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PUBLIC SECTOR INNOVATION AND LOCAL LEADERSHIP IN THE UK AND THE NETHERLANDS

Robin Hambleton and Joanna Howard, with Bas Denters, Pieter-Jan Klok and Mirjan Oude Vrielink (contributing authors)

This report explores how inspirational civic leadership can bring about social inclusion through radical public service innovation.

Based on international action research it provides a timely contribution to the debate about public service reform in the context of public spending cuts. It includes three Innovation Stories documenting how local leaders have sought to improve social inclusion in three cities: in the UK, Bristol’s Digital+Green City Initiative and Swindon’s LIFE Programme, and in The Netherlands, Enschede’s Social GP Programme.

The report explores:
- the roles of political, managerial, community, and business leaders in promoting social inclusion and public service innovation;
- the important role civic leaders can play in bringing people together to ‘co-create’ new solutions to challenging problems;
- the characteristics of effective place-based leadership; and
- the value of storytelling and international exchange.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Anglo-Dutch action-research project examines the exercise of place-based leadership in three innovative cities. It aims to throw new light on the roles that civic leaders can play in advancing the cause of social inclusion by engaging in radical public service innovation. The report provides an analysis of the approach to civic leadership being developed in Bristol and Swindon in the UK, and Enschede in The Netherlands.

The research has involved co-creating new knowledge in two senses. First, it bridges the worlds of academe and practice — researchers have collaborated actively with practitioners to construct an Innovation Story documenting the approach to public service innovation in each city. Second, the research develops new understanding by engaging in international dialogue. People from two countries, with different experiences, have shared their ideas and co-created new ways of thinking about civic leadership.

The project set out to address three questions:

- How can place-based or civic leadership contribute to public service innovation and social inclusion?
- What factors influence the effectiveness of civic leadership in different settings?
- What international lessons can be identified regarding the strengths and weaknesses of alternative approaches to the leadership of place-based innovation to advance social inclusion?

The difficult economic outlook means that many governments are making sharp reductions in public spending. Public authorities in the UK are engaged in an aggressive search for ‘efficiency savings’. Public leaders and managers urged to ‘do more with less’. The cities examined in this report buck this trend: they are ‘doing more with more’ by working to co-create new solutions to problems of social exclusion through collaborative working that releases the community and business energies of the locality. Building new kinds of relationship can lead
to an expansion of the total resources available to improve the quality of life in an area, even with state spending in decline.

The research has developed Innovation Stories covering the following three topics:

- **The Digital+Green City Initiative, Bristol** – a key part of Bristol’s effort to position itself as a leading European example of a low-carbon, digitally connected city, the Innovation Story examines the emergence and development of the policy and focuses on how it is being applied to foster social inclusion in the Knowle West area of Bristol.

- **The Social GP Programme, Enschede** – this experimental programme in the Velve-Lindernhof area of the city aims to improve the life chances of over 600 residents of one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. Social general practitioners (GPs) are working with a limited number of residents to empower citizens to improve their own life chances.

- **The Swindon LIFE Programme** – Swindon Borough Council and other local agencies (health, police and others) are working with Participle (a social enterprise) to develop a new approach to family intervention through multiple public agencies, a social enterprise and families themselves. The programme is working with a limited number of families with complex needs, with the aim of bringing about long-term positive change for ‘problem families’, for other members of the community and for government services.

The research focuses on and defines four concepts rarely brought together in extended discussion: place, leadership, innovation and social inclusion. This paves the way for the presentation of a model of three realms of place-based (or civic) leadership: political, managerial/professional, and community and business. Leadership in each realm stems from a different source of legitimacy and the areas of overlap between them emerge as critical to the public service innovation process. We describe these areas of overlap as innovation zones – areas in which people with different backgrounds and experiences can come together to engage in creative dialogue and foster breakthrough practice.

The research finds that radical public service innovation requires political change, not just managerial change. Political, managerial/professional and non-state (community and business) leaders all have a vital role to play. Civic leaders need to foster a culture of innovation, and collaboration across boundaries is key. The research suggests that leaders need to support and protect staff who are skilled at spanning these boundaries.

The study also suggests that place-based leaders who can demonstrate emotional commitment to the social inclusion agenda enable innovation to flourish, and encourage others to bring their own emotional energy to the task. Learning about innovation can also be supported through international exchange, enabling ‘taken for granted’ assumptions to be questioned and practical alternatives explored. Finally, the process of documenting these journeys of social discovery, by co-creating Innovation Stories, can enhance performance by providing insight and inspiration to share with others.
1 INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

Public service reform efforts in the UK and elsewhere are being forced to change gear in a dramatic way. Traditional ways of producing and providing public services are constantly under challenge, but there are two main reasons why many local authorities and other public agencies are now engaged in more radical approaches to innovation than previously.

First, as covered in the mass media, ‘the money has run out’. The international economic crisis and the perceived need for governments to make sharp reductions in public spending mean that the search is on for much more cost-effective ways of meeting societal needs. In truth, the money has not run out – public spending is not about to vanish. But, for all practical purposes, serious cuts in public spending and public services appear inevitable in the next few years.

The second, perhaps more significant, reason is that regardless of public budgets shrinking or expanding, the very way that public services are planned and delivered is now diagnosed as being part of the problem. The broad argument is that, alongside the many benefits they deliver, well-intentioned state-run services may end up being less successful than they could be because they tend to foster a culture of dependency. Recently popular in UK public policy circles, this view is spurred on by an increasingly active citizenry wanting more say about the nature and quality of public services.

From cutback management to co-creating solutions

A growing number of authorities are now adopting a more fundamental approach to public service reform. In an important sense these authorities are questioning the prevailing mantra of ‘doing more with less’. Indeed, this narrow approach to cutback management may be in danger of pushing public services in the wrong direction. A key theme emerging from this project is that local
leaders should instead be encouraged to develop ‘more with more’ thinking. This approach emphasises the importance of collaborative working in order to release the community and business energies of a locality. If public services can be co-created by state and civil society working together more creatively, it may be possible to expand the total resources available to improve quality of life in an area, even with state spending in decline.

A ‘more with more’ policy requires an imaginative conception of place-based leadership. This goes both beyond good organisational leadership and beyond good partnership working. It involves leaders, from inside and outside the state, working together in new ways to tackle processes of social exclusion by promoting radical public service innovation.

**A tri-city international comparison**

This report explores this relatively new direction for civic leadership, profiling the methods now being developed in three cities — Bristol and Swindon in the UK, and Enschede in The Netherlands. Chosen because of their engagement in radical innovations relating to social inclusion, the international approach also enables ‘taken for granted’ assumptions to be questioned.

Each city has worked closely with the research teams, and with each other, to co-create the ideas presented in the report.

**Figure 1: Location of the three cities**

![Location of the three cities](image)

**Table 1: Basic facts on the three cities**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Administrative and political status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>South West of England</td>
<td>441,300</td>
<td>Liberal Democrat-led unitary local authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enschede</td>
<td>Eastern Netherlands</td>
<td>156,100</td>
<td>A municipality in the Province of Overijssel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swindon</td>
<td>South West of England</td>
<td>201,800</td>
<td>Conservative-led unitary local authority</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Aims of this study

This report aims to make a practical contribution to current debates about the radical reform of public services to tackle social exclusion by examining the efforts of Bristol and Swindon in the UK, and Enschede in The Netherlands. In comparing these cities’ place-based leadership, the project addresses three questions:

• How can place-based or civic leadership contribute to public service innovation and social inclusion?
• What factors influence the effectiveness of civic leadership in different settings?
• What international lessons can be identified regarding the strengths and weaknesses of alternative approaches to the leadership of place-based innovation for advancing social inclusion?

Place, leadership, innovation, inclusion – making the connections

As well as documenting the way these cities have engaged in public service innovation, the project has also sought to advance conceptual thinking about public service reform. Although there is a substantial body of literature about each of the four main concepts used – place, leadership, innovation and social inclusion – it remains relatively rare for them to be brought together coherently. This may mean that new opportunities for public service reform are being overlooked.

Co-creating new knowledge

The case studies in the project illustrate the benefits of bringing different perspectives to bear on the problem of social exclusion. In each case, the processes followed have allowed the various actors to engage in creative dialogue, applying the idea of co-creation in practice.

First, the Innovation Stories were produced through close collaboration and dialogue between the researchers and those researched. Second, workshops facilitated intercity and international dialogue about emerging themes and ideas. Those involved could reflect on strengths and weaknesses of different practices, while the international dimension allowed insights into differences between approaches. Third, ‘knowledgeable outsiders’ participated in one of the workshops, allowing findings to be tested and new insights developed through interaction with perspectives from a range of central and local government organisations, research foundations and charities (see Appendix I).
This chapter introduces key concepts underpinning the analysis in the report, and outlines the way in which the research task was approached. The discussion introduces the notion of ‘engaged scholarship’, explains key terms and sets out the conceptual framework. As well as providing the intellectual underpinning for the study, we hope the ideas in this chapter might be of interest in themselves.  

Engaged scholarship and experiential learning

The relationship between the worlds of research and practice is sometimes distant. In action-research projects, however, these two worlds are brought into close proximity and, indeed, can overlap (see Figure 2). Co-creation of new knowledge is enabled where the worlds come together, and the two workshops that formed part of this project are located in this area of overlap. We refer to this interaction between research and practice as ‘engaged scholarship’.  

The experiential learning model developed for this project was based on work by Kolb. It involves four steps:

- observation and reflection – examining and reflecting on experience
- conceptualisation – advancing understanding by producing models, concepts and theories
• testing – practical experimentation in the real world
• concrete experience – doing something in the world and experiencing results

In line with the tenets of engaged scholarship, the research is a highly interactive process – a learning cycle – that unfolds through an iterative sequence of interlinked activities (see Figure 3).

Combining the notions of engaged scholarship and experiential learning generates the overall model for the discovery process that informed the project (see Figure 4).

This approach seeks to go beyond current notions of ‘knowledge exchange’ (KE) as currently practiced by many UK universities, which sometimes implies an ‘exchange’ between two parties (practice and academe) of knowledge and ideas held prior to meeting. In this new model the parties participate in a
shared process of ‘knowledge discovery’ (KD). In the context of this project, this means the creation of new knowledge relating to place-based leadership, public service innovation and social inclusion.

There is a substantial body of literature on the nature of knowledge, and many different kinds of typology have been developed. One helpful distinction is that between ‘explicit knowledge’ (sometimes described as formal, scientific or professional knowledge) and ‘tacit knowledge’ (knowledge stemming from personal and social experience which cannot be codified). Tacit knowledge is often neglected in public policy-making as it is difficult – even impossible – to convey in writing. This project has tried to develop new ways of conjoining insights derived from both types of knowledge base.

Key concepts — place, leadership, innovation and social inclusion

Four key terms are central to this study.

Place in public policy
The power of place is neglected in public policy-making. National governments tend to construct domestic policy around sectors — the economy, education, health, social care, housing, policing and so on. As a result, hugely influential central government departments — bolstered by associated policy communities, professions and vested interests — have come to dominate the way public policy is conceived, developed and implemented.

Periodically initiatives emanate from central government that appear to recognise the importance of place in public policy, such as the report by Sir Michael Lyons, which advocated a ‘place-shaping’ role for local governments. More recently, there have been efforts to develop a ‘Total Place’ — or ‘whole area’ — approach to public services. But these efforts have not had a major impact on public policy because the ‘silodriven’ approach, replicated to some extent by the disciplinary perspectives of the social sciences, is so deeply embedded. The Localism Act is intended to bolster the power of place in England, as is the rhetoric relating to the creation of a Big Society, but the legislation still contains a large number of centralising measures.

Leadership in public policy
The nature of leadership in public policy, as distinct from the private sector, is beginning to receive some welcome attention; radical change in public services
is unlikely to happen without bold, forward-looking leadership. However, two concerns may hinder the efforts of those wanting to improve the quality of public sector leadership.

First, theories relating to public leadership are not well developed, partly because scholarship in this area seems to lag behind the rapidly changing world of practice. For example, collaborative leadership skills are now critical to effective public leadership but there is limited literature about leading across boundaries.\(^9\)

Second, emotions have been neglected in leadership theory and practice (although there are exceptions, like the influential work by Daniel Goleman on ‘emotional intelligence’, which emphasises the importance of using the soft skills of leadership to enhance the quality of relationships).\(^10\) In an earlier work, one of the authors of this report defined leadership as: ‘shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals’.\(^11\) The Innovation Stories highlight the importance of making an emotional connection in order to achieve significant change.

**Innovation in public management**

Debates about how to spur innovation have started giving more attention to the role of local communities. The top-down model of central government, imposing an array of policy and performance targets on local authorities, is recognised as a force working against public service innovation.\(^12\)

The Whitehall Innovation Hub, established in 2008, has contributed new thinking to the public service innovation agenda. The director of the Hub recognised from the outset that leadership plays a critical nurturing role, eliminating disincentives and creating a culture which positively welcomes innovation.\(^13\) More recently, the Public Service Lab at NESTA has begun to document innovative practice in public services.\(^14\)

We define public service innovation as ‘creating a new approach to public service and putting it into practice’. This highlights our view that innovation involves not just coming up with a new idea, but also applying it.

**Social inclusion in public policy**

While the state has a responsibility to protect and improve the well-being of members of society experiencing poverty and marginalisation, governments have repeatedly failed to make a significant impact on many of the social and economic inequalities that drive social exclusion.\(^15\) Social exclusion arises when people encounter barriers to participation in normal social activities, and political and/or civic life; it can also be shaped by where people live.\(^16\)

In this study, we define social inclusion as ‘being able to participate fully in social activities, and/or to engage in political and civic life’. This definition suggests that plans to increase social inclusion need to empower people and work holistically to build capacities for participation in a range of arenas.

**Place-based leadership and public service innovation**

Civic leaders are found in the public, private and community/voluntary sectors, and operate at many geographical levels – from street-block to sub-region and beyond. It is helpful to distinguish three realms of place-based leadership reflecting different sources of legitimacy.

- Political leadership – the work of those people elected to leadership positions by the citizenry. These are, by definition, political leaders – such
as directly elected mayors, elected local councillors and members of parliament.

- Managerial/professional leadership – the work of public servants appointed by local authorities, central government and third sector organisations to plan and manage public services, and promote community well-being. These officers bring professional and managerial expertise to the tasks of local governance.
- Community and business leadership – the work of many civic-minded people who give their time and energy to local leadership activities in a variety of ways. These may be community activists, business leaders, voluntary sector leaders, religious leaders, higher education leaders and so on. Of particular importance in this study is the potential contribution of an independent and engaged voluntary and community sector.

We developed this framework in previous work and have used it in a variety of settings internationally. These various roles are important in developing the ‘more with more’ approach to public service reform, and are critical in cultivating and encouraging public service innovation. We describe the crucial areas of overlap between these different realms of leadership as ‘innovation zones’ (see Figure 5).

Within these zones the different perspectives brought together can enable active questioning of established methods. Although these areas of overlap can become conflict zones if divided by dispute and/or friction between various factions or perspectives, good leadership shapes the nature of the interactions in the innovation zones in a positive direction. The circles here are presented as dotted lines to emphasise the connectivity – or potential connectivity – across the realms of civic leadership.

This figure represents a drastic simplification of a more complex reality: it is not intended to show how the dynamics of local power struggles actually unfold. The relative power of the three realms varies by locality and shifts over time; the interactions across the realms are complex and there are many different interests operating within each realm.

**Figure 5: Realms of civic leadership**
Nevertheless, the notion of three different realms – with leadership stemming from different sources of legitimacy within each – provides a helpful way of framing discussion about civic leadership. Wise civic leadership is critical in ensuring that emotions and behaviour in settings of this kind – sometimes referred to as the ‘soft spaces’ of planning – are orchestrated in order to promote a culture of listening that can lead to innovation.

The Innovation Story approach

The Innovation Stories constructed in the research record the experiences of place-based leadership in each of the cities. They are termed Innovation Stories rather than ‘case studies’ because they represent an attempt to fuse scholarly analysis with practice-based wisdom, and to deploy story-telling in public policy analysis. This is a valuable approach to documenting experience that can provide inspiration as well as useful insights for public service leaders.

The template for each Innovation Story is:

- introduction and overview
- aims and objectives
- urban governance context
- unfolding the Innovation Story
- understanding the impact of the innovation
- explaining the role of leadership in the innovation process

The Innovation Stories and international dialogue

The Innovation Stories cover the following three topics:

- The Digital+Green City Initiative, Bristol – a key part of Bristol’s effort to position itself as a leading European example of a low-carbon, digitally connected city. The Innovation Story examines the emergence and development of the policy and focuses on how it is being applied to foster social inclusion in the Knowle West area of Bristol.
- The Social GP Programme, Enschede – this experimental programme in the Velve-Lindenhof area of the city aims to improve the life chances of residents of one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. Social GPs are working to empower citizens to improve their own life chances.
- The Swindon LIFE Programme – Swindon Borough Council and other local agencies (health, police and others) are working with Participle (a social enterprise) to develop a new approach to working with families with complex needs. The aim is bringing about long-term positive change for ‘problem families’, for other members of the community and for government services.

Draft Innovation Stories were presented at an initial workshop, following which further research was carried out to revise and develop them into authoritative accounts. A thematic, cross-national paper provided input to a second workshop, attended by participants from the three cities and a number of experienced ‘knowledgeable outsiders’ (see Appendix I).
3 THE DIGITAL+GREEN CITY INITIATIVE IN BRISTOL

In this chapter we describe the background to the development of the Digital+Green City Initiative in Bristol, look at its neighbourhood and citywide aspects, and offer some reflections on the leadership of this unusual approach to public service innovation.

Introduction and overview

Bristol is the wealthiest city outside London in terms of income per capita in the UK. Despite this, 39 of its 252 areas are among the 10 per cent most deprived in the country and 4 are in the most deprived 1 per cent. The Digital+Green City Initiative is a citywide effort to tackle issues relating to social and economic inclusion while furthering green objectives. The development process drew in people and ideas from across the city to contribute to Bristol’s bid to the UK Digital Challenge in 2007, and its bid to become European Green Capital in 2008. Today, the Initiative is central to the city’s policy of sustainable development, and feeds into Bristol’s sustainable city strategy – The Bristol 2020 Plan (published in November 2009).

Bristol and the other nine cities that reached the final ten in the UK Digital Challenge together lobbied the government to fund continuation of their work. This culminated in a national digital city network (DC10plus). Bristol’s particular focus within the network was to develop the use of ICT and digital media to help the city progress towards its climate change targets. The network which had contributed to the bid evolved into Connecting Bristol – an innovative plan to promote digital growth and inclusion in the city as a route to sustainability. The Digital+Green City Initiative strands draw together environmental and digital activists, businesses, social enterprises and public sector initiatives.

At the local level, a key partner is the Knowle West Media Centre (KWMC), a community-based centre specialising in applying digital and green ideas to issues relating to social inclusion, the arts and community well-being. It brings a bottom-up approach to the Digital+Green City Initiative, and has acted as
a test bed for new technologies such as ‘smart’ metering of home energy consumption. KWMC has also experimented with creative ways of engaging young people, in particular focusing on ICT and environmental issues. Through dialogue between these community partners and the city’s political and managerial leaders, innovative, practical policies on social inclusion and more sustainable lifestyles are being piloted and mainstreamed.

Aims and objectives

The Digital+Green City Initiative was set up to address Bristol’s reticence in raising its profile at the European level, as well as the city’s inequalities and social exclusion. It was designed to orchestrate the energies of a range of citywide community, business and public sector actors engaged in, and passionate about, environmental and digital issues and technologies. The networking style adopted by Connecting Bristol aimed to take the Initiative out of council premises and make use of more informal methods to reach a broad range of innovative people. The official appointed to lead this Initiative deliberately based himself at The Watershed, a media centre in central Bristol. This, coupled with his collaborative and engaging style of leadership, enabled him to form a broader range of relationships than would have been possible had the location been the Council House.

The Initiative consciously built connections between leaders in the different realms of leadership (see the place-based leadership model in Chapter 2) in order to link to and build on the city’s strengths at all levels. It also looked outwards to Europe for resources, knowledge and an emphasis on social inclusion. Connecting Bristol links businesses, social enterprises, community groups and public services, enabling them to work together to develop initiatives that promote green and digital innovation. It aims to pilot innovative ways of promoting sustainable lifestyles and social inclusion through grassroots projects with KWMC.

Urban governance context

Bristol is a unitary city authority, combining the powers and functions of non-metropolitan county and non-metropolitan district councils. These functions are housing, waste management, waste collection, council tax collection, education, libraries, social services, transport, planning, consumer protection, licensing, cemeteries and crematoria. The NHS and police are managed through separate public agencies, which come together for strategic planning purposes, together with business and community leaders, in the Bristol Partnership. Recent changes in national policy have shifted public health functions over to local authorities, and introduced Local Economic Partnerships for inter-sectoral and inter-municipal partnership working.

Bristol City Council has 70 councillors representing 35 wards. Councillors are elected for a four-year term and one-third of councillors contest seats each time an election is held, an arrangement that can create instability and uncertainty as the political colour of the council can change frequently. The Labour Party enjoyed a majority for many years, but since 2009 the council has been led by the Liberal Democrats, with a small majority between 2009 and 2011 but without a majority since elections in May 2011. The council is led by a political leader (leader of the majority party) and a chief executive. Bristol has a strong activist history; today, climate change and sustainability are
issues that generate a good deal of activism, as well as transport, education and social care.

**Unfolding the Innovation Story**

The digital and green themes are part of what the council leader describes as the city’s ‘history of inventiveness, imagination, creativity and intellectual energy’. Movements, pressure groups, community organisations and businesses have been active in both areas for some years.

In the political realm, two women have had a significant impact on Bristol’s city leadership in recent years. The Labour leader recognised the value of working with Europe, and encouraged the council’s bid for European Green Capital in 2008 because she saw it as an opportunity to ‘use the bid as a kind of catalyst for better networking, more joined-up projects and innovation’. During her time as leader of the council, she modelled an inclusive leadership style by prioritising meetings with community and voluntary sector organisations.

The Liberal Democrat leader, currently leader of the council, was a champion of digital inclusion in 2007, but the changing political make-up of the council has meant that she has had to tread carefully.

> When you’ve no overall control of the council, you’re steering a ship through very choppy waters, so you have to be very careful. If they [councillors] weren’t very enthusiastic it was better to steer round them rather than try to get people on board. You can end up having the opposite effect – that they do everything they can to stop you.

When the Liberal Democrats had an overall majority on the council in 2009, the leader was able to take a more robust lead in encouraging the council to embrace the Digital+Green City Initiative agenda. According to one senior officer:

> The catalyst has been the leader of the council, consciously pulling these [green and digital agendas] more firmly together, strategically, and saying that they are interrelated aspects of the city’s future that need to be planned together.

Part of the council leader’s skill has been her capacity to listen to the views of the innovative risk-takers among managers and community-based leaders, and to give them space to try out new ideas without stifling them with rules and bureaucracy. This is a defining feature of the political dimension of place-based leadership – that it can be creative, take risks, and recognise and encourage these qualities in others.

In the managerial/professional realm, the manager of the council’s digital programme has provided a style of leadership that embodies a fairly adventurous approach to public sector innovation. Now director of the newly created Futures Department, he has energy and vision, and the ability to inspire and mobilise people from diverse backgrounds. He established a new way of working in which the local authority operated in a facilitative way, rather than dominating. He is aware that he is a risk-taker, and that it is not something everyone is comfortable with:

> I think there are two sorts of people: people who like structure, they need certainty, to be able to understand in a verifiable way what they’re doing.
where they’re headed. There are people who relish and thrive on uncertainty. The leaders of things tend to be in the latter group, and they can hold the risk of not knowing the answer to things on behalf of other people. They can say, ‘We don’t really know, but know it’s sort of right, we’ll work it out, we know there’s a risk’. The people who feel resilient enough to hold on to that risk on other people’s behalf, they’re the champions of innovation.

In the community realm, the director of the KWMC stands out as a leader prepared to take risks, but also committed to a holistic, bottom-up approach to development. This brings a constant reality check to the other realms of leadership. What could green and digital citywide strategies look like for poor communities? How can digital technology have an environmental focus? Her strategy firmly links innovation to social inclusion. Her leadership focuses on the priorities and capacities of a particular place – Knowle West – but she engages with the other realms of leadership, and at other levels, on a regular basis. She is also able to hold together the strategic and the very local, and help them talk to each other. Through KWMC, local communities are connected to Bristol’s Digital+Green City Initiative agenda in ways that stimulate critical debate.

**Understanding the impact of the innovation**

The process of competing for the two bids brought together networks of individuals and organisations from across the city and from all sectors. The process fed into Bristol’s sustainable city strategy, adopted in November 2009 – *The Bristol 2020 Plan* – and influenced thinking that led to the creation of the Futures Department in the city council in March 2011. This department brings together economic development, environment and digital technologies for a strategic, European-facing plan for a sustainable city.

Aside from these strategic outcomes, the Digital+Green City Initiative process has also had impacts on the ground. KWMC pilots new forms of digital and green technology for households, supports local residents to develop creative new approaches to sustainability, and communicates learning through the Connecting Bristol network. Building on the success of the Knowle Community website, KWMC now offers training for activists from across the city’s Neighbourhood Partnerships to use accessible WordPress software to create their own community websites. Collaboration with other partners, such as the University of Bristol, has led to 500 free wireless hotspots being set up around the city, while 500 low-income households and residential care homes now have recycled computers and internet services.

**Explaining the role of leadership in the innovation process**

England’s local government system and the council’s organisational structures can act as barriers to innovation. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the significance of place is undervalued in policy-making and the silo-driven approach continues to predominate. In Bristol, as in local authorities across the country, areas of work are organised into departments. A community-based organisation or business may work across a range of themes simultaneously – for example, health, worklessness, digital inclusion, the arts, environment and sustainability – and see that all are connected, but when they engage with the local authority, each aspect requires them to talk to a different officer or department. The
Council is attempting to address this by creating an executive office team to provide support across departments and help build a strategic overview. Problems of departmentalism can be exacerbated by attitudes to risk. One interviewee felt that ‘a blame culture’ presented a major challenge to innovation if an initiative did not work out, politicians would look for someone to blame. In this context, managerial leaders wanting to support innovation find they need to ‘screen officers at the third and fourth tiers from attack’. This is not a good landscape for risk-taking, with one officer putting it this way: ‘We don’t have [many] risk-takers at senior level … maybe that’s OK. But I don’t want this next period to be about hunkering down, that’s not what’s going to deliver.’

The leadership of the Digital+Green City Initiative has gone some way to addressing these barriers. Key actors have facilitated shared ownership of the innovation process by creating open and neutral spaces for interaction between actors from different realms, spaces which are not perceived as dominated by the council. In this way, a managerial leader can play a powerful role, ‘holding the risk’ on behalf of others, but dispersing leadership to others. This facilitative approach is a kind of ‘leading from behind’, bringing many different actors to the table, recognising different kinds of knowledge, and enabling conversations and shared actions.

The Initiative has benefited from the council leader’s commitment to neighbourhood governance and the green and digital agendas, and her ability to listen to and empower other leaders to take these forward. The council’s chief executive has also played an important role in reshaping overall attitudes to innovation. She has invested in leadership training to encourage greater initiative among staff, and has taken on the challenge of restructuring the organisation to address the drawbacks of departmentalism. Also, key players in this Innovation Story have supported or enacted non-traditional, non-hierarchical leadership styles.

The Digital+Green City Initiative has strengths both at the strategic and at the grassroots levels. It promotes an asset-based model of development, with the understanding that the development of a city, a neighbourhood or an individual needs to build on local strengths and interests. This technique requires more dispersed leadership. A lesson from this Innovation Story is that leaders need to consciously create space for people with ideas to meet and ‘cross-fertilise’. Particularly important is bringing in people with energy and creativity who would not normally interact with the city council.

The story also points to the significance of competitions, national and international, in motivating new thinking and generating new resources to support innovation. In addition, external recognition by respected outsiders has given legitimacy to local innovators. Facilitated by leaders who believe that innovation comes about through bringing people together, the bidding processes themselves created space for new ideas and new relationships to form. As the chair of the Bristol Partnership commented, ‘You bring together people from different disciplines and they talk a different language – you find yourself thinking differently about something you’ve been wrestling with for weeks’.
In this chapter we describe the background to the development of the Social GP Programme, examine how the model works and offer some reflections on the leadership of this bold approach to public service innovation.

Introduction and overview

The city of Enschede and three local housing associations have initiated a ‘Neighbourhood Coach Project’ that is developing a new way of tackling problems of multiple deprivation. This approach – which is also known as the Social GP Programme – represents, in the Dutch context at least, a new model. In both The Netherlands and the UK, the medical GP is often the first point of contact for a patient requiring advice and assistance relating to their health. In simple terms, the GP draws on a wide general knowledge, and a variety of health service providers, to meet the needs of the patient. While the parallel is not exact, the general idea behind the Social GP model is the same. Neighbourhood coaches act as individual counsellors to people facing multiple or complex problems.

Like their British counterparts, Dutch central and local governments have been concerned about multiple deprivation for more than 20 years. It is recognised that social exclusion is a multifaceted phenomenon. Social and economic deprivations are, in many cases, associated with issues in other domains of life – for example, disadvantages in education or poor health. This accumulation of problems is most visible in the case of households that experience multiple problems. In The Netherlands, as elsewhere, policies aimed at improving the life chances of such households face three major challenges:
• Many of these households are served (or feel ‘raided’) by a small army of social professionals employed by numerous social and medical care organisations – an integrated approach is lacking.
• A minority of these households slip through the net and do not receive support at a point when emerging problems are in their early stages and preventive action could avert future crisis.
• The care provided by professionals can be highly paternalistic and tends to make clients dependent on professional support rather than empowering them to take decision-making about their lives into their own hands.

The Social GP Programme aims to address these three related challenges. In Enschede, some 25 institutional providers of specialised services agreed to grant the Social GPs informal decision-making powers across various spheres of life – health, housing, education, safety, welfare and/or employment – while retaining the formal decision-making authority themselves.

The Social GP model is being tried out in the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood, with the aim of improving the life chances of over 600 residents. The Social GPs pursue an outreach policy; through house calls they strive to make contact with all 600 residents. In this way it is hoped that it will not only be possible to provide a more integrated approach to multi-problem households, but also to reach households that may be experiencing problems that can be addressed by appropriate preventive action. The Enschede Innovation Story records an interesting mix of shared governance (by an alliance of administrative and community leaders) at the strategic level, and a form of frontline, street-level leadership by four neighbourhood coaches at the operational level. The programme started in 2009. The results of a midterm evaluation of this programme are promising, but are yet to be confirmed by the final evaluation.

Aims and objectives

The Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood is part of Enschede, a city of approximately 160,000 inhabitants in the east of The Netherlands. In 2007, the Dutch central government identified it as one of the 40 most deprived neighbourhoods in the country. The combined effects of social, economic and physical disadvantage harm the social climate in such neighbourhoods and have a negative impact on the individual life chances of the people living in them. In its Neighbourhood Policy Initiative, central government invited the municipalities and local partners (such as housing corporations) to develop joint plans of action to improve the conditions in these 40 neighbourhoods.

Launched in 2009, the new initiative aimed to shift the focus of policy away from a merely infrastructural methodology, in which the focus was one-sidedly on investments in the physical infrastructure (such as demolition and reconstruction or renovations of housing estates – investment in the physical quality of the neighbourhood) and the social infrastructure (aimed at improving neighbourhood facilities, social cohesion and public safety). Evaluations of these programmes have, invariably, shown that the results of these efforts have been disappointing in that they did not lead to a lasting improvement in the life chances of the residents of deprived urban neighbourhoods. Current policy, therefore, puts a stronger emphasis on improving the individual life chances of residents. Rather than expecting the benefits from infrastructural improvements to ‘trickle down’ to individuals, this approach adopts the view that the aggregation of individual-level improvements will ultimately result in
The Social GP Programme in Enschede

a better social climate for the neighbourhood. Thus, it focuses on both people and place.

In the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood, the Social GP model links this aspiration to an innovative model for the governance of service delivery. The essence of this model can be encapsulated by the slogan: ‘one professional, one plan of action, one system’. For each individual, one coach replaces a range of specialised frontline workers, unless specialist expertise is called for. The coaches act as individual counsellors to residents of the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood (one professional). Based on the ambitions and competences of these residents, the coaches determine, together with the residents, what should be done to solve their problems and start building a better future (one plan of action). Like medical GPs, the coaches try to meet clients’ needs directly, unless the complexity of the situation calls for the expertise of a specialist. In case of referral to ‘the second line’, the coaches continue to govern the implementation of the plan of action. Their central position in both the governance of the network of professionals and in the actual service delivery is designed to enable the coaches to work across professional, thematic and sectoral borders in an integrated manner (one system). Moreover, the approach takes the ambitions and competences of individual residents as a starting point and aims at empowering, rather than caring for, these individuals. In this way the reform empowers the Social GPs to empower residents.

Urban governance context

In Dutch municipal politics there are three functions: the mayor, the city council and the aldermen. The mayor is the independent chair of both the city council and the board of mayor and aldermen (BMA), and is appointed by the national government on the basis of a nomination by the council. The city council is the elected assembly and it appoints the aldermen. The aldermen and the city council have separate responsibilities: the BMA forms the executive board and the city council oversees the implementation of policy by the BMA. Peter den Oudsten (Social Democrat) has been Mayor of Enschede since 2005. The current BMA includes five aldermen: two from the Social Democrats, one from the Liberal Party, one from the Christian Democratic Party and one from a local party.

Municipalities form the lowest tier of government, below central and provincial government. They are responsible for education, housing, spatial planning and social security, within the bounds prescribed by the national and provincial governments. Financially, local government is heavily dependent on categorical grants (earmarked funds linked to national policy programmes) and general grants from the national government. The general grants, and some of the categorical grants, come with substantial spending autonomy, allowing municipalities to spend this money according to their own priorities. Local discretion is also high with regard to the use of local tax revenues, although these only account for a relatively small part of the total budget. The ability to raise local taxes is limited by national legislation.

A distinctive feature of Dutch decentralisation is that, in addition to territorial decentralisation to provinces and municipalities, the Dutch polity has often functionally decentralised the provision of many welfare state services to private organisations in the local community (such as housing associations and welfare organisations) that are subsidised, but not ruled, by local government. This fragmentation of the local community’s governance system at the strategic level can cause fragmentation of professional care for multi-problem households at the operational level.
In the past, the ‘governmental culture’ in Enschede was closed, but the last decade has seen it become open and participative. This reflects a wider trend in The Netherlands, where citizen participation is stimulated and facilitated by central and local governments. Enschede is considered to be in the vanguard of working according to the principle of ‘trust in the neighbourhood’. The municipality makes use of new, explorative ways to involve citizens – especially in their neighbourhoods – and supports them in quality-improving initiatives of their own. In 2007, the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood was identified by central government as one of 40 priority areas suffering from multiple deprivation that should receive special assistance and extra money towards improving social inclusion and liveability. To that end the city council, local partners and residents developed a master plan that includes various programmes and policy initiatives, of which the experimental Social GP Programme is the most innovative.

**Unfolding the Innovation Story**

The Social GP Programme builds on the experiences of two previous policy initiatives designed to tackle problems experienced by residents of the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood. The emphasis on outreach, aiming to detect emerging problems early on when preventive action is still possible, builds on a pilot where house calls were used as a strategy for neighbourhood regeneration. In 2006, a team comprising a police officer, a social worker and an employment officer made home visits in two streets of the Velve-Lindenhof neighbourhood to learn about households’ social problems and legal infringements. The residents were offered help and support to improve their life chances, and to persuade them to stop illegal activities and (petty) crime.

The Social GP model also builds on a scheme to improve the governance of service delivery. In 2004, the city of Enschede and 25 service providers and local government departments signed a covenant to collaborate in Neighbourhood Care teams whose aim was towards more integral, efficient and effective care provision, with a focus on multi-problem families. Members of the teams acted as case managers for these families to provide them with a single ‘point of access’. This was an improvement on previous practice, but did not change the silo-driven approach to decision-making; furthermore the 2004 system was not designed to serve a wider community, including those households experiencing problems without (yet) being labelled a multi-problem family.

The covenant partners decided to draw up an addendum to the covenant to include collaboration through a team of four neighbourhood coaches. At the strategic level it was agreed to endow all four coaches with informal decision-making powers across various spheres of activity, including the ability to use resources across organisational borders. They would draw up plans of action to be formalised by the back offices of the organisations bearing legal responsibility. The strategic leadership agreed that this back-office authorisation should be a mere formality so that the coaches would have real power ‘to do business’. In addition, it was agreed to assign at least one contact in each organisation to ensure smooth authorisation and implementation of the plans.

Substantively, the Social GP Programme builds on these two initiatives. From a governance perspective, the new initiative provides an interesting, innovative hybrid. On the strategic level it is based on shared governance: a coalition of 25 community and governmental organisations has voluntarily
agreed upon an integral approach to the social emancipation of residents and multi-problem households. In order to implement this methodology at the operational level, the four neighbourhood coaches were empowered to act decisively in pursuit of an integrated plan of action worked out in dialogue with their clients. The capacity to act decisively is characteristic of a lead organisation model, but in Enschede the coaches are not employed by a lead organisation (such as the municipality); instead they operate from different organisations: the housing association, the organisation for general social welfare and the municipal department of social security.

Although in a formal sense the model was based on an agreement between 25 organisations, informally a senior manager in Enschede’s Social Support Department took the lead. He wanted to move beyond the disjointed inter-organisational model of governance and dared everyone to move outside their ‘comfort zone’. Because of this bold, persuasive approach, he was widely respected. The national government, in its new Neighbourhood Policy Initiative, offered a window of opportunity for Enschede to push through its Social GP Programme. It was supported by the three housing associations with property in the neighbourhood, and a think tank – comprising innovation-minded officials from a variety of municipal departments and community organisations, as well as a number of independent experts – was established. The ideas developed in this group were then discussed and agreed upon in a meeting of the managers of the 25 organisations. Based on this agreement a plan of action was developed and the programme started in 2009. The fact that the costs of the new project would be funded by a special subsidy from the three local housing associations was crucial to acceptance of the plan by the participating organisations.

Understanding the impact of the innovation

A midterm process evaluation provides some preliminary insights on the impact of the innovation or, more accurately, some insights on what various organisational stakeholders consider the impact to be. The research team at the University of Twente asked professionals and managers from all participating organisations to assess the plans of action developed and implemented by the Social GPs according to a list of eight characteristics. These included measures such as responsiveness, flexibility, effectiveness, adaptability and so on. On the whole, the plans of action received high scores (mainly 3 or 4 on a scale of 1 to 4) from the participating organisations and the Social GPs alike.

The research team also asked respondents to compare the plans of action of the Social GPs with conventional plans of action developed and implemented elsewhere in Enschede. The findings reveal that the experimental approach was considered to produce better results across all of the criteria. Respondents were particularly positive about the flexibility and efficiency of the plans, and their capacity to provide for integrated and tailor-made service provision. As well as this midterm evaluation, the research team plans to include a study of the actual effect of the interventions on the individual life chances of residents, the effects on the social climate in the neighbourhood, and residents’ own evaluations of the programme.

To redress the governance problems typical of the conventional system of service provision, the experimental programme is ‘light on its feet’. This enables work processes to emerge in an organic way from the interactions of the Social GPs and the various service-providing professionals. The research
team asked the respondents to evaluate these work processes according to seven characteristics. The Social GPs tended to be somewhat less positive about work process improvements than the employees of the participating organisations, but, on the whole, all respondents gave the quality of the work processes moderately high to high scores.

Explaining the role of leadership in the innovation process

Normally, leadership is equated with the activities of formal leaders holding senior positions in their organisations. In this Innovation Story, however, an informal alliance of managerial and community leaders at the strategic level set the stage; it is doubtful whether a purely government-directed reform process would have been successful. Sharing the initiative with various professional organisations and introducing it to an influential and widely respected community organisation — The Velve-Lindenhof Community Council — was important in establishing the legitimacy of the programme. Moreover, the involvement from the outset of middle managers, frontline workers and external experts from various organisations in further developing the innovation’s strategy is also likely to have contributed to its successful adoption. The role of political leaders in Enschede was facilitatory (providing room for experimentation and support) rather than initiatory, and it is hard to see how the programme could have developed without this sort of political leadership.

For an adequate understanding of the Social GP Programme it is important, however, to recognise that the initiative combines its strategic leadership with a model of frontline or street-level leadership at the operational level. The four neighbourhood coaches are ‘empowered to empower’. These coaches — in close consultation with individual clients — are provided with the decision-making powers necessary to develop and implement integral plans of action across various spheres of life (health, housing, education, safety, welfare and/or employment) aimed at improving the life chances of their clients. They have the legitimacy and authority to span organisational boundaries.

So the Enschede project has developed an interesting and balanced mix of governance models. This hybrid model avoids the weaknesses of pure models of network governance (the lack of decisiveness that can accompany shared governance; the lack of support for the centralised models of lead organisations and network administrative organisations) and builds on the strengths of its components (shared governance legitimacy among the partnering organisations; the lead organisation’s capacity for decisive operational action).

At the operational level, the legitimacy of the new model was strengthened by careful selection of the Social GPs (experienced people from different, complementary backgrounds) and tactful operation of these frontline workers in relation to partnering organisations (collaborative rather than confrontational). These aspects have also contributed to the success of the experiment so far.

Although the final results of the evaluation of the pilot are not yet available, the political debate about the follow-up to this programme has proceeded and some important steps towards citywide implementation have already been taken. To run a highly visible pilot project (endorsed by national government), which is financed largely by a special subsidy and is superimposed on the existing network of professional welfare organisations (rather than replacing
the traditional system) in a single neighbourhood is one thing; to extend such a programme to the city level, in a context where additional funding is no longer available and where implementation of the new model will inevitably have consequences for the organisation and funding of professional welfare organisations, implies a whole new set of challenges.
5 THE LIFE PROGRAMME IN SWINDON

The Swindon LIFE Programme is an imaginative effort designed to co-create a new approach to working with families facing multiple difficulties. The acronym LIFE stands for ‘Lives for Individuals and Families to Enjoy’, itself pointing to the radical nature of the reform process that has been embarked upon. Instead of focusing on the ‘needs of the families’ – the traditional centre of attention in public service provision – the programme sets out to reframe thinking and practice.

Introduction and overview

At the heart of the initiative is the belief that new sets of relationships need to be developed between public services and families in chronic crisis, and that the main focus should be to develop capabilities of families, not just ‘meet needs’. This approach is based on a methodology developed by Participle, a social enterprise working to create new types of public services. It involves a dedicated team operating very closely with a small number of families to develop their capabilities to meet their aspirations.

The Swindon LIFE Programme, led by Swindon Borough Council working in partnership with a range of public service providers (including health, police and voluntary organisations) and families themselves, has attracted national attention. In 2010 Swindon was selected by central government to be one of 16 Community Budget pilots tasked with developing new ways of working with families with complex needs. In announcing this initiative, the Chancellor indicated that the selected localities ‘will pool departmental budgets for local public service partnerships to work together more effectively, help improve
outcomes, and reduce duplication and waste.\textsuperscript{27} The Community Budgets scheme is a direct descendent of the Total Place pilots developed by the previous government, which aimed to develop a people-centred approach to public service provision while also saving significant sums of money.\textsuperscript{28}

A unifying theme in both the Total Place and the Community Budgets schemes is the belief that a radical reshaping of public service provision is possible, and that pooling all public spending in a particular area and adopting a user-centred approach can enhance performance and save public money. In determining the governance and decision-making for a Community Budget, Swindon plans to build on the borough council’s and primary care trusts’ experiences of aligning and pooling money for commissioning and providing health, education and care services for local people. Aware that for pooled resources to succeed, partners need to be clear about outcomes and how to achieve them, Swindon’s work with families in chronic crisis has concentrated on establishing outcomes. A model of reaching 400 families will lead to partners identifying the resources to be brought together in a Community Budget. This process has been endorsed by the recently established ‘Troubled Families Unit’ in the Department for Communities and Local Government, which has challenged all English councils to establish a model of practice to reach families in chronic crisis by 2015.

**Aims and objectives**

The origins of the LIFE Programme can be traced back to 2008/09. Public service professionals in Swindon – from the borough council, the primary care trust, Wiltshire Constabulary, the probation service and the South West Strategic Health Authority – were becoming increasingly concerned about the relative ineffectiveness of public services in improving the lives of families with multiple problems. Despite the high level of spending – identified in some studies as being in the region of £250,000 per family per year – the families tended to have a long history of difficulties including domestic violence, anti-social behaviour, adults with mental illness, children taken into care, threats of eviction, unemployment and children not in education.

A key turning point occurred when, following various informal conversations with agency leaders, the strategic health authority and the borough council agreed to commission Participle, a social enterprise, to develop a different way of working with families experiencing multiple difficulties.\textsuperscript{29} The LIFE Programme methodology was co-developed by Participle and Swindon public agencies working with families, schools and staff.

In simple terms, the aim of the LIFE Programme is to improve outcomes for families by working with them in a different way in order to raise family self-esteem and capabilities, and to obtain better value for public money. From the early stages, close working with the families achieved ‘significant cost avoidance’ (for example, of a child being taken into care, or a young person going to prison).

The LIFE Programme also aims to inform a borough-wide process of reforming the way public services are delivered, an objective with a high level of political and managerial support. The borough council has a long history of joint working with the health service, and since 2008, joint management teams and integrated services have been in place for children’s and adults’ services. These institutional arrangements underpin a whole system approach, employing a ‘team around the child’ model for work with families.

The LIFE Programme has concentrated on a small number of families in its first two years – twelve up to this point – but plans to develop the model
to reach 350 families over time. The overall approach in the town aims to extend aspects of this way of working to other services, and to draw on it in developing a new operating model for the council, based on ensuring that commissioning, localities and delivery work together to achieve the best outcomes. A new programme, ‘Stronger Together’, is based on a set of relationships and behaviours focused around working with local communities. It requires participants to:

- be self-aware
- have integrity
- be collaborators
- have meaningful relationships
- be resilient
- have clarity of intention

The senior management teams have been appointed and the new organisational structure has been in place since April 2012.

**Urban governance context**

Swindon is a unitary local authority, combining the powers and functions of counties and districts found in areas retaining a two-tier system of local government. These functions are education, social services, housing, waste management, waste collection, council tax collection, libraries, transport, planning, economic development, consumer protection, licensing, cemeteries and crematoria. Public health is in the process of transferring into the local authority, while the NHS and police are managed through separate public agencies. These agencies come together for strategic planning purposes, together with business and community leaders, in the One Swindon Partnership.

Like most English local authorities, Swindon Borough Council has both a political leader (the leader of the dominant party) and a chief executive (the most senior officer). In Swindon, these individuals have formed a close working partnership that unites the political and managerial leadership of the council. Swindon Borough Council comprises 59 councillors representing 22 wards. They are elected in thirds (that is, one-third of councillors are up for election each time an election is held).

**Unfolding the Innovation Story**

Public service innovation has been introduced in Swindon at impressive speed. In the space of a few years, the reputation of the town has improved significantly within local government circles. A 2011 survey by *Local Government Chronicle* ranked Swindon first for ‘innovation’, and ranked the council leader and the chief executive thirteenth in a national listing of the most influential voices in the sector: they are seen as having ‘turned round a struggling council and innovated in the diverse fields of family policy and technology’.

The Director, Strategy and Commissioning, Children recalls the discussions on working with families in 2008: ‘That really was the start, as we had identified that there was a problem with the existing model. Participle said, ”Give us twelve of your most difficult families and we’ll spend time with them...”’.
Participle sent three people to live near the families and, after three months, they prepared a presentation for elected members and senior executives. Their findings showed that families felt isolated and that professional staff felt relatively powerless to create positive change. Servers and served were utterly frustrated. The service director remembers that ‘the presentation had an electrifying effect’.[1] Participle found that professionals were spending 74 per cent of their time on administration, 12 per cent on indirect work and only 14 per cent on face-to-face contact. This created a platform for new thinking in public service delivery.

The next step in the innovation process was a series of five workshops with around 150 staff from the organisations involved, including the voluntary sector. These workshops provided an opportunity to feed back what the families said about the services they were receiving, and also gave professionals the chance to offer their own views on how they were working.

The discussions facilitated by Participle led to the development of a new set of principles for the Swindon LIFE Programme:

- 80/20 working (professionals aiming to spend 80 per cent of their time on face-to-face working, 20 per cent indirectly)
- meeting people ‘where they are at’
- no agenda
- honesty and compassion
- opening up opportunities for change[2]

A multi-professional LIFE Programme team was created to develop the model by working with families. The local authority was successful in attracting a Think Family grant from the Whitehall Department for Children, Schools and Families, providing core funding for the period April 2009 to March 2011. Partner agencies agreed to second staff into the team of eleven (from health, housing, police, social services and so on).

The approach involves three key features:

- a team of people working in new ways – building purposeful relationships between families, workers and the community
- building capabilities for families and workers – to release new resources
- building local community capacity – social networks, skills and training opportunities, enterprise opportunities and peer-to-peer learning

This is a demanding model for all the members of the LIFE Programme team because preconceived notions of how to operate need to be set aside. The model involves the workers being selected by the families (not the other way round), being given no information about them, receiving training in ‘stripping off the system’ (i.e. preconceived patterns of working), and being expected to share some of themselves in their relationship-building with families.

Since April 2011, Swindon has been one of the national Community Budget pilots. The aim is to develop the LIFE Programme model from the present twelve families (55 individuals) to reach 350 families with the most complex needs by 2015. The team will develop as a ‘Centre of Excellence and Learning’, and be re-modelled to include social workers and psychologists to continue the practice development. Swindon aims to bring together the learning from the LIFE Programme and its experience of integration to develop a ‘team around the child and family’ for each family in chronic crisis. Families will select those workers with whom they have good working relationships, and build on the LIFE Programme way of working to maximise the possibility of change across the whole family, while always keeping children safe.
Understanding the impact of the innovation

At a strategic level, evidence suggests that Swindon’s approach to public service innovation is having a positive impact. There is national recognition for the inventiveness of what is being attempted, as shown by the designation of Swindon as a Community Budget pilot area and the ‘Children & Young People Now’ award going to the LIFE Programme team. The leader and chief executive are quick to downplay these achievements. Adopting a humble approach to civic leadership, they believe there is much more to do. Our interviews support this finding and suggest that modesty and integrity are values embedded in the organisation.

At an operational level, the LIFE Programme can provide evidence about the cost-effectiveness of its methodology. The team has gathered data about the costs associated with supporting the families in a fairly detailed way over a two-year period, along with evidence about the outcomes for families. A cost matrix maps the costs of service and activities against the various agencies that fund them. This covers 24 different council departments and agencies, and 70 different types of services/activities.

The matrix generates data on two categories of savings:

- direct cost savings – the decrease in actual costs incurred by a given family as compared with cost they were incurring six months prior to entering the programme (the ‘baseline cost’)
- cost avoidance savings – costs that would have been incurred if the family was not in the LIFE Programme (these costs require judgements to be made by the LIFE Programme team, and are limited to twelve months of projection)

The ten families assessed fall into three groups:

- three families in improved circumstances (generating savings of more than £100,000 per family per year)
- five families with stabilising situations (additional extra costs of £20,000 are balanced to some extent by cost avoidance figures)
- two families with limited immediate turnaround opportunities (these may cost £50,000 a year more due to unavoidable interventions such as care proceedings)

Two families had only recently joined the LIFE Programme and were not included in the financial assessment.

Explaining the role of leadership in the innovation process

This Innovation Story identifies a number of themes relating to the role of leadership. First, the senior political and managerial leaders of Swindon have been successful in setting a tone that expects innovation by encouraging ambitious forward thinking (seen in the work on the One Swindon Partnership), and by promoting an organisational climate that welcomes slightly ‘off the wall’ ideas. The chief executive spoke of the need for leaders and managers to be ‘comfortable about being uncomfortable’, resonating with a comment made in later discussions about leaders needing to be able to enter the ‘zone of uncomfortable debate’.
This approach to leadership is not just rhetorical; it is also modelled in the way the leaders actually behave. While it is difficult to pin down what this ‘innovation tone’ is and involves, initial impressions are that it places a high value on critical self-reflection, shows an interest in personal as well as professional development, and prizes risk-taking (and a willingness to embrace failure as a learning opportunity).

Second, leaders in Swindon have welcomed insights from knowledgeable outsiders. Participle, the social enterprise that helped co-create the LIFE Programme model, brought skill and energy to the innovation process and provided valuable, continuous support to organisational leaders as they took on the emotional costs of leading. Praise is also due to the public agencies in Swindon for employing Participle and pushing ahead with a radical plan, even when faced with opposition from some quarters.

Third, at various points in the story, different leaders have been entrepreneurial in seeking external funds to underpin the public service innovation agenda. The moves to bid for Think Family funding in 2008 were critical, and the recent efforts to gain support via the national Community Budgets programme have been important.

Fourth, institutional design can hinder or support innovation, and Swindon has made some positive strides. One example is the agreement made under Section 75 of the National Health Services Act 2006, which integrated staff and unified commissioning of services for children. This led to a fully integrated set of services for children and families, with 200 health staff transferred to the local authority. Adult services, too, now have fully integrated arrangements for commissioning. In October 2011, the town created a social enterprise for delivering health and social care services through quality of life. Jointly commissioned by the primary care trust and borough council, this provides integrated health and social care services for older people and people with disabilities/learning disabilities.

Fifth, it is clear that the leadership exercised by the LIFE Programme team themselves is critical to the initiative. On a daily basis, these public servants strive to break new ground in the way they provide support to families. The LIFE Programme model requires professionals to engage in a high level of self-examination and reflection as they go about their activities.

Finally, in terms of the three realms of place-based leadership – political, managerial/professional, and community and business – more councillors could participate in the future. Public service professionals and, to some extent, voluntary bodies have been the most active participants in the innovation process, together with the twelve families at the heart of the initiative. While political leadership has been provided by the council leader and the councillor who is lead member for Children and Adult Services, other councillors have not yet played a significant role and there is room to develop their involvement.
6 LEADING PUBLIC SERVICE INNOVATION TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL INCLUSION

In this chapter we identify the main crosscutting themes that have come out through this action-research project.

The orchestration of social discovery

The following text draws directly on discussions at the workshops. In Chapter 2 we defined leadership as ‘shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals’. The research herein confirms the usefulness of this definition in highlighting feelings as well as behaviour, and in stressing the importance of building commitment, even solidarity, around shared goals. Understanding the feelings people have, regardless of their position, and whether they are in or outside the state, is central to this analysis of civic leadership. The three Innovation Stories suggest that leadership is multi-level and that the key task of senior figures is, in effect, to orchestrate a process of social discovery.

The following sketch map simplifies this complex and highly interactive process (see Figure 6).

At the centre of this diagram is the core task of ‘leading public service innovation’. The map suggests that four other factors are also important: developing a co-creation ethos; redefining the nature of what it means to be a public servant; understanding ways of navigating the obstacles to innovation; and overcoming the challenges associated with building on innovation.

These five themes relating to place-based leadership and social inclusion are highly interrelated. The aim of separating them is not to offer a comprehensive treatment of each, but rather to identify useful insights for other leaders, reformers and activists to refine and develop in their own contexts.
The co-creation ethos

The first key theme is that effective innovation in public services needs to be firmly based in an ethos of collaboration. Going beyond mainstream ideas about co-production, which brings non-state partners together with the state to inform and deliver services, co-creation implies a process in which stakeholders in and outside the state come together to invent something new. To make a real difference, this commitment to co-creation needs to imbue the whole innovation process — from the earliest stages of conceptualising and planning a service, through to delivery, and forward to thinking about how to adapt it, improve it and share it with others.

Co-creation implies an assets-based approach. The initiatives in this study aim to tackle multiple deprivation and social exclusion by adopting policies that begin ‘where people are at’. An assets-based approach identifies and builds on capabilities and interests, and seeks to create opportunities for change. Thus, the Bristol Digital+Green City Initiative is co-constructing solutions to environmental and social issues by building on the city’s assets — its environmental businesses and third sector organisations, as well as many activists and entrepreneurs in the digital technology sector. The Swindon and Enschede initiatives focus explicitly on identifying and strengthening the ‘capabilities’ of families, who shape plans and activities directly.

Our research identifies three insights into how governments might respond to the challenge of pursuing an assets-based approach in their dealings with families and communities. First, asset-based co-creative approaches are built on values and principles of engagement. The Innovation Stories are underpinned by trust, authenticity (genuine commitment, personal motivation, passion and respect) and an ‘asset-oriented ethos’ (seeing people as a resource, not a problem).

The Swindon LIFE Programme manager explains, ‘We are asking people to have real relationships … having the difficult conversations with families’. This ethos requires workers to put their personal as well as their professional self into their work. The premise is that in order to help someone to change their life, you need to build genuine relationships of trust, and this requires giving something of yourself. Local authorities interested in radical innovation...
therefore need to think about how to support and communicate a values base in their work.

A second factor is timeliness, which is important in two ways. One is to be aware of the stage reached in the process of co-creation – when to nurture, when to step back, when to intervene, when to bring in other players. The other relates to the need to manage the tension between the slow pace required for working in ways that build trust and meaningful relationships, and the speed at which innovators want things to change.

A third factor is the need for leaders to recognise the assets within their own organisation – to spot talented people and help them to do what they do well. As the chief executive of Bristol City Council put it, ‘It’s about developing talent, and also recognising people’s skills. Who is already doing things? And then it’s about permission really … and putting them in the right position to do things.’

The notion of co-creation implies quite a deep change in mindset for those leading, managing and delivering public services. In line with long-established approaches to community development, it requires public servants to develop sophisticated listening skills and requires a much sharper focus on assets than tends to be the case in most service settings. A focus on assets also means working with a holistic and inclusive understanding of ‘place’, rather than a sectoral or departmentalized one. Senior leaders can play a crucial role by creating space for people to come together across sectors and departments, identifying innovative people and supporting them.

This focus also invites people working at the front line in public services to build ‘real’ relationships with clients and local communities. These ideas have implications for the way we think about public service.

The new public servant

The co-creation approach calls for new ways of working to stretch thinking about what modern public service might look like. Managers of the initiatives in our case study cities stress the importance of working differently.

The new ways of working being tried out in the three initiatives could be perceived as risky. Part of the risk involves engaging with service users as co-creators, reframing the relationship between professionals and residents from one of us/them and professional/problem to one of collaboration and mutual respect. Sharing information and decision-making with less powerful ‘partners’ means sharing power in real and meaningful ways. In Swindon, families choose which LIFE Programme team member they want to work with, standing usual practice on its head. In Knowle West, Bristol, residents actively debate who holds information about them, and are involved in learning new digital ways of gathering, storing and analysing data. The Social GPs in Enschede have been given informal decision-making powers across service areas, allowing them to work in a holistic way with individuals, empowering them to take actions for themselves. These cities are in the process of redefining what it means to be a public servant.

Managers at senior and middle levels have a key role in helping frontline staff develop new ways of working — building truly collaborative relationships with residents is easy to posit, but can be very challenging in practice. How can local managers encourage risk-taking among their teams? What steps can be taken to help frontline workers experiment in the work? Insights from the workshops have identified how it has been possible for public servants to transform the way in which they work with residents, especially troubled families with complex problems. The Innovation Stories share a strategy: the
traditional boundaries between disciplines, between sectors, and between public service professionals and residents are deliberately blurred so that relationships can be reconfigured.

In order to work in a boundary-spanning way, co-creative/collaborative leaders, managers and frontline workers need to give new emphasis to a particular set of skills and capabilities. These include personal resilience, emotional literacy, and the ability to take risks and ‘hold the risk on behalf of others’. The Swindon LIFE Programme now includes requisite behaviours in the job description for team members when recruiting, including qualities such as being authentic, building relationships and establishing trust. As a senior manager put it, ‘The focus is on the families, and the need to build relationships between the workers and the families first, before you can build the capabilities within families’.

Discussions at the workshops suggested important lessons to learn from the voluntary and community sectors, where there is often greater freedom to take risks. It follows that greater dialogue and connectivity should be encouraged between those working in and outside the state, to share insights and experiences.

The new ways of working also require frontline workers to function as teams rather than individual problem-solvers. The teams provide mutual support, and also checks and balances. Frontline workers are required to do without the safety and accountability of traditional models of top-down management. They are given greater discretion and are empowered to make decisions. A colleague from Swindon said, ‘It’s about people feeling professionally empowered to do their best’.

There is a tension between this greater power and the need for collaboration. Workers need the team to give them support, and to encourage them to bring in the skills and knowledge of others. Senior managers need to learn how to ‘let go of control’. As one workshop participant put it, ‘You should try to be true to the ethos of what you’re trying to achieve, but let people interpret it for themselves’.

**Leading public service innovation**

The core task lying at the heart of the sketch map (Figure 6) concerns what leaders should do to cultivate radical innovation and social inclusion at the same time. The Innovation Stories suggest that place-based political leadership is critical in setting a tone that welcomes public service innovation. Often neglected in the literature, local political leaders can play an influential role in shaping the emotions and behaviour of public servants and the wider community in ways that can foster social inclusion.

However, politicians are not the only important place-based leaders. As explained in Chapter 2, there are three important realms of civic leadership in any given locality. The innovation zones where the realms overlap (see Figure 5) suggest that political, managerial/professional, and community and business leaders can all help to promote a local culture of innovation. The Innovation Stories show that leaders from all three realms have played a role in welcoming innovation and demonstrated a willingness to take bold steps to bring about greater social inclusion in their cities.

Key elements of an effective approach to leading public service innovation are summarised below (see Figure 7). By introducing concepts and setting out a simple three-step model, we hope to assist practitioners in a process of sense-making that may prompt new ways of thinking about how to lead public service innovation.
Figure 7: Leading public service innovation

Aim

Shaping emotions and behaviour to create inclusive places

Elements

- Creating space for innovation
- Getting the right people in the space
- Demonstrating emotional commitment
- Modelling appropriate behaviour

Outcome

Collaborative approaches to social inclusion
The model starts with a clear aim. Earlier we introduced the definition of leadership as: ‘shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals’. In this research we have developed this idea, and define the aim of civic leadership designed to advance social inclusion as: ‘shaping emotions and behaviour to create inclusive places’.

The desired outcome is: ‘collaborative approaches to social inclusion’ (see Figure 7). Each city evaluates its own performance against many more specific criteria, but this broad desired outcome allows us to discuss some important aspects of leadership. Four core elements of leadership emerge: two relate to ‘what’ leaders do, and two to ‘how’ they do it.

What do leaders do to promote innovation?

- They create new spaces, or settings, for people from different backgrounds to come together and learn from each other.
- They get the right people into the spaces they have created.

How do leaders promote innovation?

- They model ways of working that encourage openness and courageous behaviour, and they help others overcome their fear of change or failure.
- They show their own personal commitment and are aware of others’ emotions.

These four elements are set out as separate strands, but in practice a leader may take action that, in any one moment, is delivering on several of these elements at once.

Creating space for innovation

Creating space for connectivity and exchange has emerged as key to changing how people work together. Bringing people together to talk may do more to bring about change in the organisation than investing in building individual capacities. This maps directly on to the helpfulness of creating innovation zones where people can meet, talk, listen and inspire each other – and where interactions can spark new ideas to be developed into plans that work.

The Innovation Stories provide examples of good use of innovation zones. These might be one-off events, such as Bristol holding a public meeting in a theatre, or they might be more lasting, like the LIFE Programme team meetings in Swindon where new ideas and approaches are discussed with partners from Participle – the social enterprise supporting the initiative.

Getting the right people in the space

It is one thing to create a space for innovative thinking and practice, and another to get the right people involved. Senior political and managerial leaders will often need to protect the space against the demands of short-term financial imperatives and political pressures. Innovation therefore needs support from the top of the organisation (such as the political leaders and chief executives of Bristol and Swindon, or the relevant aldermen and directors of Social Support/Community Development, Care and Welfare in Enschede). These ‘champions at the top’ can persuade people to get involved and cajole organisations to work together.

Senior leaders need to be able to identify latent talent and to empower emerging leaders who they recognise as having strong collaborative skills, giving them permission to take initiative, explore and experiment. These people are the boundary-spanners who can work between organisations, between levels of an organisation and between sectors.
levels of an organisation and between sectors. Leaders with these skills need to be cultivated in all three realms of civic leadership, including outside the state. The Bristol story illustrates excellent boundary-spanning by the director of the KWMC, who is well aware that the work involved, in her words, is ‘… building a bridge from the very local to the citywide’.

One practical method place-based leaders can use to get ‘the right people’ into the innovation zones is to make these spaces easily accessible. Our Innovation Stories provide creative examples. In Bristol, public meetings were held at a performing arts venue, offices were relocated into a non-profit media centre, and the initiative was given appeal through events and a website attracting people from different sectors. Another approach is through careful recruitment. In Swindon, new job descriptions emphasise emotional literacy and resilience, allowing ‘the right people’ to be recruited into the team. A similar process takes place in Enschede in relation to recruiting Social GPs.

Demonstrating emotional commitment
Innovation in public services often requires swimming hard against the prevailing current or culture. This can be demanding; the effective leadership of public service innovation requires a strong emotional commitment. Leaders must believe that change is necessary, and manage other people’s fear of change or failure. Departmental colleagues may be most resistant to change. As a Dutch workshop participant put it, ‘They sometimes feel threatened that their way of working is not valued. They may even see it as, “This new model is good, you are rubbish.”’ Leaders of innovation must have resilience, and this requires belief in what they are doing.

Leadership of public service innovation is more likely to be successful – particularly as regards fundamental rethinking of roles and relationships – when leaders adopt a transformational, rather than a transactional, approach. This means exhibiting a kind of behaviour that engages with people’s emotions, passions, enthusiasms and fears, rather than leading through the logic of incentives and bartering. The Innovation Stories we have reported suggest that, in line with the argument presented by Paul Hoggett, the way that people feel is critical, and radical innovation involves making an emotional connection.34

Modelling appropriate behaviour
Leaders signal through their own behaviour the ethos they want for their organisation. For an organisation to embrace innovation, leaders at all levels must set the tone by taking some risks themselves. In Swindon’s LIFE Programme, one leader explained, ‘The managers also have a face-to-face workload with families, and that means they show their vulnerability and openness to taking risks. They are role-modelling their leadership skills.’

In particular, they will be role-modelling the leadership skills of boundary-crossing, building bridges between different groups with something to contribute to a shared ‘place’. For senior leaders, this means getting out of their office, organisation and comfort zone. At one workshop, the managing director of the Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE) indicated that chief executives at a summit in 2011 felt that they should ideally be spending half of their working day talking to people outside their own organisation. This resonates with the evidence from our research: leaders who are concerned with the future of their locality – at whatever scale – need to be connected with others, know what actors in other realms are thinking and doing, and bring different interests together.

Leaders therefore need regularly to work through the ‘zone of uncomfortable debate’, an idea introduced to SOLACE by the director of
Leading public service innovation to achieve social inclusion

the Cranfield Business Leaders Programme.35 This refers to an unspoken process that prevents people from questioning current practices too closely, and is useful and relevant to the concept of the ‘innovation zone’ introduced in Chapter 2, which can become ‘conflict zones’ with competing interests fighting for ascendancy. Wise civic leadership ensures that conversations are orchestrated in a way that promotes a culture of listening and exchange. Civic leaders need to be adept at recognising the zones of uncomfortable debate, and at encouraging staff and colleagues to move in and out of them.

Leaders play a key strategic role in connecting people, providing vision and a shared understanding, and giving a holistic overview of the problem and its possible solutions. However, leaders also need to demonstrate self-awareness and understanding of the innovation process and their role in it. A Dutch public sector manager explained, ‘Now may be my moment to lead, or to share the leadership, but I need to ask myself at each stage: “Am I the right leader for this phase?”’

There also needs to be awareness about the process, and which style of leadership is most likely to bear fruit at a particular stage. Sometimes a leader’s style will need to be more directive, sometimes they will need to be adept at networking. Not all leaders will feel comfortable with both styles, and public sector managers in particular may be unaccustomed to building a personal connection with other actors. Training can help to build people’s confidence and enable them to be more effective at boundary-spanning. A Bristol public sector manager observed, ‘For many people working in the public sector, networking isn’t in their skill set or comfort zone, and they want training, which is fair enough’.

Navigating the obstacles

Both workshops discussed risk in the context of leadership, innovation and social inclusion. One participant felt that ‘risk’ is a term best avoided if you want to encourage people in the public sector to innovate. Another argued that it is an issue, real or perceived, that needs to be addressed. And another observed that if you set out to avoid risk, you may miss opportunities as much as guard against making mistakes; carrying on doing the same thing may be more risky than trying something new.

Where there are risks, there can also be strategies to manage them. The literature on public sector innovation identifies a number of constraints on innovation.36 Our research suggests that these obstacles can be largely understood as different forms of fear arising from perceptions of risk:

- fear of failure – of what happens if things go ‘wrong’
- fear of departing from the norm – ‘best practice’ can discourage fresh thinking
- fear of freedom – becoming too dependent on rules and procedures, and losing confidence in your own judgement
- fear of the new – of not being able to cope in this situation
- fear of friction with colleagues – that not everyone else is ‘up for this’
- fear of ‘the other’ – being used to working with colleagues like oneself (such as other local authority professionals)

Our research confirms that those charged with leading public service innovation are likely to encounter fears of this kind, while also identifying strategies that can manage or navigate these fears.

‘Now may be my moment to lead, or to share the leadership, but I need to ask myself at each stage: “Am I the right leader for this phase?”’
One way to navigate fear of risk is to try out innovative ideas below the radar. New initiatives are often heralded as breaking new ground and thus tend to be under the spotlight from the outset. They may attract the attention of the media or vested interests who find the innovation unsettling. In responding to these concerns, institutional leaders may slow everything down so much that innovators give up or move elsewhere. If local politicians and public sector managers are to be more agile, they may need to get on with testing out a new idea quietly without waiting for permission. Taking modest steps rather than making bold claims is a feature of the style of leadership encountered in the case study cities.

A different leadership strategy is to identify and hold the risk on behalf of others. This means empowering, training and supporting staff to make decisions and take risks and, as one respondent put it, ‘You have to be comfortable in not knowing what the answer is’. This is important for the public sector, which tends to be risk averse and dominated by the ‘expert professional’ culture. In the private sector, it is more widely accepted that to innovate you need to take risks and expect sometimes to fail. Public service leaders need to insulate the innovators from potential attack – from vested interests, the media and so on – to give an innovation time to develop and take root, or to fail and start afresh. Leadership is therefore about giving people the encouragement to experiment along with permission to fail.

Perhaps the most interesting driver to emerge from our research is the need to focus on connectivity, a theme that runs throughout this report. How can leaders ensure that staff become more connected to people outside their traditional comfort zone? In Bristol, the director of the Futures Department has worked hard to make the local authority more ‘porous’ and to open up a variety of channels of communication with contacts outside the organisation. In his new department, he has suggested that staff should be out of the office working with other stakeholders for half of the time:

So I've taken half the desks away ... I've introduced places where people can meet together ... and provided desks where people from outside the organisation can come and work ... Interrelationships are important and innovation comes from putting yourself at the centre of lots of different conversations.

This connectivity also needs to be inclusive, working beyond the ‘easy’ partnerships that operate on an institution-to-institution basis and cut out smaller organisations. Leadership needs to create opportunities for connectivity between a broad range of organisations, big and small, from different sectors.

Building on innovation

In the case study cities, leaders are looking towards influencing ‘wider system change’ in the light of the initiatives articulated in the Innovation Stories. Our experience of working with them suggests that the language currently being used in debates about ‘spreading’ public service innovation is seriously flawed. It is commonplace to hear talk of ‘scaling up’, ‘rolling out’ or ‘replicating’ an innovation. These ideas fail to recognise that public service innovation is essentially a process of social discovery. The initiatives described were not imported from elsewhere as ‘best practice’, which the workshop discussions
Leading public service innovation to achieve social inclusion

suggested is not a helpful term in relation to innovation processes. Successful innovation cannot be copied, nor can it be ‘rolled out’. How, then, can the learning be shared?

Three suggestions emerge about how to build momentum for public service innovation.

**Connectivity across ‘place’**

This research suggests that one way to build on innovation is to establish stronger connections between local (or neighbourhood) leaders and citywide/strategic leaders. The role of the boundary-spanner who can make wise links between the strategic vision and local assets becomes critical. In Bristol, the Futures director sees ‘... a line from the strategic to the community level, a vertical alignment of the green and digital themes — this is the real innovation’. The director of the KWMC also stresses the importance of this link, but starts from the experiences of local residents:

> Green and digital are strategic priorities of the city, but in Knowle West they came out of the interests and energy of the community, not because the council thought it was a good idea. It’s about supporting the skills and assets of the community.

Both leaders are making connections by working outwards from their own organisational base. And they themselves meet and connect. A workshop participant voiced the same idea:

> The indicator for policy-makers in the future is going to be about what’s the degree of connection between what comes from local energy (however it expresses itself and whatever it is driven by) and the capacity at the system level to work with the grain of it.

Participants also saw potential for developing these ideas in the context of the localism agenda now being pursued in the UK, although concern was expressed that the Localism Bill (now Act) did not go far enough in enhancing the power of place-based leaders to do things differently.

This discussion of connectivity and developing more porous organisations leads us to revisit one of our diagrams. If connectivity is so important, areas of overlap between the three realms of civic leadership should be expanded (see Figure 8, a modified version of Figure 5). The realms of civic leadership remain the same, but the innovation zones are now considerably larger. This may point to a desirable direction of travel for place-based leaders.

**Learning from failure**

A recurring point at the workshops was that attitudes to failure must change. Public service leaders need to accept, and learn from, failure. In this context, a distinction was made between ‘prototypes’ and ‘pilots’. Although this distinction was contested by some, others felt that a prototype is expected to change, fail and be reinvented: it exists in order to put ideas into practice, allowing for adjustments to be made when notion and reality do not fit together. A pilot, on the other hand, implies the existence of an idea that is to be tested out before being applied at a larger scale.
The more important point is that failing provides opportunities for learning and development. One senior manager reflected:

"I think in terms of personal learning, I’ve had people who have allowed me to do things and make mistakes – if you don’t make any mistakes in your career you don’t learn anything. And that can be a bit scary. It’s a white knuckle ride, and how do you allow other people to go off on those journeys in a relatively safe way? Of course people are going to get things wrong and there are going to be criticisms. But if you don’t do that, then actually you’re not going to get the right kind of answers. It’s about how you manage the risk."

It is difficult for politicians to advocate risky behaviour and to admit that some of their initiatives have failed. However, the language of experiment, prototyping and learning through doing could all feature more boldly in political discourse about public service innovation.

**Inspiring wider change**

If the criticisms of adopting ‘best practice’, ‘rolling out’ pilots or ‘scaling up’ initiatives are correct, what can leaders do to take forward an innovation from its incubation stage? One good way is to share experiences – not as recipe for action elsewhere, but to encourage others to experiment, collaborate, and identify and build on their own assets.

The ‘emotional commitment’ identified as a key aspect of leadership for innovation is also important if innovative practices are to have an impact more widely. People need to feel an emotional connection if they are to take risks of their own and move away from the practices they have invested in and become used to. One senior manager put it this way: ‘People need to buy into it [the innovation] – this feels like the biggest barrier to get innovation sharing across a wider group, when people have invested in something different.’

One way to get ‘buy-in’ is by demonstration. Enschede is in the process of expanding the Social GP Programme from four neighbourhood coaches to fifty. The 26 statutory and non-statutory organisations in the locality are
now committed, and willing to share the risk. As one respondent put it, ‘They are telling us: “Go with it, we’ll take the risk and then if there is a problem we’ll address it”’.

Our research suggests that building on innovation is less to do with replicating across the local authority area, and more to do with spreading a ‘spirit’ or ‘ethos’ of innovation. In this way, the Innovation Story approach can be used to inform a wider organisation. A senior manager in Swindon explained that: ‘This is about whole organisational change in the council ... about developing a new structure based on the LIFE fundamentals and LIFE values’.

Another lesson is that innovation needs to spread organically, promoting a gradual process of learning, adaptation and change, rather than imposing a ‘big bang’ intervention. The advice from research participants is: ‘start small and keep trying and testing’. This is challenging for the public sector, which tends to prefer ‘big projects’ which lend themselves to ‘big announcements’ and ‘big claims’. Such projects can become too big to fail, even if they are not delivering hoped-for improvements. In contrast, the private sector tends to prototype and test on a small scale, and is ruthless when things don’t work.
This chapter highlights the key lessons for policy and practice that emerge from the research. It revisits the aims of the research project, draws out some general observations and spotlights key findings.

**General observations and insights**

As explained in Chapter 1, this research project set out to make a practical contribution to current debates about the radical reform of public services. By comparing and contrasting place-based leadership efforts in three cities, the project attempts to answer three questions:

- How can place-based or civic leadership contribute to public service innovation and social inclusion?
- What factors influence the effectiveness of civic leadership in different settings?
- What international lessons can be identified regarding the strengths and weaknesses of alternative approaches to the leadership of place-based innovation to advance social inclusion?

Before drawing out specific lessons, we outline three important general insights.

**Expand place-based power**

First, the research suggests that the role of place-based leadership should be given a major boost. This has implications for all levels of government, particularly central government, which could do far more to expand the political power of local governments. Introducing place-based budgets would represent a radical move away from centralised silo-driven decision-making.

Bold moves in this direction would enable place-based leaders to be more creative in tackling the problems of social exclusion, which require both an integrated response and a range of preventative measures. Moreover, an expansion of place-based power would energise the asset-based, or 'more with more', approach which, as explained in Chapter 1, involves pooling the
resources of the state and civil society so that the total resources available to improve local quality of life can rise, even with shrinking state spending.

**Embed co-creation and social discovery in public service reform**
Second, it helps to view radical public service innovation as a process of social discovery. This contrasts with the commonplace view, evident in management textbooks, where innovation is seen to involve finding new ways of doing things and exporting these newly discovered techniques to other parts of the public (or private) sector. While there is a role for managerial innovation of this kind, the Innovation Stories suggest that radical change involves deeper shifts in thinking and practice. This research highlights a need for fundamental questioning of the role and purpose of public services, through processes of co-creation, this questioning can underpin important breakthroughs in practice.

**Strengthen the role of universities in place-based leadership**
In Chapter 2 we introduced the notion of ‘engaged scholarship’, whereby academics and practitioners co-create new solutions by drawing on both tacit and explicit knowledge. Although many universities are now more actively engaged in local policy analysis and collaborative problem-solving in their local communities than previously, there is still scope for improvement.

Universities have substantial intellectual and practical resources that could be used to greater effect, both in tackling social exclusion, and in relation to public problem-solving in general. The notion of engaged scholarship suggests that significant advances in theory and scholarly understanding can stem from action-research projects of the kind outlined in this report.

**Lessons and pointers**
Several specific lessons for policy and practice emerge from this study.

**Imaginative political leadership of ‘place’ is crucial for public service innovation**
Our analysis suggests that major changes require political shifts, not merely managerial change, and political leaders are uniquely placed to drive public service innovation because of their position, profile and legitimacy. Key ways in which they can support innovation are:

- claiming local political space from the central state to create the opportunities for radical innovation
- leading the ‘place’, not just the local authority, and caring for all residents, including those least able to help themselves
- setting an innovation-friendly tone and empowering collaborative leaders within their own workforce – giving permission to experiment
- managing tensions between the democratic and service-provider functions of the local authority
- explaining the value of the innovations to other stakeholders (such as central government)
- cultivating multi-level place-based leadership (supporting councillors as ward-based or neighbourhood leaders, as well as exercising leadership of the whole locality)

Although many universities are now more actively engaged in local policy analysis and collaborative problem-solving in their local communities than previously, there is still room for improvement.
Understand the realms of place-based leadership

However, political leaders are not the sole orchestrators of innovation in public services. Leadership is multi-level and multi-sector, and chief executives, senior managers and team managers are also important place-based leaders, as are non-state leaders who demonstrate a commitment to enhancing local quality of life.

- Civic leaders are not just the politicians ‘at the top’.
- It is helpful to envisage three realms of civic leadership (political, managerial/professional, and community and business) in any given locality (at the level of a ward or neighbourhood, or at the level of town or city), and leaders from all three have an important contribution to make.
- Civic leadership is multi-realm and multi-level. Civic leaders are place-based leaders who contribute to the public good in their locality. Managers should be seen as civic leaders, not just managers.
- Community activists and voluntary sector professionals should be recognised and valued as civic leaders.
- Ward councillors should be seen as civic leaders, and could potentially play a much more significant role in promoting public sector innovation and social inclusion.
- Frontline workers are civic leaders, and are constantly negotiating the boundary between public/private and professional/personal.

This research confirms the potential for innovation in the areas of overlap between different realms – the ‘innovation zones’. However, power relations shape the nature of the political space in these zones and vested interests may limit their creative potential. As we observed in Chapter 2, the realms are not equal, with public sector political and managerial leadership figures often dominating.

Public sector leaders can usefully open up their organisations and teams to the ideas and challenges of voluntary, business and community-based leaders. It is important, but not enough, to create the space – it is sustained interaction and collaboration between people with different backgrounds that can bring about long-term change. A key task for civic leaders is to develop connectivity across the boundaries between the public/private, professional/personal, local/strategic, and other departmental and disciplinary divides.

Emotional engagement

A striking finding from this project concerns the importance of emotions in the innovation process. How people feel about efforts to change public services matters enormously, yet this emotional dimension is often neglected in current debates about innovation. We have described leadership that is designed to advance social inclusion as ‘shaping emotions and behaviour to create inclusive places’. The Innovation Stories reveal useful hints for civic leaders at all levels:

- Recognise the assets that people can bring (as well as acknowledging their needs).
- Make, and inspire, an emotional connection with the innovation process as it engages with people’s hopes and passions.
- Recognise people’s fears and offer support.
- Work with people to build their confidence to try things out and take personal responsibility, and empower them to become civic leaders themselves. This is critical when the objective is social inclusion.
Lessons for policy and practice

Working with the civic leaders in the case study cities suggests that a key strength they bring to the innovation agenda is an advanced level of emotional literacy.

**Fostering a culture of innovation**

The importance of creating and embedding a culture of innovation in organisational behaviour is critical. On one level, this involves leaders demonstrating how to work collaboratively, by modelling appropriate behaviour, and setting appropriate criteria for performance assessment that encourage innovation and collaboration. On another level, place-based leaders foster a culture of positive response to questions like: ‘Can I do this? Is it possible?’ They give permission, even encouragement, to take risks and create an environment where people feel able to try out new ideas – in teams, or in wider collaborative settings.

A key task is to manage the fear of failure. While it is important to communicate confidence that an experiment is going to work, it is also crucial to accept that an innovation might fail. Through failing, we learn, and this can inform the next ‘prototype’ in the innovation process.

Collaborative working is an important way to encourage risk-taking, particularly in the public sector, by reducing the pressure on individuals. Developing a team approach is critical, strength comes from sharing multiple sources of skill, knowledge and experience, and it can give people greater confidence to take risks. This was evident in Swindon and Enschede, where multi-disciplinary teams working with troubled families reduce the pressure on individual workers, provide triangulation of assessments and reduce the risk of unintended collusion with families.

**Catalysts for innovation**

What are the triggers that turn an idea into an innovation? Practical lessons emerging in this regard are to:

- identify and value experienced outsiders as a source of fresh thinking (for example, the contribution of a social enterprise to innovation in Swindon)
- spot external drivers that can create momentum (such as the EU Green Capital competition in Bristol)
- create and protect innovation zones where people with different experiences and backgrounds can learn from each other and invent new ways of doing things
- identify and support boundary-spanners, imaginative leaders from any realm or level who are especially skilled at connecting people and organisations (such as the director of the KWMC)
- create new cross-cutting roles and empower those individuals to take decisions on behalf of several organisations (for example, the Social GPs in Enschede)
- foster connectivity between people, organisations, neighbourhoods and levels (like the Futures Department in Bristol)
- create settings that bring top-down and bottom-up place-based leaders together to fit the pieces of the jigsaw together, each contributing their own perspective and knowledge

Working in these ways lets innovation build on the assets, needs and energies of the ‘place’, while ensuring the inclusion of less privileged social and economic groups. The process of social discovery should start ‘where the change needs to happen’, with political commitment from the top and with
the dedication and passion of managers and professionals who can act as boundary-crossers and change agents.

As public sector budgets shrink, it is more difficult – but more urgent – to find support for trying new ways of working. Public sector organisations are less open to committing resources to partnerships, and where government is seeking to commission work, they are looking for economies of scale and low-risk strategies. This is problematic for smaller, more experimental organisations, but without investment in them, the creative assets and energies they hold will remain at a very local level.

The value of international exchange

This research process brought together university researchers and civic leaders from three cities in two countries to share knowledge, experience and ideas, and to co-create new knowledge. What has been the added value of the international dimension?

The project allowed the insights coming from one city to be examined and debated by practitioners and academics from all three, hence the learning points offered have been internationally verified. In line with the experiential learning cycle described in Chapter 2, the research has enabled thorough testing of concepts and assertions. In face-to-face encounters, the research has established that what is experienced as meaningful in one context, and in one country, is also meaningful in another, allowing for wider claims about civic leadership and its role in promoting innovation and social inclusion.

In international exchange, it is important to be clear about what you do and what you do not know. A carefully planned international workshop can sharpen thinking as well as being a useful jargon buster. Participants will ask questions about processes, assumptions and models of behaviour, and by doing so can help others to question established ways of thinking and working. The ‘why’ question gains legitimacy: Why do you do it like that? Why don’t you work more closely with the voluntary sector? Why do councillors not play a bigger role? Why is central government involved in micromanaging what you do?

Each city has provided practical inspiration to the other cities. The Social GP Programme (Enschede), the LIFE Programme (Swindon) and the Digital+Green City Initiative (Bristol) all illustrate different aspects of inspirational civic leadership, and by joining in an international exchange they have extended their reach.

Swindon is considering adopting the name ‘LIFE Coach’ for LIFE Programme team members. In part, this idea came from discussions with Enschede, and was then reinforced through work on developing coaching skills. A whole-system approach is being developed with the role of a single lead worker, based on learning and thinking from the Enschede model, and they are keen to develop Enschede’s idea of contacting all of the people in a neighbourhood by going door-to-door.

Bristol noted that the workshops allowed people who would not usually be in contact to come together in an environment for open discussion and exchange of ideas. This was seen to be a very useful forum for innovation, universally praised by participants.

Enschede felt that the process of collaborative research enabled reflection on methods and developments. It also created the opportunity to learn from specific aspects, in a similar approach to that Swindon has used. They have decided to employ a master’s student to research the contrasting elements, with a view to developing a professional training programme for Social GPs.
Innovation Stories and social discovery
Chapter 2 set out a case for engaged scholarship and the value of experiential learning – the real value of knowledge is only learned by applying it and then probing it in action. The phrase ‘knowledge exchange’ (KE), which has come to have widespread acceptance in modern higher education, was questioned because it implies exchanging existing knowledge and ideas. This project has instead involved participants in a process of knowledge discovery (KD), involving the co-creation of new knowledge. Building on the action-research tradition, there is scope for far more experimentation with new models of social discovery and for universities to make an important contribution.

There is no suggestion that these Innovation Stories, each of which is itself an example of social discovery, are ‘best practice’, they are not being offered up as examples for others to emulate. Places differ, social needs differ and the co-creation process, if it is to have meaning and traction, requires the creation of something new.

We have consciously developed ‘stories’ about each initiative in collaboration with the cities and encouraged people to tell their own story themselves. But in one workshop, someone asked the researcher to tell it ‘… because it is interesting to hear another version – I learn a lot when I hear my story told by others’. This, too, is a process of co-creation, and a useful and accessible way of creating knowledge and sharing learning. Through telling stories, we allow ourselves to work with our emotions as well as our intellects, and this combination triggers the feeling of inspiration. In conclusion, we believe that storytelling is a rigorous and valuable way of carrying out research and an effective means of sharing experiences and insights.
NOTES

1 Gavin Jones, Chief Executive of Swindon Borough Council, made this suggestion at a Public Service Innovation Workshop at the University of the West of England, 15 February 2010.

2 In this report we use the terms ‘place-based leadership’ and ‘civic leadership’ interchangeably. By civic leadership we mean leadership in the realm of public affairs and human actions that affects the community of a given place.


17 This framework was first developed by Hambleton in research for the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance in Hambleton, R (2009) Civic leadership for Auckland: an international


21 Speech by Council Leader Barbara Janke, Bristol, February 10 2011.

22 Following the May 2011 election the share of seats on Bristol City Council was as follows: Lib Dem 33; Labour 21, Conservative 14, and Green 2.

23 The Labour Party held a majority (36 seats) on the council in 2002, and Councillor Helen Holland was leader of the council. In the years 2003 to 2008 no party held an outright majority. In 2007 Councillor Barbara Janke became leader when the Liberal Democrats entered a coalition with the Conservatives. In 2009 the Liberal Democrats gained overall control of the council (36 seats) but in 2011 lost overall control.

24 Bristol’s network of fourteen Neighbourhood Partnerships each cover 2–3 electoral wards, and include service providers and local councillors alongside residents.


26 A full research report on the Social GP Programme is forthcoming.

27 George Osborne, quoted in Local Government Chronicle. 21 October 2011. p. 2


29 Participle aims to build a new settlement between individuals, communities and government. It works by developing bottom-up processes of learning. See www.participle.net.

30 ‘The LGC 50: the most influential voices in local government’. Local Government Chronicle; April 2011.


32 From Participle Swindon Family LIFE Project presentation.

33 Thanks to Emma Norris of the Royal Society of Arts for her comments at the November workshop.


35 See http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/media/knowledgeinterchange/topics/20110404/Article.pdf


APPENDIX I: INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOPS

Workshop 1: Bristol, June 2011

Purpose
To enable the cities to present their draft Innovation Stories; to exchange views about the nature of leadership in the three settings; and to begin to identify useful lessons relating to place-based leadership and social inclusion of interest to a wider audience.

Participants
Bristol:
Councilor Barbara Janke, Leader, Bristol City Council
Carolyn Hassan, Director, Knowle West Media Centre
Stephen Hilton, Director, Bristol Futures, Bristol City Council
Lorraine Hudson, Climate Change and Built Environment Co-ordinator, Bristol City Council
Jan Ormondroyd, Chief Executive, Bristol City Council
Paul Taylor, Head of Executive Office, Bristol City Council

Enschede:
Ineke Kleine, Head, Department of Social Support
Wim Waninge, City District Manager
Hans Weggemans, Director of Community Development, Care and Welfare

Swindon:
Councillor Roderick Bluh, Leader, Swindon Borough Council
Matt Gott, Director, Policy, Performance and Communications
Gavin Jones, Chief Executive, Swindon Borough Council
Joy Kennard, LIFE Programme Leader
Sue Wald, Director, Strategy and Commissioning, Children, Swindon Borough Council

University of Twente:
Bas Denters, Professor of Public Administration, Institute for Innovation and Governance Studies
Workshop 2: London, November 2011

Purpose
To present updated versions of the three Innovation Stories; to outline draft emerging themes relating to leadership and social inclusion; and to discuss the relevance of the emerging themes for current policy and practice.

Participants
Bristol:
Carolyn Hassan, Director, Knowle West Media Centre
Stephen Hilton, Director, Bristol Futures, Bristol City Council
Deborah Kinghorn, Strategic Support Officer, Chief Executive Office, Bristol City Council

Enschede:
Jeroen Jonker, Policy Advisor Community Development, Care and Welfare
Ineke Kleine, Head, Department of Social Support
Anita Redder, Policy Advisor Community Development, Care and Welfare

Swindon:
Joy Kennard, LIFE Programme Leader
Sue Wald, Director, Strategy and Commissioning, Children, Swindon Borough Council

‘Knowledgeable outsiders’:
Adrian Barker, Strategy Manager, Local Government Improvement and Development
Richard Harries, Deputy Director (Innovation), Department for Communities and Local Government
Veronique Jochum, National Council for Voluntary Organisations
Su Maddock, ex-Director of the Whitehall Innovation Hub
Emma Norris, Associate Director, Connected Communities, Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce
Kathryn Rossiter, Managing Director, Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE)
Sam Sims, Institute for Government
Emma Stone, Director of Policy and Research, Joseph Rowntree Foundation
Organisers:
Carmel Conefrey, Doctoral Student, University of the West of England (UWE)
Bas Denters, Professor of Public Administration, University of Twente
Robin Hambleton, Professor of City Leadership, UWE
Joanna Howard, Research Fellow, UWE
APPENDIX II: WEB-BASED RESOURCES ON PUBLIC SERVICE INNOVATION

The following links are to websites of organisations represented at the workshops: all are actively working on aspects of place-based leadership.

Department for Communities and Local Government

Current government policy is to decentralise powers to councils and neighbourhoods, and give greater control to local communities. The Localism Act includes many of the mechanisms through which this change is to be achieved.
http://www.communities.gov.uk/localgovernment/decentralisation/

Institute for Government

An independent charity working to increase government effectiveness, the Institute for Government works with all the main political parties at Westminster and senior civil servants in Whitehall. It provides evidence-based advice that draws on best practice from around the world.
http://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/

Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF)

An endowed charity supporting a UK-wide research and development programme, JRF is concerned with achieving lasting change for people and places in poverty, communities where everyone can thrive, and a more equal society: now and for future generations. A core theme of JRF’s work is ‘place’.
http://www.jrf.org.uk/work

Local Government Association

Creative Councils – a programme from NESTA and the Local Government Association that supports local authorities to develop and implement radical
innovations to meet the challenges of tomorrow, and offers the opportunity to share learning from setbacks and success.
http://www.local.gov.uk/creative-councils
https://knowledgehub.local.gov.uk/group/creativecouncils

National Council for Voluntary Organisations

Pathways through Participation – a project exploring how and why people get – and stay – involved in different forms of participation over the course of their lives.
http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/

Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce

Connected Communities – a project examining people’s social networks to advance understanding about how these operate and how interventions can be designed to support and build on community connections.
http://www.thersa.org/projects/connected-communities

Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE)

Leadership of Place – supporting local government leaders to build effective and sustainable relationships across boundaries and persuade others to contribute resources to meet community challenges.
http://www.solaceenterprises.com/Products.asp?idLv1=2F1D022&idLv2=45B9083

Case study local authorities

Bristol City Council
http://www.bristol.gov.uk/
http://bristolgreencapital.org/

Knowle West Media Centre – a media arts charity and limited company that aims to develop and support cultural, social and economic regeneration. Green & Digital – digital and environmental projects and events to promote the social, economic and environmental benefits of using digital technology.

Swindon Borough Council
www.alifewewant.com
http://www.swindon.gov.uk/News/Pages/Councils-Family-LIFE-programme-scoops-award.aspx

Enschede
www.enschede.nl
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Finally, we are grateful to all those who attended workshops; participants are listed in Appendix I.
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