider constitutional framework within which local government sits. Clearly the emerging details about the UK's departure from the European Union only increases the need for a more profound debate about our constitution.

It goes without saying that changing any of this will not be easy. But it certainly will not change if policy leadership is left with Whitehall and Westminster. The centripetal tendencies of the UK political system are well known. The only likely change will come if places like Barnsley, working alongside other local areas, begin to define for themselves a better, fairer and more sustainable settlement for local government.

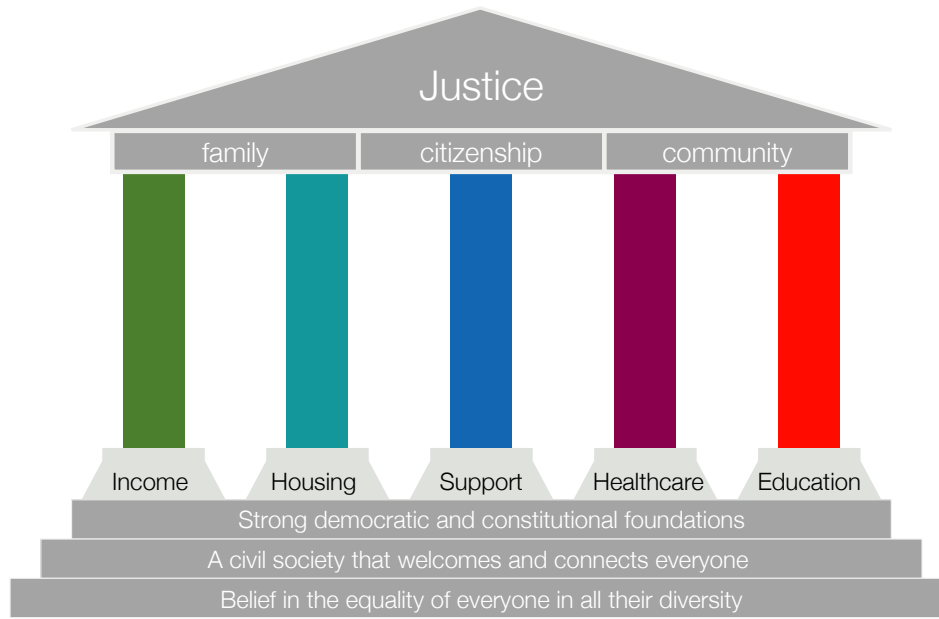


FIGURE 26. Justice and the welfare state

Final thoughts

At the beginning of this report I suggested that if there was a way of reconciling social justice with austerity then it would require heading upstream. Old paternalistic assumptions would have to change and there would need to be a serious investment in community and citizenship.

Underneath the coat of arms for Barnsley there is a Latin motto 'spectemur agendo' - which literally means 'let us be seen in action' and which could be more loosely translated as 'judge us by our actions'. This seems a fitting motto for Barnsley. Local leaders have demonstrated a willingness to act and to be judged by their actions.

For more than 10 years Barnsley has been establishing itself as a council that works, not to provide services, but to enable local people to become full citizens - taking more control of their own lives and willing to work together to transform their own communities. Instead of retreating into a position of rationing services and resources more tightly the Council has understood that the fundamental requirement of social justice is to enable people to live good lives, in solidarity with each other.

Barnsley has left the plains and has set off into the mountains, although there is a long way to go. There is much that is becoming increasingly uncertain as the UK intends to leave the European Union and as national and global political system seem to be increasingly unstable and radicalised. However I am left with one hopeful thought.

Several years ago, at a think-tank seminar in London, I heard one participant, who was critical of devolution say: "But places like Barnsley couldn't survive. Barnsley needs Chelsea." I'm afraid, as a proud Northerner I was outraged by this assumption. When I got home I went and looked up the population of Barnsley and then I went and looked up the population of Ancient Athens, when it was at the peak of its power and productivity. They were the identical. So the question I was left with was:

Why can't Barnsley be another Athens?

Often there is nothing that holds us back other than our own fears and insecurities. Barnsley is already a great place, full of great people. It has nothing to fear from continuing to take its destiny into its own hands. It has nothing to fear from heading upstream and creating a community of active citizens who work to advance the cause of justice.

Bibliography

- Alakeson V** (2010) *Active Patient - the case for self-direction in healthcare*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform
- Alakeson V** (2014) *Delivering Personal Health Budgets*. Bristol, Policy Press.
- Alakeson V & Duffy S** (2011) *Health Efficiencies - the possible impact of personalisation in healthcare*. Sheffield, The Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Barnsley Metropolitan Council (BMC)** (2015) *Barnsley Corporate Plan 2015-18*
- Barnsley Metropolitan Council (BMC)** (2016) *Barnsley MBC's Efficiency Plan*.
- Barr B, et al.** (2015) 'First, do no harm': are disability assessments associated with adverse trends in mental health? A longitudinal ecological study *Epidemiol Community Health* 2015;0:1-7. doi:10.1136/jech-2015-206209
- Bradford L** (2012) *Call for a better system to get jobless in work*. Barnsley Chronicle.
- Beatty C & Fothergill S** (2016) *The Uneven Impact of Welfare Reform: the financial losses to places and people*. Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University.
- Bettany V** (2016) *Devolution: Beyond the Rhetoric*. Manchester: CLES.
- Block S, Rosenberg S, Gunther-Kellar Y, Rees D and Hodges N** (2002) *Improving Human Services for Children with Disabilities and Their Families: The Use of Vouchers as an Alternative to Traditional Service Contracts*. Administration in Social Work, Volume 26(1)
- Booth-Smith L & Ainger J** (2015) *The Inflection Point*. London: empower.
- Bradford L** (2012) *Call for a better system to get jobless in work*. Barnsley Chronicle.
- Broad R** (2012) *Local Area Coordination*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Broad R** (2015) *People, Place, Possibilities*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Butler P** (2013) *Council spending cuts: the north loses out to the south*. The Guardian. (download 6th December 2016)
- Buddery P, Parsfield, M & Shafique A** (2016) *Changing the Narrative: a new conversation between the citizen and the state*. Nottingham: The Staff College
- Census 2011**
- Cottam H** (2011) *Relational Welfare* in Soundings 48
- Cowen A, Murray P & Duffy S** (2011) *Personalised Transition: A Collaborative Approach to Funding Individual Budgets for Young Disabled People with Complex Needs Leaving School*. Journal of Integrated Care, Vol. 19 Iss: 2, pp.30 - 36
- Crisp N** (2010) *Turning the World Upside Down*. London: RSMP.
- Department of Communities & Local Government (DCLG)** (2016) *General Fund Revenue Account 2015-16: Barnsley*. London: DCLG
- Department of Health** (2014) *Developing an indicator on user experience of integrated care for the NHS and Adult social care outcomes frameworks*
- Department of Work and Pensions (DWP)** (2016) *Benefit expenditure by local authority (2015-16)*
- Duffy S** (1996) *Unlocking the Imagination*. London: Choice Press.
- Duffy S & Fulton K** (2010) *Architecture for Personalisation*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S & Hyde C** (2011) *Women at the Centre*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2010) *Personalisation in Mental Health*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2011) *Dying with Dignity*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2012) *Peer Power*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform
- Duffy S** (2013a) *Imagining the Future: Citizenship*. Glasgow: IRISS

- Duffy S** (2013b) *A Citizenship Defence of the Welfare State*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform
- Duffy S** (2013c) *Whose Community Is It Anyway? Rethinking the commissioning of user-led organisations and centres for independent living*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2013d) *The Unmaking of Man: Disability and the Holocaust*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2013e) *A Fair Society? How the cuts target disabled people*. Sheffield: The Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2013f) *Returning Home: piloting personalised support*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2014) *Counting the Cuts: what the Government doesn't want the public to know*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform
- Duffy S** (2016a) *Heading Upstream: Deinstitutionalisation & Public Service Reform*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Duffy S** (2016) *Calculating Community Capacity*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- DWP** (2012) *Impacts and Costs and Benefits of the Future Jobs Fund*. London: DWP.
- The Economist** (2010) *The unlikely revolutionary*. The Economist: 12th August 2010.
- Fishwick T, Lane P & Gardiner L** (2011) *Future Jobs Fund: an independent national evaluation*. London: Centre for Economic & Social Inclusion.
- Fitzpatrick J** (2010) *Personalised Support: How to provide high quality support to people with complex and challenging needs - learning from Partners for Inclusion*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Friedli L** (2009) *Mental health, resilience and inequalities*. Copenhagen: WHO
- Gillespie J** (2011) *Positively Local*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Hagel J & Seely Brown J** (2005) *The Only Sustainable Edge*. Boston: Harvard Business Press.
- Halpern D** (2005) *Social Capital*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hastings A, Bailey N, Bramley G, Gannon M & Watkins D** (2015) *The Cost of the Cuts: The Impact on Local Government and Poorer communities*. York: JRF.
- Health & Wellbeing Board** (2013) *Summary Financial Information*
- Health & Wellbeing Board** (2013) *Joint Financial Planning and the Better Care Fund*
- Health & Wellbeing Board** (2013) *Pioneers in Integrated Care and Support - Expression of Interest*
- HMRC** (2016) *Child and Working Tax Credits Statistics: Finalised Annual Awards 2014-15 - Geographical Analysis United Kingdom*
- HMRC** (2015) *Child Benefit Statistics: Geographical Analysis*
- Hopkins T & Rippon S** (2015). *Head, hands and heart: asset-based approaches in health care: A review of the conceptual evidence and case studies of asset-based approaches in health, care and wellbeing*. London: The Health Foundation
- Houghton S, Dove C & Wahhab I** (2009) *Tackling Worklessness: A Review of the contribution and role of English local authorities and partnerships*. London: DCLG.
- Howells C & Yapp C** (2013) *Commissioning and Community Sourcing*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- HM Treasury (HMT)** (2016a) *Public Expenditure Statistical Analyses 2014*. London: HM Treasury.
- HM Treasury (HMT)** (2016b) *Budget 2016*. London: HM Treasury.
- Hyde C** (2011) *Local Justice*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- Keohane N** (2011) *Changing Behaviours: opening a new conversation with the citizen*. London: New Local Government Network (NLGN)
- Kippin H & Fulford B** (2016) *The Anatomy of Collaboration: a resource for leaders in health, social care and beyond*. London: Collaborate.
- Kretzmann J & McKnight J** (1993) *Building Communities From the Inside Out: a path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets* (3rd ed.). Chicago, IL: ACTA Publications.

- Lawson S, Pearmain G & Waters J** (2010) *Finding Our Way: the story of self-directed support in Barnsley*. London: In Control.
- Leadership Centre** (2015) *The Revolution will be Improvised Part II: Insights from places on transforming systems*. London: Leadership Centre.
- Local Government Association** (2016) *What Next for Devolution?* London: Local Government Association.
- Mayer S** (2008) *Saving the Babies: Looking upstream for solutions*. Minneapolis, Effective Communities.
- More Known than Proven** (2016) *Interactive council cuts comparator* <https://moreknownthanproven.wordpress.com/2016/03/02/interactive-council-cuts-comparator/> (accessed 6th December 2016)
- Morgan A** (2014) *Revisiting the Asset Model: a clarification of ideas and terms*. Global Health Promotion 2014 21: 3 DOI: 10.1177/1757975914536849
- Murphy T & Wallace J** (2016) *The Enabling State in Practice: Evidence from Innovators*. Dunfermline: Carnegie Trust UK.
- Murray P** (2010) *A Fair Start*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- NESTA** (2016) *Cities of Service UK: Capturing the Skills and Energy of Volunteers to Address City Challenges*. London: NESTA.
- NHS England** (2013) *A Call to Action: commissioning for prevention*. London: NHS England.
- NHS England** (2016) *The NHS Five Year Forward View: executive summary*. <https://www.england.nhs.uk/ourwork/futurenhs/nhs-five-year-forward-view-web-version/5yfv-exec-sum/> (accessed 6th December 2016)
- NLGN & Collaborate** (2016) *Get Well Soon: re-imagining place-based health*. London: NLGN
- O'Brien J & Mount B** (2015) *Pathfinders: people with developmental disabilities and the allies building communities that work better for everyone*. Toronto: Inclusion Press.
- Office for National Statistics (ONS)** (2016) *Regional gross disposable household income (GDHI): 1997 to 2014*. London: Office for National Statistics
- Office for National Statistics (ONS)** (2011) *Census: Provision of unpaid care, local authorities in the United Kingdom*.
- Participatory City** (2016) <http://www.participatorycity.org/#home-1> (accessed 6th December 2016)
- Parsfield M** (ed.) (2015) *Community Capital: the value of connected communities*. London: RSA.
- Poll C, Duffy S, Hatton C, Sanderson H & Routledge M** (2006) *A Report on In Control's First Phase 2003-2005*. London: In Control Publications.
- Rhodes B** (2010) *Much More To Life Than Services*. Peterborough: Fastprint Publishing.
- Sellick V** (2016) *People Helping People: lesson learned from supporting social action innovations to scale*. London: NESTA.
- Sen, Amartya** (1999). *Development as Freedom*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- South Yorkshire Police (SYP)** (2016) *Private correspondence with relevant senior officers*
- South Yorkshire Fire & Rescue Authority (SYFR)** (2016) *South Yorkshire Fire & Rescue Authority Statement of Accounts 2015-16*.
- Syal R** (2012) *Back-to-work scheme scrapped by Cameron 'produced net gain for UK'* The Guardian, 23 November 2012
- Taylor-Gooby P & Stoker G** (2011) *The Coalition Programme: A New Vision for Britain or Politics as Usual?* The Political Quarterly, Vol. 82, No. 1, January–March 2011
- The Health Foundation** (2015) *Head, hands and heart: asset-based approaches in health care*. London: The Health Foundation.
- The Mindfulness All-Party Parliamentary Group** (2015) *Mindful Nation UK*. London: The Mindfulness Initiative.
- Think Local Act Personal (TLAP)** (2016) *Developing a Wellbeing and Strengths-based Approach to Social Work Practice*. London: SCIE.

- Titmuss R M** (1970) *The Gift Relationship*. London, George Allen & Unwin.
- Travis A** (2016) *UK prison population is biggest in western Europe*. The Guardian: 8th March 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/mar/08/uk-prison-population-is-biggest-in-western-europe> (accessed 13th January 2017)
- Turner J, Annibal I & Sellick J** (2016) *Barnsley MBC Area Governance Evaluation*. Rocket Science.
- Turning Point** (2013) *The Dearne Approach Key Findings*
- Turning Point** (2014) *Project Update*
- UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR)** (2016) *Concluding observations on the sixth periodic report of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*.
- UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)** (2016) *Inquiry concerning the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland carried out by the Committee under article 6 of the Optional Protocol to the Convention*.
- Vise R** (2014) *The Revolution will be Improvised: stories and insights about transforming systems*. London: Local Vision
- Wilkinson R & Pickett K** (2010) *The Spirit Level Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. London: Penguin.
- Wylar S** (2009) *A History of Community-Asset Ownership*. London: Development Trusts Association.
- Yapp C & Howells C** (2013) *Community Sourcing and Social Care*. Sheffield: Centre for Welfare Reform.
- The Guardian** (2012) *Council Cuts in England Detailed*. 14th November 2012 <https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2012/nov/14/council-cuts-england-detailed#data> (accessed 13th January 2017)

About the author

Dr Simon Duffy is the Director of the Centre for Welfare Reform, an independent think tank that works to improve the welfare state and secretary to the international cooperative, Citizen Network. Simon is a philosopher and social innovator, best known for his work on self-directed support and citizenship. He has set up and led a number of organisations including Inclusion Glasgow and In Control. Simon's writings include *Keys to Citizenship*, *Women at the Centre*, *The Unmaking of Man* and *Unlocking the Imagination*. He was awarded the RSA's Prince Albert medal for social innovation in 2008 and the Social Policy Association's award for outstanding contribution to social policy in 2011. His doctorate is in moral philosophy where he set out to defend the reality of the Moral Law.

Centre for Welfare Reform

The Centre for Welfare Reform is a citizen think tank working to create a world where everyone matters. Its aim is to transform the current welfare state so that it supports citizenship, family and community. It works by developing and sharing social innovations and influencing government and society to achieve necessary reforms.

To find out more go to: www.centreforwelfarereform.org

We produce a monthly email newsletter, if you would like to subscribe to the list please visit: bit.ly/subscribe-cfwr

You might like to follow us on twitter: [@CforWR](https://twitter.com/CforWR)

Or find us on Facebook here: [centreforwelfarereform](https://www.facebook.com/centreforwelfarereform)

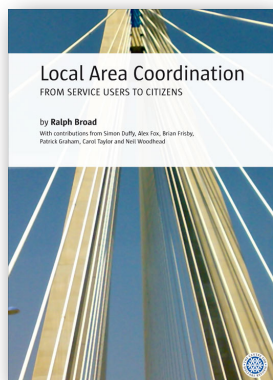
87

Citizen Network

Citizen Network is an international movement to advance citizenship for all by tackling prejudice, poverty and powerlessness.

Individuals and groups who believe in human equality and the value of diversity are free to join at: www.citizen-network.org

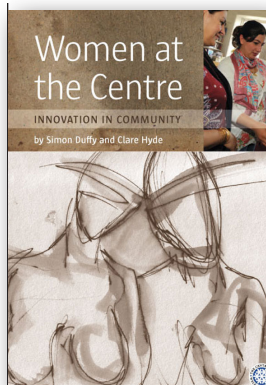
Relevant publications



LOCAL AREA COORDINATION

Ralph Broad's report outlines the Local Area Coordination concept, international research to date and early developments in England.

<http://bit.ly/LAC-cfwr>

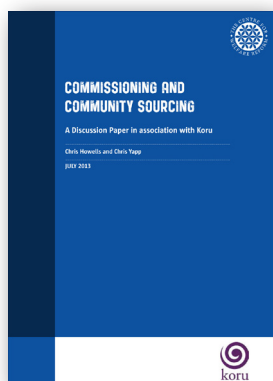


WOMEN AT THE CENTRE

A detailed exploration of how a grass roots organisation drives local innovation and the challenges and opportunities for local government

<http://bit.ly/women-centre-book>

88



COMMISSIONING AND COMMUNITY SOURCING

Howells and Yapp challenge standard procurement practices and offer a new vision for commissioning as a route to community development.

<http://bit.ly/com-mission>



UNLOCKING THE IMAGINATION

This report offers an alternative to the purchaser-provider split, instead citizenship and community should be at the heart of public service reform.

<http://bit.ly/unlockimag>



PUBLISHED BY
THE CENTRE FOR WELFARE REFORM