



The Enabling State: Where are we now?

Review of policy developments
2013-2018

Jennifer Wallace (Editor)

Background
reports



Acknowledgements

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- Wales: Emma Taylor- Collins, Senior Research Officer (Research, Analysis and Policy), Alliance for Useful Evidence
- Northern Ireland: Karen Smyth, Head of Policy and Governance, Northern Ireland Local Government Association

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1. Introduction and methodology

Five years ago the Carnegie UK Trust published *The Rise of the Enabling State* (Wallace, 2013). A review of over 180 policy sources, *The Rise of the Enabling State* identified seven interconnected policy shifts evident across the UK (see Figure 1). Together these broad shifts constitute the shift from the traditional Welfare State to the Enabling State: a state that seeks to take a whole of government approach and to empower individuals and communities and Table 1 provides a description of what these shifts entail. These shifts are complex, interdependent and far from risk free.

Shifts toward the Enabling State are driven by a number of positive and negative factors including:

- **Circumstances:** A gathering storm of social, environmental and economic pressures on public services that meant that business as usual was no longer an option without a fundamental rethink of how public services are designed and delivered (Wallace, 2013). Simultaneously, citizens have higher expectations about the degree to which they can have autonomy, choice and influence within and on the services they receive.

Figure 1: The shift from Welfare State to Enabling State

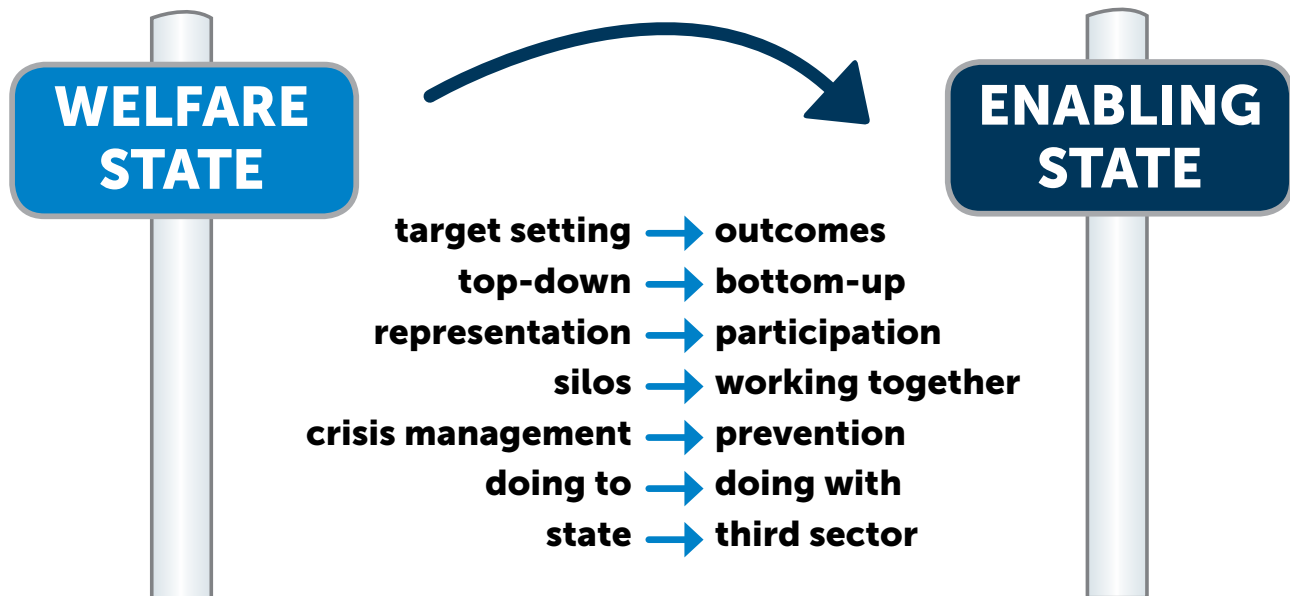









Table 1: Description of the Enabling State policy shifts

Shift	Description
 From target setting to outcomes	A shift to managing performance based on outcomes rather than inputs and processes
 From top-down to bottom up	A shift of power from central to local tiers of government
 From representation to participation	A shift toward supporting and opening up opportunities for participatory democracy
 From Silos to Working Together/ Integration	A shift toward the integration of public services, both horizontal and vertical
 From crisis intervention to prevention	A shift to interventions which can minimise or mitigate negative outcomes
 From recipients to co-producers / from doing-to to doing-with	A shift toward the direct involvement of users in the production of their own services
 From the state to community ownership and management	A shift toward more community involvement in the delivery and management of services and assets

- Failure: A growing understanding that even when resources had been more plentiful, the welfare state had not improved the outcomes of everyone in society to the same degree as evidenced by continuing and stubborn inequalities, and, that this, too, required a different way of working (Elvidge, 2012). Analysis post – Brexit referendum has highlighted ‘deep divides’ in the UK with a significant proportion of the population feeling ‘left behind’ and feeling that politicians and those in power do not understand or represent their interests or concerns (Goodwin & Heath, 2016).
- Evidence: Growing evidence that our sense of agency and control, the degree to which we are engaged in civic action, and the strength of our social interactions, are all critical factors in determining our overall wellbeing (see Wilson et al 2018 for discussion).
- Circumstances: the austerity and rising demand that create a drive to transform models of public service delivery also make it very difficult to achieve transformation as public services exist in a constant state of crisis.
- Structures and regulation: The shift is taking place within structures and regulations set up for traditional public service delivery (and to manage very real risks).

Five years on from the Rise of the Enabling State the gap between ambition and implementation can feel as great as ever. The demographic and budgetary pressures on public services are continuing and increasing. The need for more personalised, responsive public services and for citizen voice is stronger than ever and the failure to translate this into reality never more obvious.

The Carnegie UK Trust research has identified that changes in organisational practice in response to the above shifts are piecemeal, often feeling like they go against the grain on the mainstream public sector (Murphy & Wallace, 2016) and that the overall approach presents risks (Wallace, 2013). At the same time there are significant inhibitors which act to curtail and derail the shift (some of which are also drivers). These also present risks and include:

- Norms: a culture that emphasises efficiency, rules, professionalism, accountability and competition over empathy, kindness and collaboration (Unwin, 2018).

Our work is also one of the few analyses that takes a cross-jurisdictional approach, giving as much space to the approaches in the devolved legislatures of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland as we do to England. We are reporting as we come to the 20th anniversary of the devolution, and the scrutiny provided here provides insight into how the devolved administrations have changed their approach to governance, moving further away from a Whitehall model and moving faster towards an Enabling State than the ‘English’ system has been able to.

1.1 Methods

To assess progress we carried out a desk based review of policy and practice developments since 2013.

To analyse developments consistently across each jurisdiction we used a framework of indicators related to each of the 7 policy shifts in Figure 1.

The Northern Ireland and England reviews were carried out by jurisdictional experts in these policy areas. Respectively these were: Stratagem (Northern Ireland) and Caroline Slocock and Steve Wyler (England). The Scotland and Wales reviews were carried out by the Carnegie UK Trust Enabling State team.

The reviews were then sense checked by the following expert external reviewers:

- Scotland: Sophie Flemig, Assistant Director & EC Fellow, Centre for Service Excellence (CenSE), University of Edinburgh
- England: Rich Wilson, Director of OSCA
- Wales: Emma Taylor- Collins, Senior Research Officer (Research, Analysis and Policy), Alliance for Useful Evidence
- Northern Ireland: Karen Smyth, Head of Policy and Governance, Northern Ireland Local Government Association

The common assessment framework is set out in table 2.

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Table 2: Assessment Framework

Shifts	Indicators (baseline is 2013)
 <p>1. From target setting to outcomes</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evidence of new/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes based performance management at a local and national level • Evidence of new/improved service management level policy developments in outcomes based performance management • Evidence that outcomes based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities • Evidence of new/improved methodologies for capturing improved outcomes and measuring wellbeing • Evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes • Evidence of changes in organisational structures as a result of outcomes based performance management
 <p>2. From top-down to bottom-up</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers • Increased local diversity in policies and practices • Data on increased citizen engagement in local place
 <p>3. From representation to participation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New policy developments that support participatory democracy • Increased use of participatory budgeting (and increased proportion of public spending allocated to participatory budgeting). • New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels • Efforts to make participatory democracy more inclusive • Citizens feel more engaged in decision making and feel they can influence policy and practice

Shifts	Indicators (baseline is 2013)
 <p data-bbox="209 424 424 485">4. From silos to working together</p>	<ul data-bbox="512 252 1414 368" style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level • Evidence of pooled budgets
 <p data-bbox="156 715 475 775">5. From crisis intervention to prevention</p>	<ul data-bbox="512 544 1254 724" style="list-style-type: none"> • Increases in preventative spend at local and national level • Policies that support prevention • Evidence of culture changes that support prevention • Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention
 <p data-bbox="213 1007 419 1067">6. From doing-to to doing with</p>	<ul data-bbox="512 836 1342 952" style="list-style-type: none"> • Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management • Policies and practices that support transformative co-production
 <p data-bbox="228 1299 405 1359">7. From public to third sector</p>	<ul data-bbox="512 1128 1366 1308" style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies to support community ownership and community management • Increases in community ownership and management • Changes to commissioning that support third sector delivery • Increases in volunteering

2. Review of policy developments since 2013 in England

Caroline Slocock and Steve Wyler

2.1 From target setting to outcomes

Rhetoric has outstripped performance on outcomes in England, with weak Government business planning and mainstream thinking on outcomes still geared toward a new Public Management model rather than incentivising the collaboration between agencies and contractors that is more likely to deliver complex outcomes. Nonetheless, valuable outcomes frameworks do exist for major health and social care areas, and fresh thinking on how to create outcomes collaboratively is developing. Moreover, the Government has very recently announced a new commitment to 'collaborative commissioning', which seems to recognise the complexity of outcomes, and may represent a major shift if it comes to fruition.

What we hope to see

Development of an outcomes framework which encourages more collaborative approaches to addressing complex problems, as well as a learning-by-doing culture.

2.1.1 Evidence of new/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes-based performance management at a local and national level

Strategic government planning against outcomes in England is relatively weak and has weakened. The Westminster Government does have a single Government-wide plan, which specifies aspirational targets (e.g. 'Build the homes the country needs') and specifies how these will be achieved (e.g. 'Implement our Housing White Paper'), which is underpinned by single departmental plans that include commitments to broad outcomes (e.g. cut crime) and actions for each. Performance is reported by each department annually using the measures of their choice. There no longer appear to be any cross-cutting plans, e.g. on criminal justice (Cabinet Office (UK), 2018). The vagueness of many of the outcomes and the means of measurement and the lack of cross-cutting departmental plans is a step backwards compared to earlier years. Although criticised for being too target-focused, the earlier Public Service Agreements (abolished in 2010) did, for example, include broad objectives or outcomes as well as specific targets and measures. The departmental business plans that replaced them until 2016 continued to have cross-cutting agreements in several areas. The Institute for Government's judgement re the 2016 Single Departmental Plans stated: *'The plans failed to give a*

clear sense of the Government's priorities, and in many instances were so vague that it will be impossible to tell whether the objectives have been achieved or not.' (Institute for Government, 2018).

2.1.2 Evidence of new/improved service management-level policy developments in outcomes-based performance management

Outcomes frameworks have been established for public health and continue to be used in the NHS and other major services, though accountability is held by one authority when many other agencies are involved.

The first Public Health Outcomes Framework was published in 2012 and refocused performance measurement in this area around outcomes rather than processes. It is backed up by regular performance reports. Its two high-level outcomes are increased healthy life expectancy (which has in fact increased) and reduced differences in life expectancy and healthy life expectancy between communities (which have not decreased). The NHS continues to be held to account by Ministers for an Outcomes Framework and data is published showing performance. Transparency on performance is good, but actual performance is less so. The last set of data (August 2018) showed some areas of significant improvement over five years in 11 areas, and significant deterioration over the same time period in eight areas (NHS England, 2018a). Critical performance by some other agencies, most notably social care, is outside the control of the NHS (determined by local authorities and much affected by budget cuts).

National outcomes frameworks also apply in other areas, e.g. Adult Social Care and reports are published annually by NHS Digital. The 2016-17 report shows

improvements in 13 areas (including the proportion of people receiving self-directed support) and deterioration in 10 areas (including the proportion of adults with learning disabilities in paid employment, and delayed transfers of care from hospital attributable to social care). (NHS England, 2017).

2.1.3 Evidence that outcomes-based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities

Major outcomes-based performance management experiments in England have not delivered good results, but this is because outcomes have been used as target setting and payment for individual organisations, rather than reflecting the multiplicity of inputs that make change happen. Social impact bonds have also been used to fund and stimulate some interesting small-scale innovations with positive results, but they are resource intensive and their use is expected to remain limited.

This approach has encountered considerable reputational damage in three high-profile areas due to poor system design, a bias toward major private-sector non-specialist providers, systemic underfunding and gaming (National Audit Office, 2015)¹, but there is no sign as yet of it being abandoned:

¹ For example, see this 2015 report by the NAO, which reviews four major schemes, points out that Payment by Results payments are hard to get right, are risky and costly for commissioners and says credible evidence of benefits should be obtained before using this approach.

- Work Programme²: the first major experiment in payment by results did not work, with various evaluations and NAO reports pointing to major failings, including the underfunding of specialist services with people with the most complex needs and the undermining of voluntary sector sub-contractors (Department for Work and Pensions (UK), 2013). The new Work and Health programme (UK Government, 2018b), which replaced the Work Programme, is designed to provide more specialist support for disabled people, those who are long-term unemployed, and other groups such as ex-carers, ex-offenders, homeless people and those with drug or alcohol dependencies. However, it has still resulted in large umbrella contracts going to major private-sector organisations, amidst fears that smaller, specialist voluntary sector organisations will struggle under the new regime as sub-contractors. (Civil Society, 2017a).
- Rehabilitation Service contracts:³ payment by results contracts for probation services have also been experiencing problems, despite Government promises to learn the lessons from the Work Programme. The Government announced in July 2018 that the contracts would end prematurely (UK Government, 2018c) after many companies had made very substantial losses and the Justice

- 2 The Work Programme was a flagship welfare-to-work programme introduced in 2011 by the Coalition Government. It replaced the Future Jobs Fund in which the voluntary sector had played a leading role, and was dominated by private sector providers which had the financial resources to act as 'prime' contractors in 18 Contract Package Areas in England, Scotland and Wales.
- 3 Transforming Rehabilitation was introduced in 2015 in order to outsource a large part of the probation service in England and Wales, using a model similar to the Work Programme: private sector prime contractors, for the most part from the private sector, are operating in 21 Contract Package Areas.

Commons Select Committee called the programme 'a mess' which had failed to reach its objectives and provided 'wholly inadequate support' (Justice Committee (UK), 2018). Problems for providers have also included uncertainty about future funding, with poor communication between probation services and the voluntary sector, leaving services vulnerable and at a greater risk of closure; and low voluntary sector involvement in supply chains, organisations in supply chains being disproportionately large with very few medium or smaller-sized organisations represented. (Clinks, 2016).

- Troubled Families Programme:⁴ the Troubled Families Programme provided performance-related central Government payments to local authorities linked to the delivery of a small number of outcomes. But the programme has been criticised by the Public Accounts Committee for its design and choice of short-term targets that have encouraged 'perverse behaviour' by local authorities in some cases (Public Accounts Committee, 2016). A final evaluation published in October 2016 found some positive results, for example, in relation to service transformation, building local capacity, boosting families' levels of satisfaction and confidence in the future and self-reported financial capability. But it came to the difficult conclusion that 'we were unable to find consistent evidence that the Troubled Families programme had any significant or systematic impact.' The report also said it was 'questionable whether deep and sustained improvements were
- 4 The Troubled Families Programme was launched in 2011 and aimed to help 120,000 troubled families in England turn their lives around by 2015. Troubled families were defined as those that had problems and caused problems to the community around them, putting high costs on the public sector.

achieved to partnership working at a local level, beyond individual examples of good practice. The evaluation encountered variable levels of engagement by partner organisations (especially so health and adult social care).’ (Day, et al., 2016).

SIBs, or social impact bonds (where private investors provide risk finance upfront, to be recouped with profits if outcome targets are achieved), have also been used to fund and stimulate some interesting small-scale innovations, for example, in Peterborough prison, where a social impact bond was found to reduce re-offending by 9% and earned investors a 3% return (Barrow Cadbury Trust, 2017). It was hoped that SIBs would produce more innovative and flexible service delivery and in 2016, £60 million was made available through the Cabinet Office’s Social Outcomes Fund and the Big Lottery Fund’s Commissioning Better Outcomes fund to support their development. But there are only 32 SIBs. Although they can support innovation, bring in extra funds and improve project management, they are resource intensive, complex and have large set up costs (The Big Lottery, 2016). It seems likely that their use will remain limited, especially amongst smaller voluntary sector bodies.

2.1.4 Evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes

The language of outcomes is now commonplace in both public-sector and voluntary-sector circles and in commissioning, but it is still taking place in the context of a New Public Management model. This remains based in a belief that markets and competition are a key means to drive value for money and that delivery agents cannot be trusted to deliver outcomes without targets set from above and tight control over funding.

This model is showing increasing signs of strain in England, partly because of the race to the bottom on quality caused by funding pressures. Problems with outcomes-based contracts and the recent collapse of a major private-sector contractor Carillion, the financial difficulties being faced by large private-sector care-home providers such as Four Seasons, and concerns about Interserve, a major probation services provider, are all examples. Concerns have been raised about punitive management cultures in JobCentres and around Universal Credit. For example, in 2016, the House of Commons Work and Pensions Committee expressed “grave concerns” over the approach of work coaches in JobCentre Plus branches. They suggested that coaches were seen as *‘policemen... potentially undermining claimant trust and confidence’* (Work and Pensions Committee (UK), 2016).

The new Civil Society Strategy in England, published in August 2018, (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018) is the first sign of a new approach. Competitive commissioning, it says, has: *‘led to a greater focus on the difference services make and the costs. But this has also resulted in an often rigid focus on the relationships and flexibility which people and communities also need.’*

The Government has said that its: *‘vision for public services in the modern era is one of collaborative commissioning,’* which, it says, means that local players will be involved in: *‘an equal and meaningful way in how services are created and delivered.’* It also hopes to deepen the focus on social value, and to develop a coherent measure for it, with indicators, which may lead to a more genuine use of social outcomes. There also seems to be a new recognition of the interrelationship of complex issues, with the statement: *‘A community will be seen as a ‘system’*

of interconnected parts, each of which impacts on the other. Alongside this, it commits to the greater use of grants for community initiatives. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018) If executed across government, this would be a major shift in focus.

2.1.5 Evidence of new/improved methodologies for capturing improved outcomes and measuring wellbeing

There is evidence of the development of new methodologies for incentivising outcomes, which reflect genuine complexity and the inter-relatedness of many issues and actors and/or the difficulty of pre-determining precise outcomes as a result. Examples include:

- A joint Newcastle University/Collaborate study, *A Whole New World: Funding and Commissioning in Complexity* (Collaborate, 2017), interviewed a number of what it calls ‘vanguard’ public-sector commissioners and charitable foundations, and detected a shift toward recognition of ‘complexity’ in individual lives, the issues they face and in how change is actually delivered. This is prompting new approaches which focus on collaboration and working together on commissioning; reduced bureaucracy, with unrestricted and longer term and/or pooled/consortia-based funding; funding support for network infrastructure and relationships; and reflective practice that leads to learning amongst funders. It is underpinned by a wish to change or deploy whole systems, rather than motivating one organisation to deliver change which in reality is outside its reach.
- Alliance commissioning is one example of this kind of approach. In the NHS, within an alliance contract model a set of providers enters into a single arrangement with a Clinical Commissioning Group to deliver services. Commissioners and providers are legally bound together to deliver the specific contracted service, and to share risk and responsibility for meeting the agreed outcomes. As such, they should be incentivised to innovate and identify efficiencies across the system, rather than solely within their organisation. The alliance is reliant on high levels of trust across its relationships. Members collectively govern the alliance through a leadership board with agreed terms of reference. (The King’s Fund, 2014).
- The Government established a Commissioning Academy that has now been hived off as a social enterprise and renamed as the Public Service Transformation Academy to help share best practice. (Public Sector Executive, 2016). Although Academy has very little funding.

2.2 From top-down to bottom up

Report card assessment:

Overall, the public sector in England remains largely 'top-down' with highly centralised and remote models of government resources and power, operating at a considerable distance from the lives of most citizens. Bottom-up thinking, which was evident at least to some extent in the programmes of previous governments (e.g. New Deal for Communities, Big Society, Localism Act 2011) has been far less evident in the agenda of the current Government. Localism initiatives have often been treated as peripheral to the main business of central government. Devolution deals transfer more powers to local areas but, as practised in recent years, operate at a scale which is not accessible for most people and seem to be running out of steam. Local authorities are struggling to deliver ongoing and significant budget cuts with social care and children's services particularly under pressure. There have been calls for Local Authorities to have greater revenue generating powers. Participation in local elections remains very low. The recent Civil Society Strategy appears to signal a renewed and positive effort in favour of localism although it is too early to know what impact this strategy will have.

What we hope to see:

A renewed effort to achieve devolution of powers and resources to local levels where citizen participation can become meaningful and a drive to implement plans set out in the Civil Society Strategy.

2.2.1 Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers

Within central Government, the focus of attention has now largely shifted from a community/neighbourhood version of localism to 'devolution', operating on a large scale at regional level, with decision-making increasingly centralised in the form of combined authorities and elected mayors. There are however concerns that the devolution agenda has stalled recently. The recent Civil Society strategy appears to indicate a renewed effort in favour of localism.

City and Devolution Deals

Between July 2012 and August 2014, 26 City Deals⁵ were introduced, which first extended to the eight largest cities outside London, and then the next 14 largest cities and a further six cities with the highest population growth (Ward, 2017). In November 2014, an enhanced devolution deal was announced for Manchester, giving the new Mayor control of housing, local transport, welfare to work programmes, health and social care budgets. (Greater Manchester Combined Authority, 2015).

Further devolution deals, mainly for economic development, regeneration and transport have been agreed for Cambridgeshire and Peterborough, Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, Sheffield City Region, Tees Valley, West Midlands, West of England. Combined Authorities (collaborations of two or more local authorities) were established for the purpose. (Local Government Association, 2017).

5 City Deals are negotiated between central and local government, delegating specific powers and freedoms to support economic growth, create jobs or invest in local projects.

All of the deals transfer powers, funding and accountability for policies and functions previously undertaken by central government. Specific arrangements vary in each case according to the locally negotiated proposal (National Audit Office, 2016). The deals are underpinned by the Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016.

However, in the last two years, the devolution agenda seems to have run out of steam. A key pre-condition set by central Government for devolution deals and for raising funds through Council Tax precepts was the introduction of directly elected mayors. Opposition to this requirement was the main factor in the failure of attempts to establish Combined Authorities and agree devolution deals for the North East, Yorkshire, Greater Lincolnshire, and Norfolk/Suffolk (Sandford, 2018). Momentum now seems to have stalled and in February 2017, Lord Porter, Chair of the Local Government Association, claimed that ‘devolution is dead’. In his view, ‘Government did not want two-tier devolution’ (i.e. down to district and community levels) and instead wanted ‘big, urban metropolitan devolution to rebuild our cities’. (Bunn, 2017).

The County Councils Network have called for a ‘common framework’ for open, transparent and structured approach to devolution across England.

Public Health

The responsibility for Public Health transferred to local authorities in 2013 and in 2015, the Kings Fund reported that ‘the transfer of public health functions and staff from the NHS to local authorities has gone, in most cases, remarkably smoothly, with directors of public health confident of better health outcomes in the future and reporting positive experiences of working

in local authorities’. (The King’s Fund, 2015) However, since then, public health budgets have come under sustained pressure. From 2013/14 to 2016/17 overall spending on public health fell in real terms by 4-5%, while the population has increased by 3%. Within that, spending on prescribed children’s services has increased, while spending on smoking prevention and sexual health services has fallen (The King’s Fund, 2018). The Public Health grant from central government to local government will fall by 2.6% per year for the next two years (a total cut of £531m between 2015/16 and 2019/20). (Nursing Times, 2017).

The Civil Society Strategy

The Government’s recent Civil Society Strategy, launched in August 2018, appears to indicate a renewed effort in favour of localism and citizen engagement in decision-making. It points out that ‘Global’ Britain is rooted in ‘local’ Britain and that ‘success in international trade, diplomacy, and culture depends on the strength of our communities at home’. It proposes ‘onward devolution’ of service delivery and decision making ‘beyond the large regions to smaller geographies’. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

Budget Cuts and revenue generation

Local authorities in England are facing severe budget cuts. The County Councils Network (CNN) estimated in September 2018 that local authorities ‘faced a £3.2 bn funding black hole by 2020’. Council’s have prioritised acute and statutory services (see Section 2.5 for what this means for preventative services), but are now having to make visible cuts to frontline services including Children’s services and Adult Social Care. A survey of CNN members found

that only 33% of members were confident that they could deliver a balanced budget in 2020/21. (County Councils Network, 2018) The chancellor announced extra resources for local authorities in the coming financial year in the 2018 Autumn budget but this is short term and ring fenced (with a substantial proportion earmarked for potholes).

CNN and others have called for more council tax flexibilities for local government and powers for county councils to introduce fees for some services (County Councils Network, 2018).

2.2.2 Increased local diversity in policies and practices

The Delivering Differently programme established under the previous Coalition government aided the view that things can be done differently. Funding has now ceased for this programme, although the government continues to support the Commissioning Academy. Public Services have been slow to embrace digital technology, but the pace of change is now increasing.

A localism approach implies that customised services responsive to local circumstances can be preferable to a standardised 'one-size-fits-all' model. Despite continued public and policy concerns about a 'postcode lottery', the view that things can be done differently from place to place has gained currency in public-sector circles. This was aided in part by Government-sponsored Delivering Differently programmes, the Public Service Transformation Network which was established in 2013, and the Transformation Challenge Award to support local authorities to design fresh approaches, with £320

million available between 2014 and 2016, all of which encouraged non-standard solutions to emerge. The Commissioning Academy (Public Service Transformation, 2018), funded by government and now run by a social enterprise, provides a leadership programme for public-sector commissioners designed to help professionals to tackle the challenges facing public services, take up new opportunities and commission the right outcomes for their communities.

Public services have been relatively slow to embrace digital technology, but the pace of change is increasing and is affecting relationships between the state and citizens. The Government Transformation Strategy (February 2017) reviewed progress since 2012 in rebuilding high volume public services to make them 'digital by default'. It concluded that it has improved citizens' experience of a significant number of services, but in many cases it has not changed the way government organisations operate to deliver them. (Cabinet Office (UK), 2017b). Local authorities and other public sector bodies are also attempting to increase use of digital platforms, in part to save money and in part to improve service delivery. Concerns have however been raised that a shift towards digital platforms can accentuate alienation and disempowerment, leaving some people behind, and reinforcing failure demand in areas of complex social need. (Martin, et al., 2016)⁶.

6 One in 10 adults has never used the internet (Internet users in the UK: 2016, ONS statistical bulletin). Around 20% of adults (nine million people) have low digital capability (Lloyds Bank Consumer Digital Index 2017). Within 20 years, 90% of all jobs will require some element of digital skills (Review of publicly funded digital skills qualifications, Skills Funding Agency, 2016).

2.2.3 Data on increased citizen engagement in local place

Turnout at local elections is low and has not improved significantly. Carnegie UK Trust polling however suggests that despite this more than half of the population think that contacting an elected representative or local service provider would be effective in improving their local area.

Local Elections Turnout

Turnout for the May 2018 Local Elections in England was just 34.7%, lower than turnout at the most comparable local government elections in 2014 (35.7%) (Electoral Commission, 2018). Turnout for the London Mayoral elections, held on the same day was 38.2% and for the Sheffield City Region was 25.8% (Electoral Commission, 2018).

Police and Crime Commissioners

In 2012, directly-elected Police and Crime Commissioners replaced police authorities, with strategic responsibility for exercising efficient and effective policing. While this diminished the role of local authorities, it was hoped that direct citizen

involvement at the ballot box would increase levels of public engagement and accountability for policing. Average voter turnout in England for these elections was 15% in 2012, the 'lowest recorded level of participation at a peacetime non-local government election in the UK' (Electoral Commission, 2013). This increased to 27% in 2016. However, this rise was attributable to the fact that the elections in 2016 took place on the same day as local government elections in many areas. Where standalone elections were held in 2016, the turnout was only 20% (The Electoral Commission, 2016), representing an increase compared to the 2012 figures, but still remaining remarkably low.

Confidence in Elected Representatives and Local Service Providers

Despite low election turnout, a 2018 poll conducted by Ipsos Mori on behalf of the Carnegie UK Trust suggests that confidence in local representatives and service providers is relatively high. The poll found that 57% and 56% of people respectively felt that contacting an elected representative and making a complaint to a service provider would be effective in improving something in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

2.3 From representation to participation

A bottom-up localism agenda, as signalled by the Localism Act 2011, has been pursued on several fronts, though in some cases with diminishing vigour. A policy ambition for Participatory Budgeting has not been realised. The Brexit vote shone a light on significant inequalities in the UK and exposed deep disengagement with politics in some sections of society: just 16% of people feel they can influence national decisions. While the Civil Society Strategy signals a renewed interest in participatory democracy it is within the context of significant public sector funding pressures with many local authorities having significantly cut back on their spending on local data gathering.

What we hope to see:

Fresh and sustained efforts are needed to reverse the increasing sense of alienation from local decision-making and increase opportunities for meaningful participation, and proposals set out in the recent Civil Society Strategy may be an important starting point.

2.3.1 New policy developments that support participatory democracy

There have been no major policy developments in this area since 2013. Support for Community Organising continues albeit at reduced levels. Good progress is being made on Open Government targets. The Cooperative Councils Innovation Network is now five years old, but despite some good progress around changing values, have not yet been able to evidence

changes in outcomes in cooperative areas. The publication of the Government's Civil Society Strategy signals a renewed interest in participatory democracy although the impact of this remains to be seen.

In 2010, David Cameron launched his flagship Big Society agenda which included a commitment to greater community empowerment. This was described by the Government as 'local people taking control of how things are done in their area and being helped to do so by local government and others'.⁷ Specific commitments to achieve this Big Society ambition included increased individual influence over local decisions; increased local control (with more devolved decision-making and greater local control of budgets and assets by councils and neighbourhoods); greater transparency and accountability by elected officials; stronger communities, with a greater sense of community, including increased integration and stability; and voluntary sector strength and influence. (Civil Exchange, 2015)⁸.

The Brexit vote, however, has been interpreted by some as an indication that a great many people in England feel powerless in the face of remote decision-making by a 'metropolitan elite' and that the referendum outcome was 'an act of extraordinary defiance against a system that does not and will not listen to people's concerns and anxieties'. (BBC, 2016).

7 Big Society Awards, 2011.

8 As well as commitments to greater community empowerment, the Big Society initiative sought to stimulate social action and open up public services. The Big Society initiative is no longer actively pursued by the current Government though elements of it – for example the National Citizen Service – remain in place.

Community Organising

As part of this attempt to empower communities, a programme was introduced to promote community organising, as a measure to increase levels of citizen participation in community life. A national programme to recruit and train 500 paid and 4,500 unpaid community organisers, with £17m funding from central government, was delivered from 2011 to 2015, with the intention of ‘igniting the impulse to act’ at neighbourhood level. Unusually for a centrally-funded government programme, it was agreed that the outcomes on the ground should be driven by the aspirations of local communities, rather than pre-determined according to government priorities. A 2015 report for the Cabinet Office showed that in areas where community organising took place, compared to other comparable places, there was a stronger sense of neighbourhood belonging, a stronger belief that people were ‘pulling together’, and people were more likely to take action such as organising a petition, forming a group, or contacting the media (Cabinet Office (UK), 2015). Efforts have been sustained (although with lower levels of funding): in 2017, the Government announced a further £4.2m to train and support another 3,500 community organisers, including young people in the National Citizen Service, and local authority staff in Staffordshire and elsewhere, and to help establish a National Academy for Community Organising. (Community Organisers, 2017).

Open Government

Efforts have been made to improve public access to data, as a means to stimulate citizen engagement with governmental agencies. The charity Involve, which works to make politics, government and society more open, participatory and deliberative, runs the Open Government

Network which has 700 members across the UK, and a 2017 report shows generally good progress against various national action plan targets aimed at improving transparency of public data. (Open Government, 2017).

Co-operative Councils

A shift towards participation was promoted by the 22 councils which are members of the Co-operative Councils Innovation Network (established in 2013). The Network’s principles include: a commitment to devolving and sharing power; valuing the achievement of social value and social outcomes rather than public service delivery; recognising the importance of relationships between people; a belief in democratic accountability and the role for elected community leadership; and promoting a new decentralised model of welfare, designed with people rather than for them, and geared to building capacity and resilience in communities. A report in 2017 noted ‘a high level of local variation in the use of co-operative language and the implementation of co-operative principles’ among these councils. Most have a number of ‘publicly visible flagship projects’ that they can point to as evidence of a different approach being put into practice. However, the report noted that they: ‘cannot currently evidence a relationship between co-operative ambition, principles and practice and a positive shift in local outcomes.’ (Co-operative Councils, 2017).

Civil Society Strategy

The Government’s recent Civil Society Strategy signals a renewal of interest in participatory democracy, including a new Innovation in Democracy programme which will pilot participatory democracy approaches, so that people are empowered to deliberate and participate in the public decisions that affect their communities

(Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018). It also sets out plans for an Innovation in Democracy programme, to pilot participatory democracy approaches, whereby ‘people are supported to take part in the decision-making that affects their communities’, accompanied by attempts to promote the use of Citizen’s Juries as well as online ‘civic tech’ tools to increase engagement and transparency (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

2.3.2 Increased use of participatory budgeting (and increased proportion of public spending allocated to participatory budgeting).

Ambitions to introduce participatory budgeting at scale have not been realised. In the community empowerment white paper, *Communities in Control* (July 2008), the Government stated that it wanted participatory budgeting to be used in every local authority area by 2012. However, in 2011 the Participatory Budgeting Unit reported that 31 Government-endorsed but self-funded pilots which ran between 2006 and 2008 were ‘left to largely fend for themselves’ (The Guardian, 2011) and the Unit closed the following year after withdrawal of Government funding. It was succeeded by the independent PB Network and PB Partners, which continue to promote participatory budgeting. However, while examples of participatory budgeting are found across England among local authorities and independent funders, they remain sporadic and small scale (PB Network, 2016)⁹,

9 E.g. £20,000 distributed in 2016 to 11 projects through the Better Burtonwood Participatory Budgeting project in Warrington, supported by the Cheshire Police and Crime Commissioner; In Luton £133k was distributed in 2016/17 through the Your Say Your Way PB scheme which has operated in local wards since 2013, 73,000 was distributed in 2016/17 by social enterprise grassroots grant-maker the Edge Fund using PB models.

although there are a few larger scale examples. In 2015, £6m of Big Lottery Fund grants to improve lives of elderly people were disbursed through participatory budgeting in a project led by the Hackney CVS. (Hackney CVS, 2018).

2.3.3 New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels

Despite policy ambitions to increase participation in town and parish councils, the latest data suggests that the number of active local councils has not increased and participation remains low. The Localism agenda led to a number of place-based initiatives and associated funding, but while funding has been sustained for some, it is in the context of local authority cuts.

Town and Parish Councils

In January 2015, the Government announced new measures to make it easier to set up new town and parish councils, including in urban areas. However, this has not resulted in a significant overall increase: in 2014/15 it was reported that there were 8,813 parish councils in England, and 8,840 in 2018 (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (UK), 2018). The powers and resources of town and parish councils remain limited: more than three-quarters have a budget of under £100,000. The level of democratic engagement remains low: 18% of elections are uncontested and where elections do take place the average turnout is 33%.

Neighbourhood Planning

Neighbourhood planning, introduced by the Localism Act 2011 has been a significant development, providing local people with the means to draw up a plan for developments in their own neighbourhood, as part of the statutory planning process. Over 500 neighbourhood plans have now passed a local referendum and are in place (UK Government, 2018d). Funds from central government, and a partnership of independent agencies led by Locality, provided small grants and technical support to communities. This is one area where efforts have been sustained, and in 2017, the Government announced a further £28m for the period 2018-2022. (My Community, 2018) Despite this there are concerns, particularly in the face of local authority budget cuts, about whether all communities have an equal capacity to participate in Neighbourhood Planning. The RTPi note that uptake is skewed toward rural and more affluent areas and that Local Planning Authorities were facing pressures when it comes to engaging with local communities (Royal Town and Planning Institute, 2017).

Community Economic Development

Government funding of £1.5m was provided from 2015-2017 for a Community Economic Development initiative designed to help 50 communities to develop their own community economic development plans. As with many other localism initiatives this was however small scale in terms of resource allocation and operated on a short-term basis. The 2017 evaluation report noted that: *'Community involvement and economic development both take time and effort. Programmes to support and invest in Community Economic Development activity are therefore likely to be able to deliver deeper and more sustained impact if communities are given longer timeframes and greater resources.'* (Co-operative UK, 2017).

Big Local Initiative

The Big Lottery Fund's Big Local initiative provided £1m per community in 150 neighbourhoods where levels of community participation and civic engagement were considered low. The purposes for which funding could be applied were not predetermined, allowing communities to come together to make their own decisions. The overall impact has been empowering, but is happening while local authorities are cutting back investment. One community, for example, has taken over a library that would otherwise have shut (Local Trust, 2017). Some other funders and investors including Big Society Capital¹⁰ and Power to Change¹¹ are also now developing a place-based theme for their activities, and the Early Action Funders Alliance is a consortium of funders including the Big Lottery providing place-based funding in three areas. (Global Dialogue, 2017).

2.3.4 Efforts to make participatory democracy more inclusive

No evidence identified in this review although we did identify evidence of a skew in favour of rural affluent communities when it comes to Neighbourhood Planning.

10 Big Society Capital was set up by Government in 2012 to provide loans for social projects, using funds from dormant accounts and high street banks.

11 Power to Change was established in 2014 with a £150m expendable endowment from the Big Lottery Fund, to support community-based social enterprises ('community businesses').

2.3.5 Citizens feel more engaged in decision-making and feel they can influence policy and practice

Carnegie UK Trust commissioned a poll found that half of the population believe they have the right amount of control over the public services but a Hansard Society poll found that only a quarter of people now feel they can influence local decisions and just 16% believe they can influence national decisions. At the same time budget cuts mean that local authorities are cutting back on their spending on local data gathering. Young people, ethnic minorities, unskilled workers and the unemployed, women and those with disabilities are amongst those most likely to be disengaged with politics. JRF research has identified that overall people on low incomes feel less control in their lives.

Despite the efforts by the British Government and others outlined above to promote various forms of participatory democracy, it appears that the prevailing sense of alienation from decision-making felt by most people in England has deepened during this period. Only about a quarter of citizens in England believe that they can influence local decisions and this represents a continuing decline: 44% in 2001, 34% in 2013/14 and 27% in 2016/17 (Cabinet Office (UK), 2017a). The percentage of people who believe they can influence national decisions remains 'stubbornly low' across the UK at 16%, not shifting from 2013 to 2017. (Hansard Society, 2018).

Participation in civic consultation in England has also remained relatively static at 18%. (Cabinet Office (UK), 2017a).

Austerity has meant that Local Authorities are often cutting back on local data gathering. Ipsos MORI for example, report that council spend with the company has dropped from roughly £7 million to under £1 million annually since 2010 with most councils cutting research dramatically with the abolition of the Audit Commission.

Research compiled by the House of Commons library found that the following groups were more likely to be politically disengaged (although this disengagement took different forms)¹²: young people, ethnic minorities, unskilled workers and the unemployed, women and people with disabilities.

A Carnegie UK Trust-commissioned Ipsos Mori poll conducted in 2018 found that 46% of people in England felt that they had too little control over public services compared to 50% who had the right amount. A total of 54% of people in England felt that attending a public meeting would be an effective approach to improving things in their local area.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2017 research found that: *'Overall people on low incomes feel less in control of their lives, have less faith in politicians to act in the national interest, and feel they would be less likely to be heard if they did express an opinion. Not surprisingly, they are less likely to vote or take part in a political activity like signing a petition or going to a meeting.'* (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2018).

¹² meaning that they do not know/value and/or participate in the democratic process.

2.4 From Silos to Working Together/ Integration

Overall, it has become increasingly evident that competitive and territorial behaviours, which not only produce worse outcomes for citizens but also increase the cost of services, are no longer sustainable or acceptable. There is little evidence of whole government working on cross cutting issues at the national level and the Our Place attempts to encourage neighbourhood level collaboration were soon abandoned by central government, despite evidence of local appetite for this. A more sustained effort to produce collaborative models is seen elsewhere though, most notably in health and social care, where a succession of structural changes has been accompanied by attempts to shift culture and practice away from internal market competition towards collaborative commissioning, design, and delivery. The new Civil Society Strategy also potentially signals a shift toward greater collaboration. However, the complexity of these changes is bewildering, and it is not yet clear, especially given the relentless financial and service pressures, whether these new collaborative models will be allowed to flourish, and whether or not they will actually produce service improvements.

What we hope to see:

More investment in building common leadership across organisations and sectors to deliver shared goals, backed up by a significant shift in incentives toward working across boundaries and over the long-term; with continued efforts to shift procurement and commissioning away from competitive contract-bidding models, towards collaborative commissioning, design and delivery.

2.4.1 Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level

Despite nearly 20 years of attempts at Health and Social Care integration, and most recently the introduction of Sustainability and Transformation Partnerships, system-wide integration has not yet been achieved. Funding for neighbourhood-based collaborative working through the Our Place initiative has ended.

Health and Wellbeing Boards

Faced with the intense public spending pressures and ever increasing demands produced by changing demography, the need to achieve better collaboration between health services and social care has never been more evident.¹³ Health and Wellbeing Boards were set up in 2012, run by local authorities, and they bring together the NHS, public health, adult social care and children's services, including elected representatives and Local Healthwatch, to plan how best to meet the needs of their local population and tackle local inequalities in health. A 2016 evaluation concluded that: *'Most boards are doing useful work, but their potential remains unfulfilled'* (Shared Intelligence, 2016b). In 2017 the evaluation noted that: *'The more effective boards have continued to develop, but that some boards are still struggling, confining their role to either a small number of initiatives or receiving reports which have been generated elsewhere.'* (Shared Intelligence, 2017).

13 The 2017 NAO report on Health and social care integration noted the difficulties created by rising demand, the widening disparity between NHS and local authority spending (between 2011-12 and 2015-16, spending by NHS trusts and NHS foundation trusts increased by 11%, while local authority spending on adult social care has reduced by 10% since 2009-10), and worsening performance, for example between November 2014 and November 2016, delays in discharging patients from hospital increased by 37%.

The function of Health and Wellbeing Boards has however been overshadowed by the introduction of 44 Sustainability and Transformation Partnerships (STPs) across England, where the NHS and local councils have drawn up plans of actions to improve services and reduce costs. STPs have no basis in legislation, and rest on the willingness and commitment of organisations and leaders to work collaboratively. In one particular case, Greater Manchester, devolution powers have enabled the Combined Local Authority to take control over NHS and social care budgets. The STPs have however attracted criticism: in 2017, Dr Mark Porter, BMA council chair said: *'From the beginning, this process was rushed and carried out largely behind closed doors, by health and social care leaders trying to develop impossible plans for the future while struggling to keep the NHS from the brink of collapse.'* (BMA, 2018).

The NHS Five-Year Forward Plan, published in 2014, set out five 'new models of care', including integrated primary and acute care systems; multi-speciality community providers; and enhanced health in care homes, and 50 'Vanguard' areas were selected to develop these models, on collaborative lines. In a further development in an already complex picture, the notion of 'Accountable Care' has gathered momentum. The aim is to achieve a shift away from policies that have encouraged competition towards an approach that relies on collaboration between the different organisations delivering care, such as hospitals, GPs, community services, mental health services and social care, and the organisations paying for it including clinical commissioning groups (CCGs) and local authorities. The emphasis is on places, populations and systems rather than organisations, and it is hoped that Accountable Care Partnerships will enable local leaders, working collaboratively, to take more control of funding and performance in their areas with much less involvement by national bodies and regulators.

Overall, progress in joining up health and social care remains uncertain at best. The 2017 NAO report on Health and Social Care Integration concluded that: *'Nearly 20 years of initiatives to join up health and social care by successive governments has not led to system-wide integrated services'* and that while progress was noted in two specific areas¹⁴ there is: *'no compelling evidence to show that integration in England leads to sustainable financial savings or reduced hospital activity.'* An Integrated Care and Support Pioneers Programme was underway but had: *'not yet demonstrated improvements in patient outcomes or savings.'* Moreover, the NAO report noted that co-ordination between government Departments was weak: *'Governance and oversight across the range of integration initiatives is poor,'* leading to: *'uncoordinated effort across central bodies.'*

Leading Places Programme

Elsewhere, a Leading Places programme was developed by the Local Government Association, the Higher Education Funding Council for England and Universities UK, to promote collaborative leadership between local authorities, universities and other local anchor institutions. A first phase included Greater Manchester, Coventry, Gloucestershire, Bristol, Brighton and Newcastle and a second phase involving a further 15 areas was launched in 2017. Evaluation of the first phase noted 'genuine optimism about the sustainability of local partnerships' but also 'patchy local capacity, especially project management and co-ordination.' (Higher Education Funding Council for England, 2017).

14 Integration activities had 'reduced permanent admissions of older people (aged 65 and over) to residential and nursing care homes. They also increased the proportion of older people still at home 91 days after discharge from hospital receiving reablement or rehabilitation services.'

Our Place

The government-sponsored Our Place programme (initially known as ‘Neighbourhood Community Budgets’) ran from 2013-2015, and was designed to support 200 communities at neighbourhood level to develop collaborative working between local government, other public agencies, VCSE organisations, and citizens, and also to reduce costs of public services. Activities to identify common priorities, to pool budgets, to create mechanisms for shared decision-making and control, and to assess impact, were encouraged. There was an enthusiastic response, with applications to join the programme greatly exceeding places available. A total of £6m was made available by the Government and the programme provided small grants, advice, and peer support opportunities. Initial reviews found evidence of innovative practice: *‘Rather than simply replicating the delivery methods of statutory services, Our Place-led organisations have tended to use Our Place to approach community needs in very different ways to what public service providers have typically done.’* (Shared Intelligence, 2016a) However, the programme operated for one year only in each location and within this timescale few public bodies were willing to devolve budgets to shared local control, and so while plans for long term collaboration were drawn up they were rarely followed through. While individual cost benefit analyses were produced by the Our Place neighbourhoods, and a second round of Our Place funding was provided in 2015 (UK Government, 2015a), the Government’s focus subsequently shifted from neighbourhood-level solutions to large scale City Deals and Devolution, as a better way to achieve public spending reductions, and the programme was discontinued.

Civil Society Strategy

The recent Civil Society Strategy seeks to encourage greater collaboration, especially at community level. It includes plans for ‘onward devolution’ with local ‘charters’ between a principal council, local councils, and community groups setting out respective responsibilities. It also promotes the idea of collaborative commissioning, recognising that a whole system approach is needed. It says a *‘place-based approach calls on people to work differently. Rather than public servants working in silos accountable to Whitehall, they need to work together with local communities to co-design and pool budgets. While most public servants welcome this ambition, the reality of the structures they work in often makes it difficult.’* (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

2.4.2 Evidence of Pooled Budgets

There is some evidence of pooled budgets as a result of health and social care integration. Pooled budgets were evident under the auspices of some Health and Wellbeing Boards. In Plymouth, a Community Based Care Commissioning Strategy was introduced which combined health and social care budgets (£272m in 2015/16) with a focus on four areas of service development: wellbeing; children and young people; enhanced and specialised care; and community – and the services were jointly designed by the council, CCG, and community and voluntary agencies. Moreover, the Better Care Fund was introduced to encourage integration by requiring CCGs and local authorities to enter into pooled budgets arrangements and agree an integrated spending plan. In 2016/17, £5.9 billion was pooled in the Better Care Fund.

2.5 From crisis intervention to prevention

There is increasing emphasis on prevention, particularly in health and social care, seen most recently in the publication of the vision for health and social care: *Prevention is Better than Cure* but also evident elsewhere, for example, the duty to prevent homelessness in the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017. Knowledge about What Works in prevention is growing thanks to the What Works Centres. At the same time however, lack of funding for new initiatives and major cutbacks in existing measures, due to short-term budget pressures, has created a wider negative environment and suggests action is needed to improve incentives for investment in prevention.

What we hope to see:

Clear commitment to long-term preventative goals, with much greater investment in prevention and social infrastructure, and government spending models which stimulate and reward preventative actions, including longer-term planning and pooled budgets, accompanied by a stronger national network of practitioners committed to preventative design.

2.5.1 Increases in preventative spend at local and national level

There is an increasing emphasis on prevention in many policy initiatives, especially in health, but there is also evidence of underfunding, budget cuts or delay in new initiatives. Examples include:

- A major preventative initiative, Public Health England,¹⁵ and ring-fenced pooled budgets for public health at local authority level, was established in 2013. Budgets were initially ring-fenced to protect them but have since been cut. Funding for 2017-18 is on a like-for-like basis 4-5% less in real terms for a population about 3% larger. (The King's Fund, 2018).
- NHS England's locally-based Sustainability and Transformation Plans (STPs) have improving health and wellbeing as one of three priorities – but lack of joining up has caused problems, and major cuts of local authority budgets for adult social care have resulted in many elderly people unnecessarily ending up in hospital (The Guardian, 2018). The National Audit Office says the funding for sustainability and transformation is being used to plug funding holes. (National Audit Office, 2018).
- Mental health in children remains a major area of concern. In December 2017, the Government committed to piloting better mental health provision including counselling in some schools, but critics point to lack of implementation of similar proposals in 2015 Coalition Government report and are concerned about further delays (The Guardian, 2017d). Wider cuts in mental health budgets in order to fund other NHS priorities create an unpromising backdrop.

15 Its mission is to 'protect and improve the nation's health and wellbeing and to address inequalities'. In its *Strategic plan for the next four years: Better outcomes by 2020* report it notes that 'Good health and wellbeing are about more than healthcare. A good start in life, education, decent work and housing and strong, supportive relationships all play their part.' It also notes that 'early intervention and prevention is recognised as integral to delivering the NHS efficiency challenge'.

Since 2010, there have been major cuts in funding for well-established preventative initiatives, suggesting that short-termism is trumping long-term investment:

- More than 350 children's centres have closed since 2010, with only eight new centres opening. (The Guardian, 2017b).
- 603 youth centres closed between 2012 and 2016 and services were cut by £387m between 2010 and 2016. (Unison, 2016).
- 214 children's playgrounds closed in the year to 2015/16 and a further 234 were expected to close in the following year. (The Association of Play Industries, 2017).
- The amount of school playing field land earmarked for sell-off has increased dramatically to a seven-year high, according to a 2017 investigation by the Times Education Supplement, and areas with high obesity levels are selling the most. (TES, 2017).
- 380 libraries have already closed by the end of 2016 and a further 340 are under threat of closure over the next five years. (The Guardian, 2016a).
- At a time when park use is rising, there has been a decline in the condition of parks due to budget cuts and this is set to continue. (The Guardian, 2016b).

2.5.2 Evidence of culture changes that support prevention (e.g. realistic demands for results)

There is a new shift toward seeing communities, or so-called 'social infrastructure', as an important part of prevention evident for example, in the new Civil Society Strategy.

The Early Action Task Force, for example, has published *Valuing Social Infrastructure*, (Civil Exchange, 2018) which argues that communities help to build readiness and resilience, and help nip problems in the bud when they occur. It calls for a more holistic approach which focuses not just on public services, and specific early action interventions, but the buildings and built environment, services and facilities, including green spaces, and the social capital in communities, with not just the public but also social and private sectors contributing. The Civil Society Strategy in England published in August 2018, represents a potential step in this direction, stating that: '*The Government believes that social value flows from thriving communities. These are communities with strong financial, physical and natural resources, and strong connections between people. This includes public funding, private investment, buildings, and others spaces for community use. It also includes trust and goodwill, and the organisations and partnerships that bring people together.*' The strategy includes references to a number of existing and new funds that might help invest in social infrastructure, but not on any significant scale. However, the promised creation in future of A Shared Prosperity Fund might offer some opportunities. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

2.5.3 Policies that support prevention

There is a clear emphasis on prevention in the recent vision set out in *Prevention is Better than Cure*, in recent campaigns by NHS/Public Health England and the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017. These good intentions however are often lost in the realities of programme delivery. The pressures of austerity are often the driving force with a number of local examples such as the rise in social prescribing but austerity and rising demand also create an environment where acute services are prioritised.

The NHS's Five Year Forward View published in 2014 states that: *'the future health of millions of children, the sustainability of the NHS, and the economic prosperity of Britain all now depend on a radical upgrade in prevention and public health.'* The strategy recognises that: *'out-of-hospital care needs to become a much larger part of what the NHS does.'* (NHS England, 2014).

A wide-ranging joint NHS/Public Health England initiative launched in 2017 to reduce the two biggest causes of death, strokes and heart attacks, is evidence of this continuing commitment to prevention. (NHS England, 2017b) Most recently the Secretary of State for Health and Social Care launched *Prevention is Better than Cure* a vision: *'for putting prevention at the heart of our nation's health'* (Department of Health and Social Care (UK), 2018).

Likewise, the creation of the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017 includes a new duty on local authorities to prevent homelessness. This provides a duty to provide meaningful support to those likely to become homeless within 56 days (rather than 28 days as previously) and applies to all those at risk, not just

those assessed to be in 'priority need' categories. If a local authority is satisfied that an applicant is threatened with homelessness and is eligible for assistance, they must take 'reasonable steps' to help them avoid becoming homeless. However, in many parts of the country, the scarcity of social housing creates practical difficulties in providing effective help. (Public Finance, 2018).

Continued efforts to integrate health and social care are also positive.

Austerity is often the driving force for more prevention and joint working, often locally. For instance:

- The newly devolved authority of Greater Manchester has taken on responsibility for both health and social care and has pledged itself to four preventative goals: All children to start school ready to learn; young people equipped for life; good quality housing, and an end to rough sleeping; Greater Manchester to pioneer a positive vision for growing older.
- There has been a rise in the use of social prescribing¹⁶ by GPs. A National Social Prescribing Network was launched in 2016, and its inaugural report summarised the work of 23 social prescribing initiatives (Social Care Institute for Excellence, 2016b). In June 2016, NHS England appointed a national clinical champion for social prescribing to advocate for schemes and share lessons from successful social prescribing projects.

16 Social prescribing is a means of enabling GPs, nurses and other primary care professionals to refer people to a range of local, non-clinical services, such as volunteering, arts activities, group learning, gardening, befriending, cookery, sports, to improve their general health and wellbeing.

- Lancashire constabulary have spearheaded a preventative initiative with other public agencies to improve the way in which individuals at risk are supported rather than left with a criminal record. (Early Intervention Foundation, 2015).

Austerity and rising demand however also create an extremely challenging environment for preventative activity. Ian Dalton, Chief Executive of NHS Improvement, for example, recently told MPs in his evidence to the Health and Social Care Committee that the immediate priority was to deal with providers' deficits, and then earmark funds for transformation (The Kings Fund, 2018).

Policies elsewhere also act to undermine the preventative agenda. For example, the UK currently has record levels of in-work poverty (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2016) with 60% of households in poverty having someone in work (The Guardian, 2017e). In work poverty brought about by low paid jobs with short term prospects can erode someone's ability to take action to improve their life circumstances because they find it hard to find the time, energy or money to improve their skills and qualifications (Wilson, 2018).

2.5.4 Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention

Evidence on what works has improved in England due to the creation of a network of new What Works centres in January 2013, including the Early Intervention Foundation, the Centre for Ageing Better, the What Works Centre for Wellbeing and the What Works Centre for Crime Reduction.

2.6 From recipients to co-producers / from doing-to to doing-with

Co-production is gaining ground amongst major services in England in the sense that it is widely advocated. Where it exists however, it is manifested in many different ways (and with scope for confusion about what it is) and activity tends to remain marginal. Although some forms, such as Tenant Management Organisations, are very well established, new forms such as direct social care payments appear to be running into problems. The need for genuine co-production is evidenced by the small proportion of people who feel they have influence over services (see Section 2.2). The Civil Society Strategy potentially creates further momentum though it is early days.

What we hope to see:

More efforts are needed to encourage and celebrate co-production which goes beyond lip-service and which demonstrates that user participation in design and delivery can be successfully applied across the board.

2.6.1 Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management

Co-production is now actively promoted by and for national and local services. Examples include:

- The Head of Experience of Care for NHS England: 'Co-production is for the whole NHS. It is how we should all be working – doing with and not for, or to, people – not just sometimes, but all the time.' (McNally, 2016).

- NHS England and Public Health England have set out commitments to improving the involvement of different sections of the community and have issued guidance on utilising participatory approaches to better facilitate their contributions: ‘We are unlikely to narrow the health gap in England without actively involving those most affected by inequalities. Participatory approaches directly address the powerlessness and low self-esteem associated with structural inequalities. They also help improve access and uptake.’ (South, 2015). To support the NHS Five Year Forward View the following principles were drawn up: ‘Care and support is person-centred: personalised, coordinated, and empowering’ and ‘Services are created in partnership with citizens and communities’. (Fox, A. (Chair), 2016).
- The Social Care Institute for Excellence: ‘Co-production of health and care services with children and young people will help them to feel more independent and in control of the services they use. Their involvement will develop and deliver better care services’ and offers a guide (Social Care Institute for Excellence, 2016a). It also advocates co-production with older people, people with mental health issues and different minority groups.
- Clarks, the umbrella organisation for voluntary organisations working with offenders and their families, has produced a guide on service user involvement and co-production. (Social Care Institute for Excellence, 2016a).

2.6.2 Policies and practices that support transformative co-production

There are numerous examples of organisations trying to put this into practice, though there is also confusion about what co-production and activity remains marginal. There are signs of a loss of momentum in the flagship direct payments scheme. The new Civil Society Strategy includes new commitments to co-production.

Social Care Direct Payments

At one end of the spectrum, social care direct payments introduced by the Care Act 2014 put power into users’ hands to make their own choices, though Community Care reported in 2017 that: ‘Numerous examples were given of councils prohibiting people from spending their personal budgets as they might wish. Excluded activities included transport, social activities, shopping, housework, washing and ironing, gardening, cooking (apart from microwaving), food and drink, equipment, trips and holidays, and university courses.’ There are signs of a loss of momentum in the flagship direct payments scheme. In residential care homes, a review of 20 councils participating in a ‘trailblazing’ scheme from 2013-2015, found that only 14 councils remained at the end of the programme and that by the end of the programme: ‘Seventy one people had accepted direct payments across all trailblazer sites and 40 direct payments were active. By March 2016, the number of active direct payments in care homes had reduced to 29 in nine councils.’ (Abrahams, 2017) (Ettelt, et al., 2017).

Tenant Management Organisations

Tenant Management Organisations are a long-standing movement of tenants taking over direct control over the management of their housing, with well-evidenced benefits to residents. However, some councils have hived off their own housing departments and called them Tenant Management Organisations even though tenants have no real involvement. The Kensington and Chelsea TMO is a case in point, and failed to listen to the voices of those living in Grenfell Tower about safety concerns, with catastrophic consequences. (The Guardian, 2017c).

There are a number of examples of co-production of policies and initiatives at a local level, see for example the case studies highlighted in *Good and Bad Help: How purpose and confidence transform lives* (Wilson, et al., 2018). Other examples include:

- The Way Ahead initiative (The Way Ahead London, 2018): which aims to create a common vision for civil society organisations in London and improve the way they work with the Greater London Authority, promotes ‘pragmatic co-production’ which promises: ‘honest conversations are held between communities, funders and civil society about the constraints,’ e.g. financial, practical or driven by policy.

- Participatory City: A partnership between the London Borough of Barking and Dagenham the Participatory City Foundation (a new local charity) that aims to: ‘to build the first large scale, fully inclusive, practical participatory ecosystem’. The flagship initiative ‘Every one Every day’ aims to build a new co-produced support system in the neighbourhood co-produced with residents. Ideas come directly from residents and include shared workshop facilities, batch cooking, skill sharing and a shop to test trading ideas.

However, this activity tends to remain on the margins with no examples of successful mainstreaming.

The Civil Society Strategy in England, published in August 2018, includes new commitments to co-production and co-design of services locally. The Strategy seeks to ensure that ‘*place-based solutions are designed and delivered with and by the people they are intended to help*’. Rather than being treated as the passive recipients of services designed elsewhere, the people of the community will be ‘*the active shapers of their own future, trusted to “co-design” services, to direct commissioning decisions, and to play their part in making the service work.*’ The Government will support the spread of ‘Citizen Commissioners’ local people supported to make commissioning decisions on behalf of their communities. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

2.7 From the state to community ownership and management

The main direction of travel has been from the state to the private sector in relation to outsourcing but new efforts are being made to improve access for the voluntary sector, though the efficacy of these remains unproven. The new Civil Society Strategy in particular sets out plans to reform commissioning in favour of charities and indicates that government is exploring ways to improve long term funding for community led enterprise. Growth in community ownership has been modest since 2013. Volunteering has recently been in decline, despite efforts to increase it, but levels still remain high. The independence of the voluntary sector, an essential ingredient to strong partnerships, remains under threat, despite recent rhetoric to the contrary.

What we hope to see:

The independent inquiry into the future of civil society and the Government's new civil society strategy could be an opportunity to enhance and accelerate a shift in favour of the third sector, not least those parts of the third sector which can achieve greater participation by citizens and communities. But this must be accompanied by a shift away from seeing the voluntary sector as an instrument of government policy to seeing it as a genuine partner.

2.7.1 Policies to support community ownership and community management

Since 2013 there have been various attempts to promote community ownership and management across England, and provide social investment to improve the flow of capital into the third sector but financing for community ownership and enterprise has proved problematic. The new Civil Society Strategy states it is exploring ways of securing long-term funding for community-led enterprise.

The Localism Act 2012

The Localism Act 2012 introduced a new legislative framework for transfer of assets (land and buildings) into community ownership. This provided for communities to register 'assets of community value' with their local authority, and assets listed in this way cannot be sold without a six-month moratorium, allowing the community time to raise funds to purchase the asset. In 2015 the Communities and Local Government Committee recommended the moratorium period should be extended to nine months, but this recommendation was not acted upon. Initially Government funded a series of programmes to help communities make use of these new powers, but funding was discontinued in 2016.

Community Shares

Community share issues¹⁷ have been a notable success story in recent years. A Community Shares

17 Community shares are a form of withdrawable share capital, which can be issued by co-operative and community benefit societies, as a means of raising finance from members of the public who wish to support their social ventures. A shareholder has a single voting right (regardless of the number of shares held) and can withdraw shares, usually after an initial period, receiving the share value in payment. Modest dividends may be payable to shareholders, although more often surpluses are reinvested in the social venture.

Unit was set up in 2012 by Coops UK and Locality with Government support, and annual share issues rose to a peak of 101 (generating £37m) in 2015, but reducing to 52 (generating £15m) in 2016 (Community Shares, 2016). In 2016, Power to Change provided £1m to match community share issues, in an attempt to boost this activity, and a further £3m was announced in November 2017. (Power to Change, 2018).

Funding for Community Ownership and Enterprise

Other than community shares, finance for community asset acquisition and for community enterprise has proved problematic. The Big Lottery Fund established Power to Change in 2015 as a grant-funder for community business, with a £150m expendable endowment. By the end of 2017, £40m was deployed to 400 community businesses across England. However, there has been no further government capital investment designed to support community ownership; the last of its kind was the £70m Community Builders fund which ran from 2009 to 2012 and it has not been repeated. However, in the Civil Society Strategy, published in August 2018, the Government says it is exploring ways of securing long-term funding for community-led enterprises, using blended funding from social impact bonds, philanthropic funding, crowd-funding, community shares and corporate investment, to take over assets or services. A total of £35m of dormant asset accounts has been set aside by Big Society Capital and Access to initiate this. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

More generally, social investment has remained out of reach for much of the third sector, especially for smaller, community-based organisations operating in broken markets. Despite the creation of Big Society Capital as a social investment wholesaler, with £600m

of funds from dormant accounts and the high street banks, and the introduction of Social Investment Tax Relief and Community Investment Tax Relief (designed to encourage a greater flow of private capital) there is a shortage of smaller scale social loan finance (under £150k) and of unsecured social lending. The number of social investment loans increased from 306 in 2013, to 366 in 2017, and the total value of these loans increased substantially from £48m in 2013 to £142m in 2017, but most of this rise was accounted for by a small number of large deals. The average loan size from social banks (Charity Bank, Triodos Bank etc) was £885k (94% secured). Smaller community-based social lenders provided average loans of £94k (76% were unsecured), but in 2016/17 they lent 30% less than the previous year (Responsible Finance, 2017). To address this gap in social finance, the Government and the Big Lottery Fund established the Access Foundation in 2015 as a sister body to Big Society Capital, to help social lenders provide smaller scale blended social investment (combining unsecured loans with grants) as well as capacity building support, but to date the volume of activity supported by the Access Foundation is too low to identify what difference has been made.

Those parts of the community sector in England which have developed capacity to trade and generate their own income, and especially those with community-owned assets, appear to be withstanding the difficult financial climate relatively well. The 2016 Locality member survey of 600 member organisations showed combined income of £372m (70% of which is earned income), with assets in community ownership of £779m. The survey suggests that average income levels are rising by about 5% in a year for the largest community organisations, but falling by about 22% for the smallest. Overall asset growth is continuing at a modest level, at about 3% a year. (Locality, 2018).

Free Schools and Academy Trusts

There has also been considerable government effort and allocation of resources to develop free schools and academy trusts, independent of local authorities, and with the ability to develop their own teaching curriculum, although the extent to which these are now controlled by the third sector is questionable (see numbers below). Free schools are a form of Academy Trust, but are different from other Academy Trusts in that all free schools are new schools, and they must demonstrate demand from local parents naming the free school as their first choice. Independent of the Local Authority, the governing bodies of free schools have a range of additional responsibilities to those of a governor of a maintained school. Like other academy trusts, the free school, rather than the local authority, owns the freehold or leasehold of the land that the free school occupies, acts as its own admissions authority and employer, and is responsible for the school's financial viability. Sponsoring bodies set up the school, select the governors and appoint the headteacher; while all Academy trusts are charities in their own right, across all forms of Academy school only 8% are sponsored by a charitable sector organisation. (UK Government, 2018a).

2.7.2 Increases in community ownership and management

The number of assets in community ownership has remained modest, although there are many more community businesses. The 2017 Conservative manifesto contained a commitment for more free schools. Community asset transfer is however taking place in the context of local budget cuts. This makes it difficult to assess whether any increases are due to community empowerment or threats to local services.

No central register of assets of community value is maintained, but in January 2017, the total number of listings of assets of community value across England was estimated by Government in answer to a Parliamentary Question at 'over 4,000'. (Sandford, 2017).

By 2017, there were 348 community shops and 46 community-run pubs in England. While these have a high profile, growth has been relatively modest (there were 303 community shops in 2013).

Overall in 2017 there were an estimated 6,600 community businesses, including for example 1,650 multi-purpose community 'hubs', 1,200 community transport schemes, 880 community employment and training enterprises, and 440 community libraries.

By January 2018, 475 free schools were open, run by groups of parents, teachers, charities, businesses, universities and religious groups, with direct funding from central government (Roberts & Daneshi, 2017). Up to 140 more free schools were promised in the 2017 Conservative manifesto.

All of this however is taking place in the context of Local Authority budget cuts. The threat of closure or reductions in services are often the impetus for community action and support from the Local Authority can be limited by austerity measures. See for example (Findlay-King, et al., 2018).

2.7.3 Changes to commissioning that support third sector delivery

Successive governments have committed to opening up access to the delivery of public services to the voluntary sector, but the direction of travel has been

largely in the opposite direction, towards very large contracts in which the private sector by virtue of its scale has been the beneficiary. New efforts such as the Voluntary Community and Social Enterprise strategy are however being made to help smaller specialist third sector bodies to take part in public service delivery. The new Civil Society Strategy sets out plans to reform commissioning in favour of charities and social enterprises and renews the Compact, an agreement between Government and the voluntary sector, which accepts the social sector's ability to campaign regardless of funding relationship.

National payment by results programmes, for example, including the Work Programme and Transforming Rehabilitation contracts, have favoured organisations with large turnover to manage the main contracts, leaving the voluntary sector with a sub-contractor role and limited influence over terms. However, the new Civil Society Strategy does commit to greater use of grant-funding and to 'collaborative commissioning' as explored in earlier sections.

There is increasing recognition of the value of smaller, specialist voluntary sector providers by some public bodies, and new efforts are being made to offer arrangements best suited to their needs:

- The best example is in the NHS England Five-Year Review, which in turn led to a Voluntary Community and Social Enterprise (VCSE) strategy and a Health and Wellbeing Alliance. (NHS England, 2018b).
- The Social Value Act 2012 was designed to give commissioners more scope to take into account social value when awarding contracts, but a 2016 evaluation found only a third of councils applied it routinely (Social Enterprise, 2016). The Government

announced a review in 2017 (Civil Society, 2017b) and in 2018 the Civil Society Strategy set out plans to strengthen the Act and better define social value and this may include extending its scope to include goods and works (e.g. building projects) as well as services, as well as exploring its application in others areas, such as grants, planning and community asset transfer. (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018).

- In December 2016, the Government announced a series of measures including a Public Service Incubator to help small charities work with commissioners and identify and overcome barriers to winning contracts, a kitemark which commissioners can use to show their commitment to small charity commissioning, and recruiting a voluntary, community and social enterprise crown representative to champion small charities and social enterprises within public services.

Public-sector commissioners sometimes feel unable to collaborate with VCSE sector providers in the development of innovative service solutions due to legal concerns that this might represent an unfair competitive advantage. However, following EU rule changes, the Public Contract Regulations 2015 introduced the concept of Innovation Partnerships, allowing public authorities to team up with either a single or multiple partners to research and develop an innovative outcome.

The Government's new Civil Society Strategy (Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (UK), 2018) positions the voluntary sector in the context of the common effort needed to generate social value and achieve thriving communities, with connected roles for people, places, the social sector, the private

sector and the public sector, and it describes charities and social enterprises as ‘the core’ of civil society. The Strategy sets out plans to reform commissioning ‘*in favour of charities and social enterprises*’. It also seeks to achieve a revival of grant-making by public sector organisations with new government guidance for public-sector commissioners.

In January 2017, Prime Minister Theresa May made a speech about ‘shared society’, in which she highlighted the importance of: ‘... *recognising, supporting and championing those who lead the way in shaping a civil society that can bring the talents of so many in our voluntary sector to bear on some of the great social challenges that we face together.*’ (Prime Ministers Office (UK), 2017). However, Civil Exchange’s *A Shared Society? The Independence of the Voluntary Sector in 2017* reported that the initial signs were not good and that the independence of the voluntary sector, which is essential to a strong partnership, continued to be under threat.

In response to criticism that Lobbying Act has had a ‘*chilling effect on charity campaigning*’ (The Guardian, 2017a) the Civil Society Strategy accepted that charities and social enterprises should be ‘*fully confident in their right to speak in public debates, and to have a strong campaigning and advocacy role*’, and announced plans to set up a cross-government group to establish the principles of effective engagement in the policy-making process. It also renews the Compact, an agreement between Government and the voluntary sector, which accepts the social sector’s ability to campaign regardless of funding relationship. It does not, however, commit to changing the Lobbying Act,

which an independent review commissioned by the Government had called for, or the grant standards it has recently introduced, which prohibit state funding being used for what it calls ‘political lobbying’.

2.7.4 Increases in volunteering

Levels of volunteering in England have declined since 2013-14, but more than half of the population still say that it is likely that will volunteer or help out a local community group to improve things in their area.

The Government has introduced a range of measures designed to promote social action and volunteering, but overall levels of volunteering have decreased between 2013-14 and 2016-17, with the proportion of adults who had engaged in any volunteering in the last 12 months falling from 70% to 63%, and the proportion who had engaged once a month falling from 44% to 39%. (Cabinet Office (UK), 2017a).

When asked how likely they would be to volunteer or help out a local charity or community group to improve things in their local area in a 2018 Carnegie UK Trust and Ipsos Mori poll (Wallace & Thurman, 2018), 55% of people in England said that this was highly likely or likely.

In 2017, a group of independent grant-makers established an independent inquiry into the future of civil society, Civil Society Futures, chaired by Julia Unwin. The final report called for a new a PACT for civil society, by civil society – based on Power, Accountability, Connection and Trust.

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3. Review of policy developments since 2013 in Northern Ireland

Gráinne Walsh & Matthew Jackson, Stratagem

3.1 From target setting to outcomes

Despite the gridlock at Stormont, there remains leadership-level commitment to the outcomes-based approach, with Senior Responsible Owners and others charged with Programme for Government delivery. The Local Government (Northern Ireland) Act 2014 made councils responsible for community planning and puts wellbeing at its heart. It is too early to determine if the inclusion of outcomes-based approaches has been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities.

What we hope to see:

Further embedding of the culture of outcomes shaped by the wellbeing agenda, with or without the restoration of devolved institutions; alignment of government procurement, funding and audit systems to support outcomes focus for the wellbeing of citizens; continued cooperation between national and local government in the delivery of community planning.

3.1.1 Evidence of new/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes-based performance management at a local and national level

Outcomes-based performance is at the core of the Draft Programme for Government Framework 2016-17, however implementation remains limited due to the collapse of the assembly in January 2017. The Northern Ireland Civil Service has produced an Outcomes Delivery Plan for 2018/19 but it is limited in what it can take forward in the absence of Ministers. At the local level, the Local Government (Northern Ireland) Act 2014 makes councils responsible for community planning and puts wellbeing at the heart of Community Planning, but implementation requires further support. A Carnegie UK Trust project is supporting a cohort of local councils to embed wellbeing into community planning.

National Developments

Outcomes-based performance management has gained a significant foothold in strategic policy planning, both at local and regional level. It is at the core of the Draft Programme for Government (PfG) Framework 2016-21 produced following Assembly elections in Northern Ireland in May 2016 (Northern Ireland Executive, 2018c). There have now been three

iterations of this PfG, the first and second both issued in 2016 with the third and current 'working draft' still subject to political agreement.

Acknowledging the work undertaken by Carnegie UK Trust, particularly the Roundtable on Measuring Wellbeing in Northern Ireland (Carnegie UK Trust, 2015), the draft PfG identified 12 outcomes which the Executive believe will further growth and prosperity across society and which provide a basis for all sectors to contribute to the development of plans and actions: *'It is a Programme for Government in which many more people and groups can play a part. The outcomes-based approach creates an opportunity for collaborative working between organisations and groups in the public, voluntary and private sectors. Individuals and communities can also play an active part'* (Carnegie UK Trust, 2015).

The outcomes are issues which people can easily identify with, such as living longer and healthier lives or obtaining employment. They are designed to stay in place for a generation rather than a single Assembly term and therefore serve as a barometer of progress. Significantly, each outcome is bound by an overarching aim of improving wellbeing for all citizens. The focus on wellbeing outcomes, rather than inputs, processes and outputs of public services, is now the principal guiding structure binding all departments and agencies of government.

The absence of devolved government following the collapse of the Assembly in January 2017 and subsequent failure by the two largest parties, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Sinn Féin, to reach an agreement on the restoration of devolution, has meant that the draft PfG has yet to receive ministerial sign-off. Therefore, implementation of the outcomes approach remains partial and limited in terms of impact.

The Northern Ireland Civil Service (NICS), in its capacity as caretakers, published an *Outcomes Delivery Plan 2018/19* in June 2018 setting out the actions that departments intend to take during 2018-19 to give effect to the Executives stated objective of improving wellbeing for all (Northern Ireland Executive, 2018b). It is noted that the delivery plan is necessarily constrained; in the absence of ministers, departments are limited in how they discharge their functions and civil servants cannot take certain decisions in relation to those functions.

Local Developments

The outcomes-based model is also central to local government thinking.

The Local Government Act (Northern Ireland) 2014 gave the 11 newly-created local authorities (down from 26) the responsibility for leading community planning processes for their respective districts. In doing so they must identify:

- (a) long-term objectives for improving the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of the district, and;
- (b) long-term objectives in relation to the district for contributing to the achievement of sustainable development in Northern Ireland.

Eleven Community Plans have accordingly been produced identifying long-term priorities for improving the social, economic and environmental wellbeing of districts and the people who live there. The Community Plans extend beyond the local government electoral cycle (the next elections are in 2019) with six plans looking forward as far as 2030, and four to 2032. The plans act as local wellbeing frameworks in which local authorities and their partners form Community

Planning Partnerships who must take account of wellbeing at a local and Northern Irish level.

The plans have, to varying degrees, adopted both the language and substance of the wellbeing agenda and outcomes-based model and include phrases such as ‘*the well-being of an area,*’ ‘*community cohesion,*’ and ‘*improving the quality of life for all citizens*’ (Northern Ireland Executive, 2016b).

To aid in the development of indicators to map progress and to ensure alignment to the Northern Ireland indicators each local council was offered the services of a Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) statistician (though this did have to be paid for). The impact can be seen in a number of Community Plans which successfully balance the connection with the PfG indicators and the indicators that are available and relevant locally.

The Carnegie UK Trust’s recent project *Embedding Wellbeing in Northern Ireland* represents the first investment of significance at a local level to support community planning and will shape the move from rhetoric to reality in how wellbeing is embedded at local level as well as national level (Carnegie UK Trust, 2018b).

3.1.2 Evidence of new/improved service management level policy developments in outcomes-based performance management

Each of the national outcomes are ‘owned’ by an outcome team of civil servants from related departments. Strategies such as the Health and Social Care Workforce Strategy 2026 and the Digital Transformation Strategy are explicitly linked to the Programme for Government.

The Executive Office’s *Outcomes Delivery Plan 2018-19* takes as its starting point the 12 outcomes set out in the draft PfG and provides ‘*direction and clarity*’ for those working within the system (Northern Ireland Executive, 2018b). The document identifies outcome owners within the civil services for each of the 12 outcomes, and each outcome chapter is co-authored by civil servants from different but relevant departments.

There are examples of alignment between the draft PfG and departmental strategy documents. This includes the *Health and Social Care Workforce Strategy 2026*, which states alignment with the PfG and includes actions on multidisciplinary and inter-professional working and training (Northern Ireland Executive, 2018a).

3.1.3 Evidence that outcomes-based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities

People in Northern Ireland report the highest levels of personal wellbeing when compared with the UK average. It is unclear at this stage, however, whether outcomes-based performance management has been effective at improving outcomes.

Each outcome contained in the draft PfG is supported by a number of key indicators (49 in total). These indicators are intended to illustrate performance in relation to the outcomes, and provide a basis to monitor progress and take appropriate corrective action. Progress of the outcomes and indicators can be viewed online using an interactive outcomes data viewer compiled and monitored by NISRA (NISRA, 2018).

Indicators of progress towards achieving stated outcomes remain separate to the Office for National Statistics (ONS) survey, which also carries out work on wellbeing. The ONS's 2016 survey found Northern Ireland to be the most contented region in the UK outperforming all other jurisdictions on the criteria used to measure wellbeing (Office for National Statistics, 2017). It is difficult to ascertain the exact reasons as to why this is the case. At the same time Northern Ireland suffers the greatest rate of suicide in the UK (BBC News, 2016).

Overall, there is currently little available evidence that outcomes-based performance management has been effective. This is due in large part to the time and commitment needed to embed this new approach across all public bodies and sections of government and, in particular, the continuing absence of an Assembly and its associated scrutiny structures and processes.

3.1.4 Evidence of new/improved methodologies for capturing improved outcomes and measuring wellbeing

Guidance from the Northern Ireland Audit Office on good practice in outcomes-based performance management is a significant and positive step, with UK-wide significance.

The Northern Ireland Audit Office has published a good practice guide for public bodies on performance management, outlining its expectations on the connection between the PfG outcomes and indicators and those developed by public bodies and reported through their Delivery Plan:

- Programme outcomes: relating to the users of the service (for example, improved personal wellbeing).
- Population outcomes: relating to the whole population but for a specific outcome (for example, living healthier lives).
- Societal outcomes: relating to the whole population, for the set of outcomes that reflects society's view of what comprises wellbeing.

The guidance separates out the accountability for performance management from direct accountability for the PfG outcomes (Northern Ireland Audit Office, 2018). As the Audit Office note, there has been significant confusion over accountability and they endorse the view of the Building Change Trust that:

'No single programme of intervention can be held solely accountable for the achievement of any PfG outcome. Rather it is the sum of the contributions of agencies, programmes and services that move us towards the realisation of outcomes for the population. And so those who plan or provide interventions are answerable for the extent to which their activities deliver the contributions promised (performance accountability) but not for the delivery of PfG outcomes (population accountability).' (Inspiring Impact, 2017).

This guide, and the above description, has significance for wellbeing frameworks in the rest of the UK and further afield, where the relationship between performance management and societal wellbeing has not been as clearly articulated. This is the first of a series of good practice guides and has been followed by a guide on partnerships.

3.1.5 Evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes

There is evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes in the public policy discourse. This is particularly evident in the community and voluntary sector and in the proposals for the Community Evaluation Northern Ireland Outcomes Observatory.

Although the draft PfG has not yet become legislation, the language of outcomes has nevertheless become central in public policy discourse (see the Northern Ireland Audit Office best practice guide on outcomes based performance management described above).

The language of outcomes has also become popular within the third sector. A number of organisations illustrate different aspects of the outcomes journey. The National Children's Bureau has directly supported organisations to design and implement an outcomes approach to performance management (National Children's Bureau, 2016). Other organisations such as the Centre for Effective Services, which has an all-island remit, has also been involved in training at leadership level within the civil service (Centre for Effective Services, 2018).

Community Evaluation Northern Ireland (CENI) was commissioned by the Building Change Trust (BCT) to support the development and delivery of the *Inspiring Impact NI* initiative (Inspiring Impact NI, 2018b).

Established in 2008 with a £10million National Lottery grant, over its 10 year lifetime, BCT promoted and supported change and capacity building in the voluntary and community sector.

The initiative is aimed at transforming how the voluntary, community and social enterprise sectors think about and demonstrate their impact. CENI have been laying foundations for the establishment of an Outcomes Observatory that supports, challenge and inform Government and the Community and Voluntary sector.

Housing Rights is another example of the movement by organisations towards greater emphasis on measuring impact. Over the past year, extra resources have been invested to develop theories of change for each of its services and agree a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation framework to ensure the appropriate data is collated to enable the impact of the services to be assessed. To help drive the continued improvement of their impact measurement practices, Housing Rights has established an Impact Reference Group made up of key stakeholders. This is independently chaired and comprised of members from a variety of backgrounds including funders, researchers and evaluators.

3.1.6 Evidence of changes in organisational structures as a result of outcomes-based performance management

No evidence to date. We are waiting to see if, and to what extent, organisational structures have been changed as a result of the outcomes approach contained with the draft PfG. Although the *Outcomes Delivery Plan 2018/19* outlined above seeks to set out the actions civil servants intend to take, true and substantive change cannot occur in the absence of an Assembly and Executive.

3.2 From top-down to bottom up

Local government reform in 2015 saw the number of local authorities reduce from 26 to 11 with new powers granted in economic development, tourism and planning. Reform promised increased access for citizens to decision-making, although it is still unclear if this has been the case. The trend of increasing local decision-making powers can be seen in the announcement of a City Deal for Belfast and another proposed deal for Derry/Londonderry. The decision not to transfer regeneration powers to local government was seen as a backwards step by local government. This could be reviewed as Community Planning becomes embedded.

What we hope to see:

Embedding of outcomes and wellbeing agenda at local government level; further participation of citizens in local decision-making through strategic sustained investment at a local level; continued devolution of powers to most appropriate decision-making level as envisaged in the Review of Public Administration; opportunities offered by City Deals maximised by cross party support; to review the decision not to transfer regeneration powers to local government.

3.2.1 Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers

Local government reform has reduced the number of local authorities and granted new powers to local authorities on planning, economic development

and tourism, but stopped short on granting councils regeneration powers. A City Deal for Belfast has been announced and Derry has also been invited to submit a proposal.

Local government reform

As part of the reform of local government in April 2015 (when new powers were granted to each council relating to planning, economic development and tourism) the number of councils was reduced from 26 to 11. This move sees Northern Ireland lead the way compared to their counterparts in Britain where almost half of council Chief Executives say that they expect to follow the example here and become part of merged 'super councils' by 2020 (Agenda NI, 2018).

This reform, however, didn't grant regeneration powers; the reason being that the Department for Communities felt they should deliver the ambitious targets for economic regeneration contained within the Programme for Government, and not local councils (Communities NI, 2016).

It did however granted councils new planning powers including:

- Making decisions on the majority of planning applications;
- Investigating alleged breaches of planning control and determining what enforcement action should be taken;
- Developing a local plan which will set out what the council area should look like and how land should be used and developed.

The reforms were heralded as putting decision making in the hands of people with local knowledge, allowing Councils

“to engage earlier and more meaningfully with local communities in plan preparation and in determining planning applications. This gives, businesses, communities, and local groups and organisations a real opportunity to have a say in shaping their local area.”

In April 2015 enhanced statutory requirements for Pre-Application Community Consultation (PACC) and a non-statutory Pre-Application Discussion (PAD) process was issued to make it *“easier for the public to access and participate in the planning process and help deliver faster and more predictable decisions.”*

City deals

In addition to the powers granted to councils through the reform of local government, the DUP-Conservative Confidence and Supply arrangement agreed in June 2017 included provision for a City Deal for the Belfast. On 29th October 2018, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Phillip Hammond MP announced that the Belfast Region City Deal had been successful in their bid to be the first City Deal for Northern Ireland compared to the 33 other deals which have already been agreed in England, Scotland, and Wales, worth a combined £4.9 billion (Belfast Telegraph, 2017a).

It is envisaged the Deal will deliver over 20 projects across four pillars of Innovation and Digital; Infrastructure; Tourism and Regeneration; and Employability and Skills.

The Belfast City Region Deal comprises six councils, Antrim and Newtownabbey, Ards and North Down, Belfast City Council, Lisburn and Castlereagh, Newry Mourne and Down, and Mid and East Antrim. It is also supported by anchor educational institutions including Queen’s University and Ulster University, along with

the Regional Further Education colleges, including Belfast Met, Northern Regional College, South Eastern Regional College and the Southern Regional College.

The Chancellor also invited Derry/Londonderry to also submit its proposal, offsetting criticisms from civic and political leaders of perceived regional variations in economic policy and a neglect of the north-west (BBC, 2018b). In May 2019, the Derry and Strabane district area city deal is received £50m to support innovation and grow the area’s digital sector. With a focus on job creation, tackling deprivation and developing young people’s skills, a further £55m was allocated to an Inclusive Future Fund for the region, the first of its kind in the UK.

3.2.2 New policy developments to support participation in local democracy

In addition to the processes embedded within Community Planning to ensure local people and communities are genuinely engaged in decisions which affect them, each of the 11 councils consulted with citizens within their districts on the plans between late 2016 and summer 2017, giving citizens a voice in terms of service provision in local districts.

3.2.3 Increased local diversity in policies and practices

Community Planning may in time lead to increased local diversity in policy and practice. Community Planning Partnerships have been established in each local council district comprising the council, statutory bodies, public agencies and the wider community, including the community and voluntary sector (Communities NI, 2017).

These partnerships are intended to bring together multiple actors from across sectors and tiers of government to create a shared vision and enact action plans for each local authority. There has been a mixed picture of partnership working to date with some partners playing a more active role than others.

Partners are: The Education and Library Boards, the Health and Social Care Trusts, Public Health Agency, Health and Social Care Board, Police Service of Northern Ireland, Northern Ireland Housing Executive, Northern Ireland Fire and Rescue Service, Invest Northern Ireland, Northern Ireland Tourist Board, Sports Council for Northern Ireland and (SportNI), Libraries NI, Council for Catholic Maintained Schools.

3.2.4 Data on increased citizen engagement in local place

There is little data available in this area. There are a multiplicity of pilots/schemes underway at council level on Participatory Budgeting, Democracy cafes, deliberative democracy and participatory government but no central repository collating and measuring engagement and impact and sharing learning. Anecdotal evidence suggests the figure is much lower than desired but there is no way of substantiating this claim. In the absence of this kind of central repository there is a risk that knowledge and learning will be lost.

A 2018 poll conducted by Ipsos Mori on behalf of the Carnegie UK Trust found that 57% and 65% of people respectively felt that contacting an elected representative and making a complaint to a service provider would be effective in improving something in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

3.3 From representation to participation

In addition to existing forums, more recent initiatives aimed at increasing citizen participation include community planning and attempts to establish a Citizens' Assembly. Despite this, the most recent annual update of the Good Relations Indicators, produced by the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, found that less than a third of adults felt like they have an influence when it comes to any of the local decisions made in their neighbourhood.

What we hope to see:

Increased emphasis placed on encouraging citizens to contribute to, and participate in, local decision-making processes; a reversal of the current trend of voter disillusionment in political process; data on levels of participation; sustained philanthropic investment in innovative approaches to citizen participation.

3.3.1 New policy developments that support participatory democracy

The new Programme for Government and the development of community plans offer increased opportunities for engagement with citizens and communities. Green shoots of more participative policymaking such as the Belfast Agenda are evident, but too much engagement remains procedural. The Building Change Trust was particularly active in supporting the development of a more participatory democracy however now that the Trust has come to an end, the challenge will be to continue to invest and nurture progress.

Government led initiatives

The Northern Ireland Executive was conscious that moving to a vision of wellbeing and improved outcomes for citizens would require involvement from actors outside of government. Previous Programmes for Government had attracted very little response when open for consultation. However, the new outcomes based draft PfG attracted five times more responses than the previous version when it was released for consultation in 2016 (Menzies, 2017).

Community Planning (and the opportunity for citizens to present their views during consultation stage) and the reform of local government offers further opportunity for greater participatory democracy in Northern Ireland. There have been compelling stories of engagement, including the *Belfast Agenda* (their Community Plan) which developed in consultation with 200 organisations and 2,000 individuals through a series of engagement events (Belfast City Council, 2017).

There have been several attempts made at forming a Youth Assembly (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2018). Currently, Northern Ireland is the only jurisdiction across Ireland and the United Kingdom to never have had a Youth Assembly. Several local politicians, including Alliance MLA Chris Lyttle, have given their support to the idea:

‘Proposals for a Youth Assembly were approved by the Assembly Commission in 2011. Therefore, it is extremely disappointing it has not progressed any further since and to learn about a number of obstacles in its path, including budget constraints and being unable to obtain agreement from the then-Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister.’ (Alliance Party, 2018).

A 2016 OECD review on public governance concluded that too much engagement in Northern Ireland remains procedural (OECD, 2016b). The draft PfG does not include democratic engagement as an outcome.

Civic Society Led Initiatives

The idea of a Citizens’ Assembly similar to that already in place in the Republic of Ireland has gained traction in Northern Ireland over the last couple of years. The benefit rests in the potential to engage the public in decision-making, particularly over controversial issues such as abortion and same-sex marriage, a point the BCT argues is given additional importance with an absence of devolved government in Northern Ireland and a lack of public confidence in political institutions. The first Citizens’ Assembly was convened in the autumn of 2018 (BBC, 2018a).

Consisting of 77 citizens, selected to be broadly representative, it met over two weekends in Autumn 2018 to explore the public’s aspirations are for a social care system fit for the future. The recommendations and resolutions as well as all the briefing papers and presentations from the weekend are available for review.

The Northern Ireland Open Government Network, which is starting to make demonstrable progress into making the political institutions in Northern Ireland more accountable, transparent, and accessible. Northern Ireland contributed to the *2018-20 Open Government National Action Plan*. The Network met crowdsourced ideas for ‘Open Government Commitments’ (UK Open Government, 2018). These included:

- Introduce citizen centric data usage reports.
- Open up the Assembly so more people can contribute and increase citizen involvement in the legislative process.
- Create an Open Government Charter for local government authorities.
- Map the Sustainable Development Goals against NI Programme for Government.
- Introduce retrospective transparency on donations to NI political parties.

Other programmes of note led by the BCT include:

- The ‘Civic Activism’ programme which is testing out a range of participatory tools to explore their applicability to Northern Ireland (Civic Activism, 2018).
- ‘Creative Space for Civic Thinking’ is based on the notion that if citizens have information and genuine opportunity for involvement in finding solutions to society’s problems, they could help and empower politicians to make difficult decisions (Building Change Trust, 2016).

Other civil society-led initiatives include:

- The Northern Ireland Life and Time Survey provides a forum for people in Northern Ireland to voice their opinions, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions on a wide range of social policy issues (Northern Ireland Life and Time, 2018). The survey is run on a modular format and while two modules are repeated every year (‘Political Attitudes’ and ‘Community Relation’s) the rest of the survey varies annually, with the modules designed to be repeated in years to come.

3.3.2 Increased use of participatory budgeting (and increased proportion of public spending)

Much like participatory democracy, the idea of participatory budgeting is still in its infancy in Northern Ireland. Regional events were held in March 2018 to introduce stakeholders to the practice, including one in Belfast that was part of the Imagine Festival of Ideas and Politics (Imagine Belfast, 2018). The *Participatory Budgeting Works* project is funded by the Big Lottery Fund through the Building Change Trust and coordinated by Community Places. This collaborative effort includes a range of organisations from the public, community and voluntary sectors working together to create an enabling and supportive environment for participatory budgeting.

3.3.3 New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels

The reform of local government offers opportunities for the ‘double devolution’ of decision-making down to communities, although there is much more to be done. The volatile political environment and the threat of direct rule from Westminster present significant challenges.

Devolution of decisions can be seen most significantly in the reform of local government and Community Planning. The evidence (see Section 3.5 below) would suggest that despite reform giving citizens greater access to decision-making, much more work needs to be done.

In 2017, an audit of UK democracy identified how the volatile political environment in Northern Ireland presented a threat to the potential of further participation in local decision-making (Pow, 2017). The last Assembly election in Northern Ireland (March 2, 2017) saw a further polarisation in politics with the gap between the two largest parties, the DUP and Sinn Féin, the widest it had been for some time.

In the continued absence of an Assembly (the result of these two parties failing to find agreement on issues such as the Irish Language, abortion and same-sex marriage), Northern Ireland finds itself in a form of political limbo.

On 1st November 2018, the Northern Ireland (Executive Formation and Exercise of Functions) Act 2018 received royal assent. Described as:

“An Act to facilitate the formation of an Executive in Northern Ireland by extending the time for making Ministerial appointments following the election of the Northern Ireland Assembly on 2 March 2017; and to make provision about the exercise of governmental functions in, or in relation to, Northern Ireland in the absence of Northern Ireland Ministers.”

The Bill contained a date of 26 March 2019 by which ministers should be appointed as well as the provision for an extension of up to five months. While the bill was intended to give civil servants greater flexibility, empowering them to make decisions in the absence of ministers, there has been consistent reluctance by most Departmental Permanent Secretaries to take decisions that would normally be taken by a Minister.

However, the power to make public appointments to the Northern Ireland Judicial Appointments Commission, Northern Ireland Policing Board, the Probation Board and the Police Ombudsman has been exercised while appointments to the boards of Non Departmental Public Bodies have, for the most part been extended.

The Northern Ireland Local Government Association (NILGA) has called for further devolution of powers within Northern Ireland to give councils increased responsibilities for some public services (NILGA/NPI, 2018).

3.3.4 Citizens feel more engaged in decision-making and feel they can influence policy and practice

Data from the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency suggests that most adults do not feel like they have an influence when it comes to decisions in their local area or in Northern Ireland more broadly. These figures are lower for young people. A slightly more positive picture is painted by Carnegie UK Trust data, which suggests that just over half of people feel they have the right amount of control over public services.

According to the most recent annual update of the *Northern Ireland Good Relations Indicators*, produced by NISRA, fewer than a third of adults felt like they have an influence when it comes to any of the local decisions made in their neighbourhood, and just over a quarter (29%) over the decisions made in Northern Ireland (Northern Ireland Executive Office,

2017a). For young people, these figures were much lower. This is only a slight increase since 2015 despite the introduction of Community Planning, reform of local government, platforms such as the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey,¹⁸ and initiatives led by the Building Change Trust. This is perhaps indicative of further disillusionment with the political system among young in Northern Ireland. It also increases the urgency for initiatives like a Youth Assembly and Citizens' Assembly, both of which are supported by several MLAs.

A more positive picture is painted by the Carnegie UK Trust-commissioned Ipsos Mori poll conducted in 2018, which found that 36% of people in Northern Ireland felt that they had too little control over public services compared to 55% who had the right amount. A total of 57% of people in Northern Ireland felt that attending a public meeting would be an effective approach to improving things in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

18 The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey provides a forum for people in Northern Ireland to voice their opinions, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions on a wide range of social policy issues. The survey is run on a modular format and while two modules are repeated every year (Political Attitudes and Community Relations) the rest of the survey varies annually, with all the modules designed to be repeated in years to come.

3.4 From Silos to Working Together

A widespread commitment has seen progress in integrating public services, although much more needs to be done particularly in relation to health and social care. Barriers to further integration and reform, and indeed the success of current measures, include the present political vacuum and also the frequent change in departmental ministers – itself in part a result of political instability – which often results in an absence of continuity in strategic planning.

What we hope to see:

- Further commitment to integration and cooperation in public sector.
- Implementation of recommendations on the transformation of health and social care contained in the Bengoa report
- Alignment of public sector procurement, funding and audit processes with outcomes-based approach

3.4.1 Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level

The Rise of the Enabling State was critical of the inefficiency of government in Northern Ireland, which in reflecting the 'big tent' principle of peace negotiations and espousing the values of inclusion, participation and parity of representation, contained a vast number of departments and committees (Wallace, 2013). Since then, a number of steps to reform the delivery of public services have taken place in a manner that promotes increased cooperation and integration across different departments and bodies.

Public sector reform

As part of the 2014 Stormont House Agreement (SHA), reached between the main political parties and overseen by the British and Irish governments, Westminster pledged to provide additional financial resources to Northern Ireland provided there was a renewed commitment to public sector reform (Northern Ireland Executive Office, 2017b). This requirement was aimed at enabling the Executive to provide more effective and efficient public services, while also making better use of existing resources.

The SHA set out that Northern Ireland's government would be reduced with fewer ministers, permanent secretaries, special advisers, and press officers. This was to offset criticisms that comparatively within the UK, the Executive was too big and inefficient. These changes were implemented before the 2017 Assembly elections. The number of departments was reduced from 12 to nine, with the number of MLAs returned from each of Northern Ireland's 18 constituencies also reduced from six to five. This left the number of MLAs in the Assembly being reduced from 108 to 90 (Belfast Telegraph, 2017b).

A further undertaking in the SHA was to have the OECD carry out an extensive review of Northern Ireland's public sector reform programme and report back to the Executive. In August 2016, the OECD published its detailed report titled *Northern Ireland (United Kingdom): Implementing Joined-Up Governance for a Common Purpose* (OECD, 2016c). In total, the report made 30 recommendations – the Northern Ireland Executive accepted all but two.

These 30 recommendations were guided by three principal 'improvement' themes, of which ending

traditional thinking in silos was identified as one. It was noted that the move towards 'horizontalisation' would require greater prioritisation of cross-cutting policy delivery, greater challenge and better programme management from the centre, and even incentivisation of senior civil servants to make horizontal delivery their personal priority.

Notwithstanding the recommendations made in the OECD report, there is still a sense shared by some that the report did not truly get to grips with the real difficulties in the governance of Northern Ireland (Agenda NI, 2016). While the report recommended cultural change for civil servants and even compulsory training (in the rules of engagement) for ministers, concerns have been raised that that it did not sufficiently address the ongoing deep division and distrust (as well as ordinary ideological difference) in the political arena.

It has also been suggested that it did not fully appreciate the nature of a Civil Service seemingly hardwired to a rigid concept of management by rulebook, hierarchy and precedent (Inspiring Impact NI, 2018a).

The UK's fourth Open Government National Action Plan 2019-21 (NAP) was published on 28 May 2019. Developed in dialogue with the UK Open Government Network (OGN), despite the current political impasse, commitments from the Northern Ireland Executive included:

- Commitment 1: Transparency in Government Contracting
- Commitment 2: Access to Government Land and Property Data – Making available data relating to Government Land and Property assets
- Commitment 3: Open Data – Increase the number and quality of open datasets released

- Commitment 4: Improved Transparency and Public Accountability
- Commitment 5: Citizen Participation and Open Policy Making
- Commitment 6: Open Government Skills across the Public Sector
- Commitment 7: Public Sector Innovation
- Commitment 8: Social Innovation

It is interesting that this Commitment 4, Improved Transparency and Public Accountability commits the Department for Communities to working “with Community Planning Partnerships to identify innovative and original approaches that will encourage partners and the public to engage in a process that will give local people a direct say in how public funds are used to address local needs.” (UK Open Government, 2019).

Integration in the health sector

Our 2013 baseline for measuring progress in integration was the Health and Social Care (Reform) Act (Northern Ireland), introduced in 2009. This reform was significant in that it reduced the number of bodies involved in the administration, commissioning and delivery of services, and also created a single large Health and Social Care Board (HSCB), and five large Health and Social Care (HSC) Trusts.

However, rather than achieving the ideal model for introducing innovative and person-centred care, Northern Ireland has been slow to exploit the potential benefits of this reform. This was demonstrated in a 2016 OECD review of health care quality in the UK which found progress in Northern Ireland to be modest, although it was recognised that the country had ‘an enviable structural advantage over many OECD countries’ (OECD, 2016a).

In 2015, the then Health Minister, Simon Hamilton, announced that there was still an urgent need for further health and social care reform. He commissioned an international panel of experts to lead an informed debate on the best configuration of health and social care services. The subsequent report *Systems, Not Structures – Changing Health and Social Care*, more commonly referred to as the Bengoa Report, set out a potential way forward (Department of Health (NI), 2018b).

The outworking of the Bengoa Report can be seen in the 2016 vision unveiled by then Health Minister, Michelle O’Neill, entitled *Health and Wellbeing 2026 – Delivering Together* (Department of Health (NI), 2016). This strategic vision puts integration of health and social care provision at its heart, with professionals working in partnership to maximise wellbeing. Its implementation remains at best partial, at worst stalled, until the Assembly is restored and there is agreement on taking this forward with accompanying budgets. In spite of this, work has been undertaken behind the scenes by the Transformation Implementation Group in pushing forward the reform agenda (Department of Health (NI), 2017b).

In April 2018 the annual conference of Northern Ireland Confederation for Health and Social Care, examples of some of the efforts that have taken place include:

- Power to People: proposals to reboot adult care and support in NI report published.
- Over a dozen consultations on health policy launched.
- Workforce Strategy developed and soon to be launched.
- Community Development Framework implementation on the horizon.
- £30 million invested in targeting hospital inpatient and outpatient waiting times.

Evidence of progress sits alongside evidence of a system in a state of constant crisis. However, the Department of Health Permanent Secretary Richard Pengelly and Director of Communications David Gordon highlighted the transformation agenda underway (NHS Confederation, 2018).

A further challenge has been the frequent change in ministers. Since 2014, Northern Ireland has had three different health ministers from two different and diametrically opposed political parties. There is little continuity in strategic thinking and opposing views on how to fully transform the Health Service, which includes implementation of the recommendations contained in the Bengoa Report and also the *Health and Wellbeing 2026: Delivering Together* strategy.

The 2019 conference heard about a range of innovative initiatives including the Trauma Informed Practice Project which shows how the Early Intervention Transformation Programme (EITP) has worked across government to transform how services are delivered for children, young people and families.

A key part of reform which is bringing care closer to communities was also discussed, from Social Prescribing within the West Belfast Integrated Care Partnership, through to the Fermanagh Pathfinder project, common lessons that could and should inform the mainstreaming of these approaches were discussed.

Integration in education

In addition to health, greater integration in public services can also be seen in the establishment of the Education Authority (EA) as a result of the Education (Northern Ireland) Act 2014 that came into effect in

April 2015 (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2014). The EA took over the duties of the five regional Education and Library Boards (ELBs) and is a non-departmental body sponsored by the Department of Education. It continues to manage and deliver services in accordance with the geographic areas previously defined by the ELBs. These include responsibility for ensuring that efficient and effective primary and secondary education services are available to meet the needs of children and young people, and supporting the provision of efficient and effective youth services. The Act also created additional duties for the EA to encourage, facilitate and promote shared education and the community use of school premises.

Integration in Children's Services

In December 2015, the Children's Services Cooperation Act (Northern Ireland) 2015 was introduced into law (Northern Ireland Assembly, 2015). The Act was introduced to the Assembly as a Private Members Bill by Green Party MLA Steven Agnew, and was amended through work with the Office of the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister and the wider children's sector.

The main objective of the Act is to provide a joined-up approach and improve co-operation between Executive Departments and a wide range of bodies including local councils, HSC Trusts, HCS Board, the Education Authority, NI Housing Executive, Police Service NI and the Probation Board, each of whom provide services aimed at improving the wellbeing of children and young people. Within the Act, the term 'wellbeing' is defined using eight general parameters. The factors identified in the Act which contribute to the wellbeing of children and young people are:

- Physical and mental health
- Enjoyment of play and leisure
- Learning and achieving
- Living in safety and stability
- Economic and environmental wellbeing
- Making a positive contribution to society
- Respect of rights
- Promotion of good relations

In the context of the Children's Services Co-operation (Northern Ireland) Act 2015, the Children and Young People's Strategy Team have been working towards developing a new strategy that would build on the *Our Children and Young People – Our Pledge* strategy that expired in 2016. The Minister for Education launched the draft *Children and Young People's Strategy 2017-2027* for public consultation on 19 December 2016. The Strategy Team are currently working on finalising a final strategy (in response to the public consultation) to be presented to the Executive upon its restoration.

Children and Young People's Strategic Partnership

In the community and voluntary sector, joined-up service provision can be seen in the work of the Children and Young People's Strategic Partnership (CYPSP). It is the first and only partnership which brings together a range of agencies, including community and voluntary sector organisations, and is aimed at improving wellbeing and the realisation of the rights of children in Northern Ireland.

The Partnership has argued that despite previous best efforts, the services for children and young people have been traditionally provided separately, with a critical absence of continuity and integration of care and also an ineffective use of resources. CYPSP has mandated Outcomes Groups in each of the five health

trusts to gather statistical information and information from communities in order to understand how well children and young people are doing in terms of certain outcomes, and then putting into place services designed to improve these outcomes.

How these partnerships will relate to the Community Planning Partnerships established to deliver Community Planning within the 11 local authority areas remains as yet unclear.

Community Planning

Community Planning is based on working in partnership and in forming deeper forms of collaboration, not only with stakeholders and statutory partners, but also with other councils (Gallagher, 2017). This aligns with the commitment in the PfG and also in local government to '*work across boundaries*' to achieve outcomes '*rather than traditional departmental lines*'. Community Planning is therefore a positive step towards greater integration at the local level.

A review of Community Plans by the University of Ulster (Gallagher, 2017) found that: '*...efforts to collaborate are evident. But it remains to be seen how collaboration and integration will actually play out in practice. It certainly will need a move towards a culture of trust and collaboration.*'

The process has improved the connection between all tiers of government – both local and regional – through these formal partnerships as the partners developed a shared plan. It has also enhanced the connection with the third sector and wider communities through the development and consultation phase of the process which was intended to produce agreed actions jointly to deliver better

outcomes for everyone.

In October 2015 Community Planning was heralded as of central importance to local government's ability to live up to the Executive's vision of local government – *'... a strong, dynamic local government creating communities that are vibrant, healthy, prosperous, safe, sustainable and have the needs of all citizens at their core....'*

With the first Community Plans developed between March and November 2017, the first Statements of Progress are due for publication by November 2019. As well as showing that reform is about doing things differently, the statements need to show that things are being done better.

3.4.2 Evidence of pooled budgets

The Children's Services Cooperation (Northern Ireland) Act 2015 provides powers for statutory bodies to pool budgets to support services for children and young people. In theory, we should see the pooling of budgets as a way of enhancing community planning in each of the 11 local councils.

It is recognised that pooled budgets can serve as a platform to support greater coordination of services and represent greater value for investment. In practice however, it remains an aspiration as both the statutory and 3rd sector operate within the annual budget cycle operating in Northern Ireland since the collapse of the Executive.

3.5 From crisis intervention to prevention

A shift to interventions which can remove or reduce negative outcomes

While there is an increasing emphasis on early intervention in policy initiatives, especially around children and young people the narrative on prevention is not yet well established in Northern Ireland. The strong focus on outcomes in the Draft Programme for Government does have the potential to further encourage a shift towards preventative services and early intervention. This is best demonstrated in the Children's Services Cooperation Act (Northern Ireland) 2015 and strategies around Children and Young People and Child Poverty, although the outworking of this has yet to be seen.

What we hope to see:

- Evidence of successes in early intervention and preventive measures.
- Government resource allocation decisions prioritising preventative measure.

3.5.1 Increases in preventative spend at local and national level

As with other jurisdictions, there is a strong conflation of prevention with early intervention for children. For example, the *Early Intervention Transformation Programme* is a £25 million investment that aims to improve outcomes for children and young people across Northern Ireland by embedding early intervention approaches. It is funded jointly by five government departments. The projects funded include ante-natal education and care, and family and employability support to young parents serving custodial services (The Social Change Initiative, 2017).

As part of the confidence and supply deal reached between the DUP and Conservative Party in June 2017, £100 million was allocated to the Health and Social Care Transformation fund that has prevention at its core, supporting PfG outcomes and indicators around health and crime (Department of Health (NI), 2018a). As above, however, most of the funding is targeted at midstream or downstream initiatives.

3.5.2 Policies that support prevention

The Children's Services Cooperation Act (Northern Ireland) 2015 and the draft *Children and Young People's Strategy 2017-2027*. See section 3.5.1 for more details on the content of the Act and the development of the draft *Children and Young People's Strategy*. The draft strategy sets out that: '*[i]n this Strategy, the Executive is setting itself the challenge to make a real and lasting difference to the lives of children and young people in eight key areas.*'

Child Poverty Strategy

In March 2016, the Northern Ireland Executive set out its *Child Poverty Strategy* as required by the Child Poverty Act (2010). The strategy has two aims: to reduce the number of children who live in poverty; and reduce the impact living in poverty has on children's lives and life chances. The *Child Poverty Strategy* uses an outcomes-based approach to tackle child poverty. These outcomes were informed by the *Child Poverty Outcomes Framework*, the *Ten-Year Strategy for Children and Young People*, and consultation carried out by the Executive. These outcomes are:

- Families experience economic wellbeing.
- Children in poverty learn and achieve.
- Children in poverty are healthy.
- Children in poverty live in a safe, secure and stable environment.

(Northern Ireland Executive, 2016a)

Acute Care at Home Programme

The Northern Ireland-wide Acute Care at Home programme aims to ensure that patients have, within their own home environment, the same access to specialist tests as hospital inpatients and receive consultant led assessment and treatment. Southern Health and Social Care Trust, which has been piloting the programme since 2014, has reported that providing care in the community setting has led to a 22% reduction in acute bed days in nursing homes amounting to a 64% reduction in cost (Toner & Farrell, 2017). Roll-out is expected to be completed by 2020. A recent publication on community development for health is further evidence of a broadening of the concept of prevention.

3.5.3 Evidence of culture changes that support prevention (e.g. realistic demands for results)

In addition to the above projects and initiatives, the strongest indicator of culture change is the importance placed upon prevention in the draft Programme for Government. It states that the Executive will use and implement 'preventative approaches to reduce the future demand for public services' (Northern Ireland Executive, 2016b). These approaches will be aimed at decreasing intervention and will be focused on health and social care, and crime, particularly offending and reoffending.

3.5.4 Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention

Until the return of an Assembly and the implementation of the Draft Programme for Government, it is too early to determine if approaches to prevention can be, and are, successful, and by extension, if there has been any improvement in the understanding of what works. The potential role of councils in prevention of ill-health is not yet being sufficiently realised, measured or understood.

3.6 From recipients to co-producers / from doing-to to doing-with

To date, co-production has struggled to gain any significant foothold in the delivery of public services at both national and local level in Northern Ireland. While it is recognised as having enormous potential, it remains an opaque concept for many. The new Co-production Guide for Northern Ireland launched by the Department of Health represents a new commitment to co-production within health and social care.

What we hope to see:

Lessons from co-production pilot projects shared and applied through Programme for Government implementation structures and Community Planning Partnerships delivering Community Plans at a local level.

3.6.1 Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management

Co-production has struggled to gain any significant foothold in the delivery of public services at both national and local level in Northern Ireland. Professor John Garry of Queen's University Belfast has said that, in his view, while Northern Ireland has a relatively strong social economy and community sector, there is an ignorance, resistance, and lack of capacity and shared vision to the idea of co-production.

In the health and social care sector, further integration demands co-production, a point reinforced by the Chair of the Public Health Agency (PHA), Andrew Dougal:

'Co-production is regarded as the pinnacle of involvement where Health and Social Care staff and service users, carers and the public share power to generate policy and deliver services together, recognising that all partners have vital contributions to make in order to transform health and social care' (Public Health Agency, 2017).

Despite this, the language of co-production has struggled to gain any momentum, the one notable exception being the *Health and Wellbeing 2026 – Delivering Together* strategy, launched in 2016, which contained a commitment to delivering change through a process of co-production (Department of Health (NI), 2017a). In August 2018 the Department for Health launched the *Co-Production Guide for Northern Ireland – Connecting and Realising Value Through People* (Department of Health (NI), 2018c).

Social prescribing projects, recently awarded £3 million by the Big Lottery to cover various initiatives across Northern Ireland and Scotland, also place significance emphasis on co-production (Scope NI, 2018).

Like health, many other sectors recognise the need and importance of working together, although the terms co-production, co-governance and co-management are rarely used here.

Rather, much of the progress since the 2013 Carnegie UK Trust report has been driven by the community and voluntary sector, with some limited collaboration with statutory agencies.

Community Development and Health Network (CDHN) participated in a pilot co-production scheme in 2016 with the community organisation Duneane Community Collective, as well as Antrim and Newtownabbey Borough Council, Northern Ireland

Health and Social Care Board (HSCB), Northern Ireland Health and Social Care Trust, and the cross-community group, Tidal. Co-production was employed as a means of understanding the complexities of health and wellbeing within local communities. This in turn contributed to the overall aim of establishing more effective ways for the Council to engage with local communities and design and deliver better services (Duneane Community Collective, 2016).

The Building the Community-Pharmacy Partnership (BCPP) is a co-production partnership between CDHN and the HSSB, with strategic direction offered by a multi-agency Steering Group and funding by the Health and Social Care Board. Currently, approximately £330,000 per year is allocated to successful BCPP projects across Northern Ireland. The programme aims to promote and support local communities to work in partnership with community pharmacists to address local health and social wellbeing needs using a community development approach.

Measuring impact among users against three key outcomes, BCPP has been successful in improving accessibility and responsiveness regarding engagement in local services; changing the use and understanding of pharmacy and associated services; and increasing perceived improvements in health and understanding of how to take responsibility for health.

3.6.2 Policies and practices that support transformative co-production

The Health and Wellbeing 2026 – Delivering Together strategy constitutes the most substantive piece of policy supporting co-production, yet implementation remains delayed until the return of an Assembly or direct-rule from Westminster.

3.7 From state to community ownership and management

While the draft Programme for Government and local government reform has enhanced the connection with the third sector and wider communities, concerns remain about the nature of the relations between the state and the third sector and indeed are compounded by the current political impasse. While there has been progress on social clauses in public services contracts primarily in the construction sector, there is more to be done to ensure that social value is embedded in government procurement and, critically, funding and audit processes.

What we hope to see:

The independence of the third sector valued and supported by government in practice as well as principle

3.7.1 Policies to support community ownership and community management

A Community Asset Transfer policy was published in 2014 however the weakness of enabling legislation, financial incentives and subsidies, and effective capacity support for community ownership has been criticised.

The Enabling State review noted in 2013 how there were moves towards greater community ownership in Northern Ireland evidenced by the creation of an Asset Management Unit. Since then, the Department for Social Development (now absorbed into the

Department for Communities) in 2013 established a framework to assist the change in management and/or ownership of land or buildings, from public bodies to local communities. The Community Asset Transfer in Northern Ireland Policy was published in May 2014 (Department for Social Development (NI), 2014).

This framework supported the 2011-2015 PfG which committed to ‘*invest in social enterprise growth to increase sustainability in the broad community sector*’. It also supported the Concordat between the Voluntary and Community Sector and the Government which contains a commitment to investigate the potential for community asset management and ownership in Northern Ireland.

Despite the continuity between the previous PfG and the 2016-21 draft PfG in terms of asset management and social enterprise, there have been a modest number of successful transfers. Development Trusts Northern Ireland (DTNI) is the key departmental delivery partner to support the implementation of Community Asset Transfer, and aims to build capacity and expertise within the third sector to enable community organisations to take advantage of future opportunities.

The Northern Ireland housing authority, the Housing Executive, in its present *2016-2020 Rural Strategy and Action Plan*, gives brief mention to the Community Asset Transfer policy, which enables the development of facilities which bring social benefits to rural communities and promote health and wellbeing e.g. the creation of shared recreational spaces and places, the development of a social enterprise or the use of a community-let for social enterprise (Housing Executive, 2016).

In his review of community asset transfer in Northern Ireland, Brendan Murtagh acknowledges the potential of asset transfers for local communities in creating neutral spaces and engendering a willingness to work more corporately on urban regeneration projects (Murtagh, 2015). However, he notes that the weakness of enabling legislation, financial incentives and subsidies, and effective capacity support in the recent consultation document indicates a lack of political intent in sustaining such practices.

3.7.2 Increases in community ownership and management

Although changes in community ownership and management are afoot, it is currently too early to determine how substantial and far-reaching there are. We wait to see their impact.

3.7.3 Changes to commissioning that support third sector delivery

There have been calls in recent years for legislation to ensure that Social Value is included in procurement and commissioning. Some pre-consultation work has been completed but no further movement is possible until the Assembly returns.

In recent years, calls for legislation to ensure that social value is included in the commissioning and procurement of public service contracts has intensified. These calls have been led by Social Enterprise NI, an umbrella organisation set up by the Department for the Economy in 2013 to support and promote social enterprises.

Social clauses are nothing new locally; the 2011-2016 PfG contained a commitment to introduce social clauses in public services contracts. However, these have mainly operated within the construction sector for large-scale projects by way of the Strategic Investment Board's *Buy Social* programme (Buy Social NI, 2018). This typically involves placements and apprenticeships as part of construction contracts.

Research by the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action has shown that there needs to be a clearer strategic vision for the use of social clauses, earlier consideration of the role of social clauses on each project, more innovation, a stronger focus on outcomes, and a robust system of enforcement.

One possible way of alleviating these concerns is the establishment of a Social Value Act similar to that already in place in England and Wales, something which has been championed by Social Enterprise NI. A Social Value Act would require commissioners of public services to consider how they can secure wider social, economic and environmental, or sustainability, benefits, as well as an imposition of conditions on grants used for procurement that require a demonstration of social value. Some pre-consultation work has been carried out already, but no further movement is possible until the Assembly returns. Even then, a future Finance Minister must be content to carry on the progress already achieved.

3.8 Increases in volunteering

Volunteering rates have dropped since 2015, but Carnegie UK trust figures suggest there is a strong appetite for volunteering that is not being converted to action.

The volunteering sector has faced significant change and challenges over the last few years, not least austerity which has seen many organisations experience a sharp drop in funding. It has also been reported that volunteering levels have decreased (27% of adults having indicated their carried out voluntary work in 2016 compared to 32% in 2015) (Department for Social Development (NI), 2015).

As the lead organisation in developing and supporting volunteering in Northern Ireland, Volunteer Now has been working closely with the Department for Communities to bring forward a new volunteering strategy. This strategy, it is hoped, will equip the sector to meet the challenges it faces in the coming years, developing upon the first-ever volunteering strategy in Northern Ireland brought forward in 2012. In its 2017-2020 Strategic Plan, Volunteer Now has set as its objectives that it wants to increase volunteer participation and the impact of their involvement. However, successful delivery of these objectives will require the restoration of the Assembly and the implementation of a new volunteering strategy.

When asked how likely they would be to volunteer or help out a local charity or community group to improve things in their local area, 54% of people surveyed in Northern Ireland said that this was highly likely or likely, suggesting that there is significant latent appetite for local volunteering (Wallace & Thurman, 2018). That could be converted into action which support a variety of wellbeing outcomes.

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4. Review of policy developments since 2013 in Scotland

Jenny Brotchie, Rebekah Menzies, Jennifer Wallace and Natalie Hancox

4.1 From target setting to outcomes

The narrative around outcomes has been further strengthened in Scotland with the introduction of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act (2015). The Act embeds the outcomes approach in legislation at both the Scotland-wide (National Performance Framework) and local (Local Outcome Improvement Plans) levels and places Scotland as a world leader in Outcomes Based Performance Management. After a process of review that included public consultation, the Scottish Government have recently released the revised National Performance Framework (NPF) and National Outcomes. An OECD review has identified a number of systemic barriers to implementing the framework. A key barrier is that spending is not currently linked to outcomes. In addition the framework sits in a confusing and cluttered performance management landscape and there is no clear articulation yet as to how performance management of specific programmes and services should relate to the NPF at a national or local level. At the local level progress on outcomes based Community Planning is variable with areas of good practice sitting alongside more traditional approaches. Maintaining a focus on locally informed outcome priorities within Community Planning Partnerships (CPPS) remains challenging as CPPs continue to operate in a complex accountability landscape.

What we hope to see:

To achieve a step change in progress at the national level further strengthening of the NPF is required. This will involve: addressing the issues highlighted in the OECD review, with a particular focus on using the NPF as spending, decision-making and scrutiny tool; a clearer and more consistent approach to linking performance management in local and national programmes and services to the NPF; the development of logic models of policy interventions to achieve outcomes will ensure that the best metrics are being employed to guide and measure progress. Improving the usability of Scotland Performs data platforms will also help engage wider stakeholders.

4.1.1 Evidence of new/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes-based performance management at a local and national level

National developments

The Scottish Government marked 10 years of the NPF in 2017 and launched a revised framework in June 2018. The new NPF contains 11 national outcomes that are, for the first time, the result of consultation and engagement with the public over a number of years.

The new national outcomes explicitly link to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Scotland is also a founder member of the Global Wellbeing Alliance, a partnership between seven different regions and countries that seeks to look beyond GDP to measure progress and develop a sustainable economic model focused on wellbeing and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. Members of the Wellbeing Alliance include Scotland, Slovenia, Costa Rica and New Zealand. (Scottish Government, 2017q).

The NPF now has a statutory basis in the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015, which requires Scottish Ministers to continue setting national outcomes for Scotland. The Act requires that Scottish Ministers must determine the national outcomes that result from, or are affected by, public services relating to non-reserved matters. In doing so, they must consult, have regard to inequalities, and report on, prepare and publish reports about the extent to which the national outcomes have been achieved (Barnardo's Scotland, 2016b). The outcomes must be reviewed at least every five years and public authorities must have regard to the national outcomes in carrying out their devolved functions. (Scottish Government, 2017e).

An interactive website for communicating progress against the national indicators is currently being tested.

The OECD's Observatory of Public Sector Innovation (OPSI) have been working with the Scottish Government to review and share learning about the implementation of the NPF. The work is part of the OECD's 'Unlocking systems change in the public sector' programme. The final output will include an outside perspective on the implementation of the NPF through a systems lens and inform the international systems thinking community about the Scottish approach to outcomes-based management. In a background note to a workshop with Scottish Government staff the OPSI team describe the NPF as '*the most developed outcomes-based approach adopted by government in the world.*' In the same note the OPSI team address some of their emerging findings from interviews and background research conducted in early 2018. In general OPSI observed that the NPF has significantly changed the structure of government and strategic planning and has had implications for Scottish Government HR policies, public engagement and policy making and that national performance outcomes are regularly reported to policy makers and integrated into key strategic documents. However, they felt that outcomes based goals are not yet clearly linked to fiscal expenditure and that the implementation of the NPF has not been consistent throughout different policy fields.

Budgeting for outcomes

There is opportunity for the budgeting process to be more closely linked to the national outcomes. The Scottish Parliament Finance and Constitution Committee for example, noted that: '*The focus tends to be on examining the Scottish Government's expenditure proposals for the following year. There is little scrutiny of budget decisions at a strategic level including whether the Scottish Government is making any progress against its declared objectives* (Scottish Parliament Finance and Constitution Committee, 2017).

In 2017, the Budget Process Review Group recommended that scrutiny of outcomes should be an integral part of the revised budget process and that the NPF be used more widely by Parliament and its committees. The group also concluded that the Scottish Government should set out clearly in policies and plans a clear link between particular priorities, policies or initiatives and the expected impact on outcomes, making direct reference to the NPF (Scottish Parliament Budget Process Review Group, 2017).

Examples of changing practice as a result of the Budget Process Review Group report are emerging. The approach of the Health and Sport Committee in publishing a pre-budget report in November 2017 with the aim of influencing the content of future budgets has been held up as good practice (Scottish Parliament Finance and Constitution Committee, 2018).

Local developments

Community planning has had a statutory basis in Scotland since 2003. The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 however gives it, for the first time, a statutory *purpose*: to improve outcomes relating to the services provided by community planning partners and that local outcomes must be consistent with the National Outcomes. The Act lists all of the public authorities that must take part in community planning and places a number of duties on those bodies. These include (Scottish Parliament, 2015):

- Preparing and publishing a Local Outcomes Improvement Plan (LOIP) which; sets out the local outcomes that the Community Planning Partnership (CPP) will prioritise for improvement and a timetable for improvement. The LOIP must be prepared in consultation with relevant

community bodies and progress must be regularly reviewed and reported on annually.

- Producing locality plans that identify the local authority sub-areas which are experiencing the poorest outcomes; outlines the action proposed; and the timescale for improving outcomes in the local area.
- Cooperating with other community planning partners and community bodies to improve the achievement of local outcomes.

CPPs were required to have their LOIPs in place by 1 October, 2017.

While the Act places the outcomes approach on a statutory footing, CPPs operate in a '*cluttered landscape of performance benchmarking and evaluation frameworks*' (Accounts Commission and Auditor General for Scotland, 2016). The Accounts Commission and Auditor General suggest that there is an opportunity to: '*streamline national performance frameworks and place more emphasis on longer-term outcomes measures.*' A 2018 Audit Scotland update paper on progress CPPs have made to address these and other issues reported that progress was mixed. Crucially it found that CPPs still operate within a complex network of accountability frameworks (Audit Scotland, 2018b).

A 2018 stocktake of Local Outcome Improvement Plans similarly identified the challenge of retaining focus on locally informed outcome priorities in a 'policy landscape that places a number of expectations on CPPs.' (NHS Health Scotland; Audit Scotland and Improvement Service, 2018).

4.1.2 Evidence of new/improved service management level policy developments in outcomes-based performance management

Outcomes-based performance management at the programme and service level has developed since 2013. The Scottish Government reports (Scottish Government, 2016j) that there are now several aligned thematic frameworks which link to the National Outcomes:

- Active Scotland
- Commonwealth Games 2014
- Housing and Regeneration
- Justice
- Procurement

Like the National Outcomes these frameworks are overseen and contributed to by a wide range of public and community sector partners. Other relevant outcomes frameworks are explored in more detail below.

The Health and Wellbeing Outcomes Framework was introduced in 2015 and provides a strategic framework for the planning and delivery of integrated health and social care in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2015). The nine national Health and Wellbeing outcomes focus on improving the experience for people using health and social care services, carers and their families. The outcomes are intended to underpin integration activities that Health Boards, Local Authorities and the, recently created, Integration Authorities carry out under the Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014.

Integration Authorities (IAs) are required by the Act to set out how they will contribute to national Health and Wellbeing outcomes and to report

annually on performance. A Core Suite of Integration Indicators has been developed to be used in monitoring and reporting performance against the National Health and Wellbeing Outcomes (Scottish Government, 2015a). The Indicators are a mix of how people perceive the service that they receive and organisational information such as the number of adults admitted to hospital in an emergency.

But the process of linking measures to outcomes is incomplete and there is variation in the mix of indicators that IAs are using to track progress. This will make it difficult to measure success and compare the impact of different approaches at a national level (Audit Scotland, 2015).

The broader accountability landscape for health and social care in Scotland has recently come under criticism (Burns, 2017). The landscape is complex with health and social care services accountable to four different frameworks and associated indicators: the National Performance Framework, Local Delivery Plan standards and indicators (Scottish Government, 2017g), Best Value and the National Health and Wellbeing Outcomes.

In addition, the Health and Sport Committee have raised concerns about the extent to which IAs are linking their budget to outcomes (a statutory duty) (Scottish Parliament Finance and Constitution Committee, 2018).

Despite positive progress though the alignment is not complete, with the achievements noted by Education and Planning in relation to the NPF tending towards inputs and processes, while others report on programme level impacts rather than impacts on society as a whole (Scottish Government, 2017q).

Further, there is no clear articulation from the Scottish Government of how the National Outcomes, and indicators, should relate to the performance management of specific programmes or services.

4.1.3 Evidence that outcomes-based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities

At the National level data for performance against the new national indicators was incomplete at the time of writing, however at the time of last update (November 2017), the Scottish Government reported that performance was improving against 12 of the 55 indicators and being maintained against 37 (Scottish Government, 2018d).

With 10 years of experience, the Scottish experience ought to provide evidence on the impacts of a wellbeing framework. Measuring the impact of outcomes based policy making is however challenging. Not least because there is currently no consistent approach to monitoring and reporting the impact of specific programmes and services on outcomes.

There is a similar picture at the local level. In their 2018 on Community Planning Audit Scotland note that the Scottish Government and NHS Health Scotland are working with others to develop an approach to evaluating community planning and its impact on outcomes but that this is proving challenging (Audit Scotland, 2018b).

4.1.4 Evidence of new/improved methodologies for capturing improved outcomes and measuring wellbeing

A focus on outcomes requires a different type of evidence to understand success and measure impact, as identified by the Carnegie UK Trust and Alliance for Useful Evidence in *The Scottish Approach to Evidence*.

'The nature of the Scottish approach to policy demands a mix of evidence types. It necessitates the production and use of system-wide evidence, rather than evidence focussing on an individual sector or programme.' (Coutts & Brotchie, 2017).

This is echoed by What Works Scotland, who identify the need for a range of evidence to understand the contribution of an intervention to outcomes (Cook, 2017). Coutts & Brotchie, 2017, note that Scotland is in a strong position to develop expertise on outcomes-based government but, at present, the evidence base lags behind the policy ambition. An outcomes approach also requires different ways of working for audit and scrutiny bodies. Audit Scotland are beginning work on 'auditing for outcomes.' (Wallace, 2018) (Audit Scotland, 2018a).

4.1.5 Evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes

The language of outcomes is well embedded across the Scottish Government, local government, and the public sector more broadly in Scotland, from frontline service delivery functions, to planning, commissioning, service improvement, and performance management. (Cook, 2017).

The language of wellbeing is also becoming more prominent. Despite the NPF including a range of

indicators that report on progress beyond economic growth, the Scottish Government has in the past been criticised for focusing too heavily on the economic outcomes and GDP as a determinant of progress, at the expense of wellbeing (McLaughlin, 2017) (Trebeck, 2017). The Scottish Government is attempting to address this by committing to wellbeing more broadly. In her speech launching the new NPF at the National Performance Framework Conference in June 2018, First Minister, Nicola Sturgeon said:

‘As a government, we recognise that economic growth is hugely important, but it must be matched by improvements in our environment, in people’s quality of life, in the opportunities available to people and the public services they have access to.’ (Scottish Government, 2018j).

4.1.6 Evidence of changes in organisational structures as a result of outcomes-based performance management

The most significant change in organisational structures has been the establishment of Integration Authorities (IAs.) IAs were legislated for under the Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014, which came into effect in April 2016. IAs are partnerships between health boards and local authorities that have been set up and oversee £8 billion of budget for local services separately managed by the Health Boards and Local Authorities in the past. The aim is to encourage a greater focus on joint working and preventative, community-based services and ultimately to improve outcomes for the people that use these services (Audit Scotland, 2018f). As noted above however, IAs are not always linking budgets to outcomes and operate in a complex performance management environment.

4.2 From top-down to bottom up

After promises to further decentralise power to a local level, the Scottish Government announced a local governance review in December 2017, with engagement processes ongoing during 2018. Local Outcomes Improvement Plans (LOIPs) and Locality Plans offer potential for increased community engagement, local focus and tailoring of policies and practices at the local level to improve outcomes for communities, but CPPs may need to be bolder in focusing on priorities and resourcing and delivering large scale and transformational changes to policies and practice.

What we hope to see:

Upcoming review and reform of local government is meaningful and will deliver results. Community Planning Partnerships build on existing community engagement and local analysis to develop and deliver local informed and focused LOIPs and Locality plans.

4.2.1 Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers

Local Government reform

Local government in Scotland is often criticised for being highly centralised, with local authority areas 45 times the geographical size of the European average (Scottish Rural Parliament, 2015). This has an impact on communities feeling they are able to influence decision-making in their local authority area. Over

the last 50 years in Scotland, the number of elected local governments has dropped from 400 to 32. (The Scotsman, 2014) Writing on the future of local government, Professor James Mitchell states: *'If the trend in central-local relations continues on the path followed over the last half century, then we will be unable to talk of local government. We will have local administration, a system in which autonomy has been lost.'* (Mitchell, 2017).

The 2014 COSLA-led Commission on Local Democracy (Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy, 2014) identified a crisis in local democracy caused by over centralisation and growing inequalities: *'This has made communities spectators, not full participants, in their own democracy, and shut out the resources and insights that they could bring to the table. Worst of all, compared to countries that have taken a much more local approach, this centralised approach has led to big and expensive inequalities in Scottish society, and those inequalities are not reducing.'*

The Commission's report *Effective Democracy: Reconnecting with Communities, 2014* argued that local democracy must be strengthened by empowering communities and rebuilding from the bottom up.

Local authorities in Scotland have been under significant pressure in recent years to keep public services running in the face of financial pressures, with funding for local government down by 8% in real terms since 2010-11 (COSLA, 2017d). COSLA have argued that Scottish Government policies mean they are restricted in which areas they can make budget cuts and therefore face challenges in budgeting according to local needs. They highlight that new resources from Scottish Government are being directed to Scottish Government policies, the net result being

that councils' core budgets in 2017 accounted for 90% of funding compared to 98% in 2011/12 (COSLA, 2017b).

The Scottish Government and COSLA announced a Local Governance Review in December 2017, which *'will consider how powers, responsibilities and resources are shared across national and local spheres of government, and with communities'* (Scottish Government, 2017f). The engagement process with communities, and the public, private and third sectors, will inform the development of a Local Democracy Bill later in this Parliament (Scottish Government, 2017). There are two strands to the engagement: The first is a community conversation called 'Democracy Matters': with funding available to small groups and voluntary organisations to cover the costs of a local community conversation and input into the consultation (Scottish Government, 2018a), the second is an invitation to public sector leaders to put forward proposals about improved governance at their 'level of place' (Scottish Government, 2018c).

The review has the potential to fundamentally reform some of the long-standing issues facing local government in Scotland, and has been welcomed by COSLA (Shannon, 2017).

Islands (Scotland) Act 2018

Particular local government reforms for the Scottish islands have been under development since 2013. In the spring of 2013, following the announcement that there would be a Scottish Independence Referendum, Scotland's three island authorities – Orkney, Shetland and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar – formed a joint constitutional working group. This culminated in the launch of the Our Islands Our Future campaign in June

2013, and subsequent commitments from both the Scottish and UK Governments to better support and empower Scotland's island communities. (Scottish Parliament, 2017c).

The Islands (Scotland) Act was introduced in July 2018. The legislation makes provisions for the 'island proofing' of future legislation and policies; the creation of a National Islands Plan; extends powers to island councils in relation to marine licencing and allows local authorities to request additional powers from Scottish Ministers. (Scottish Parliament, 2017a).

City Region Deals

A number of areas in Scotland have pursued city region deals, which are agreements between the Scottish Government, the UK Government and local government designed to bring about long-term strategic approaches to improving regional economies. City deals are designed to move economic decision-making away from central government (Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe), 2017d). The first deal in Scotland was Glasgow and Clyde Valley and was announced in 2014. Each deal is tailored to its city region, reflecting its individual economic strengths and weaknesses, and comprises a programme of interventions to support positive, transformative change (Scottish Government, 2018n). The current deals include the Glasgow City Region Deal, Aberdeen City Region Deal, Inverness and Highland City Region Deal, Edinburgh and South East Scotland City Region Deal and the Stirling and Clackmannanshire City Region Deal. Further discussions to develop potential city region deals for the Tay City region is underway (Scottish Government, 2018n). Other areas are in discussion about proposals for regional growth deals, including the three Ayrshire Councils and the

Borderlands (Scottish Borders, Dumfries & Galloway, Carlisle City, Northumberland and Cumbria) (Scottish Government, 2018n).

In its inquiry into city region deals, the Local Government and Communities Committee found that 'the process is still too top down at local authority level despite some of the efforts to consult and engage with local people and businesses' (Scottish Parliament, 2018). The Committee's report also states that there are 'confused and cluttered' priorities between the UK Government, Scottish Government and local authorities, in particular the UK Government's focus on traditional economic growth, compared with the Scottish Government's focus on inclusive growth. The Committee also expressed concern that significant areas of Scotland not included in deals, particularly more rural and remote areas, may not benefit from the investment through the deals.

The Committee is keeping a watching brief on the City Deals agenda, and an audit report of city region deals by Audit Scotland is due to be published in 2019.

4.2.2 Increased local diversity in policies and practices

The introduction of LOIPS and locality plans under the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 was partly intended to encourage greater local focus and prioritisation in community planning partnership. LOIPs are to be clearly based on evidence and analysis of the area and its communities, variations in outcomes between communities and communities of interest, and should identify the communities and outcomes where improvement is a priority (NHS Health Scotland, Audit Scotland and Improvement Service, 2018).

NHS Health Scotland, Audit Scotland and Improvement Service, 2018, in their stock take of the first LOIPs, note that some LOIP priorities are too broad and require a sharper focus on the more intractable issues that require joint commitment and resourcing to make a difference.

In 2016 Audit Scotland recommended, amongst many things, that the Scottish Government and COSLA put in place a 'test of change' within a CPP to assess the impact of greater local autonomy on improving outcomes and identify any barriers to effective locally focused partnership working. This would involve ministers agreeing to relax specific performance targets and/or funding conditions, in return for a commitment to direct additional investment towards prevention. This has not however gone ahead.

Audit Scotland in their 2016 overview of local government in Scotland highlight that many councils are making slow progress in delivering services differently rather than relying on incremental savings and staff reductions to deliver savings (Audit Scotland, 2016). In their 2018 review the body highlights that achieving transformational change is becoming increasingly important as a response to reductions in funding and that councils will need to use this as part of a mix of approaches to manage the ongoing squeeze in budgets. The body notes however that to achieve transformational change local government will need to dedicate resource and investment to transformation (Audit Scotland, 2018d).

4.2.3 Data on increased citizen engagement in local place

At 46.9% (Electoral Commission, 2017), participation in Scottish Local Council elections was up significantly in 2017 compared to 2012, but remains relatively low compared to turnout at national elections. Turnout at the Scottish Parliament elections in 2016 was 55.6% (Scottish Parliament Information Centre (SPICe), 2016).

Confidence in local councils is also low. The 2017 Scottish Social Attitudes survey found that only one quarter (26%) trusted their local council to make fair decisions, with 41% of people saying their local council was good at listening to people's views before taking decisions (Scottish Government, 2018r).

Both trust in local government and confidence in their local council's ability to listen to people's views have fallen since 2015, the first year that the question was asked. In 2015, 34% trusted their local council to make fair decisions and 44% of people were saying their local council was good at listening to people's views before taking decisions (Scottish Government, 2018r).

On the other hand, a 2018 poll conducted by Ipsos Mori on behalf of the Carnegie UK Trust found that 66% and 55% of people respectively felt that contacting an elected representative and making a complaint to a service provider would be effective in improving something in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

4.3 From representation to participation

There have been a number of significant policy developments since 2013 to strengthen participatory democracy in Scotland including the introduction of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act, the commitment to Open Government and a commitment by the Scottish Government and Local Authorities to allocate 1% of local government spending (£100 million) by 2021. The challenge is now to widen public engagement and participation, and to ensure that participatory democracy is used as a transformational policy tool.

What we hope to see:

Participatory democracy processes move from happening at the edges to becoming more mainstream.

4.3.1 New policy developments that support participatory democracy

The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 contains a number of provisions that provide communities with new opportunities to influence and be involved in decision making on national and local priorities.

The Act includes statutory participation requests. This part of the act sets out a process by which a community body can request that a service is improved, or help improve a service, if it believes this is needed. Community bodies must set out what outcome they would expect to achieve through participation and what knowledge and expertise they have. The Act is clear that the public sector body that provides the service 'must agree to the request unless

there are reasonable grounds for refusing it'. Public service authorities must report annually on how they have supported and progressed participation requests. (Scottish Community Development Centre, 2015).

A stock take of LOIPs by the Improvement Service, NHS Health Scotland and Audit Scotland (NHS Health Scotland, Audit Scotland and Improvement Service, 2018) found that although many LOIPs demonstrated some form of community engagement, it was not always clear how they were connecting with 'hard to reach' and disadvantaged groups and how communities would remain actively involved throughout the development, implementation and monitoring of LOIPs.

Planning (Scotland) Bill

The Planning (Scotland) Bill was introduced to Parliament on December 4, 2017 (Scottish Parliament, 2017b). The Bill is central to Scottish Government's package of measures intended to strengthen the planning system's contribution to inclusive growth and empowering communities (Scottish Government, 2017j). Specifically, the Bill includes a new right for communities to develop and introduce a Local Place Plan, which must be taken into consideration by the planning authority when reviewing or developing the Local Development Plan.

The new legislation was introduced following a critical independent review of the Scottish planning system in 2016, which had found that: '*The planning system is not yet effective in managing, let alone empowering communities... Constraints to effective engagement include resources and time and it appears that often consultation is minimal, rather than meaningful... local authorities often seek to manage expectations rather than being ambitious about securing community buy-in.*' (Beveridge, et al., 2016).

Following the review, the Scottish Government consulted on a package of proposed improvements to planning in early 2017, publishing the position statement on places, people and planning in June 2017. The position statement includes commitments to better align community planning with spatial planning; give people an opportunity to plan their own place; get more people involved in planning, including children and young people; and keep rights of appeal decisions local. (Scottish Government, 2017i).

Refresh of the National Standards for Community Engagement

The National Standards for Community Engagement are good-practice principles designed to support and inform the process of community engagement, and improve what happens as a result. Originally launched in 2005, the standards were reviewed and following extensive community engagement refreshed and relaunched in 2015/16 (Scottish Government and Scottish Community Development Centre, 2016).

Open Government

In 2016, Scotland became a member of the international Open Government Partnership. Scotland's commitment to open government was set out in the 2017/18 Programme for Government (Scottish Government, 2017a) and Scotland's first Open Government Action Plan 2016/17 (Scottish Government, 2016d). The participation of citizens and civil society in decision making is a key component of Open Government. Scotland's 2016/17 Action Plan sets out five commitments including:

Commitment 5: to increase participation which comprised three strands of work in 2016/17 (Scottish Government, 2016d):

- bringing local government functions closer to communities through the development of new legislation;
- ensuring the people who use public services are involved in designing them;
- building an Open Government movement in Scotland.

An independent review of progress against the Action Plan published in early 2018 found that: '*Scotland showed strong institutional participation during co-creation and implementation of the OGP [Open Government Partnership] action plan*' (McDevitt, 2017).

Under commitment five, however, none of the seven milestones specified in the action plan had been achieved by the end of 2017. Most progress has been achieved on the development of a 'Scottish Approach to Service Design': a set of principles and tools for designing public services from the citizen point of view. This initiative is being led by the Scottish Government's Digital Directorate and is being used in the development of the new Social security programme (see below). At the time of writing this had not been published.

The review (McDevitt, 2017) contained a number of recommendations for:

- A more structured and coordinated approach to implementing participative approaches across government;
- A more well-defined set of activities tied to specific policies;
- Broader and deeper engagement with civil society build around a more coherent narrative.

The 2018-20 Open Government Action Plan is currently under development. The consultation period will end August 2018 (Open Government Network Scotland, 2018).

Fairer Scotland

Fairer Scotland was a national conversation about fairness and social justice that took place in 2015. The conversation engaged 7,000 people in events and local discussions (Scottish Government, 2016a). During the conversation, there was a call for greater opportunities for local people to play a part in decisions that affect them and their communities. The Scottish Government response was the Fair Scotland Action plan launched in 2016 (Scottish Government, 2016a).

The Fairer Scotland Action plan sets out 50 fairness actions for this parliamentary term. A number of actions relate to participation and democracy, including:

- We will do more to help people to have a say in their local areas;
- We will take action to make democratic institutions more representative of the communities they serve.

The independent review of progress against the Open Government Action Plan published in early 2018 (McDevitt, 2017) warns that impact of the initiative has been adversely affected by limited human and financial resources and that Fairer Scotland risks becoming an under-resourced and 'well-intentioned but isolated, one-off initiative'. Recommendations include a targeted and specific programme of activities, such as citizen panels to ensure ongoing engagement with communities on the development and implementation of specific actions within the Fairer Scotland plan.

Social Security

The Scottish Government is using Experience Panels made up of volunteers who have direct experience of

using the benefits system to inform the development of the new social security system for Scotland. So far 2,400 volunteers have signed up and recruitment will take place on an annual basis (Menzies, 2017) (Scottish Government, 2017c).

Other participatory forums are being used to shape services in Scotland. Citizens' panels and juries are being used in Scotland to engage people to make health and social care better. 'Our Voice' is a citizens' panel made up of around 1,300 people who come from all walks of life from across Scotland and are regularly asked their opinions on a variety of different issues through surveys, discussion groups and workshops. The initiative was launched in Spring 2017 and is a partnership between Scottish Government, NHS Scotland, Scottish Health Council, Health and Social Care Alliance Scotland, Healthcare Improvement Scotland and COSLA. (Our Voice, 2017).

A challenge of course is that while the Scottish Government ambition may be to include citizens to a much greater extent many policies such as Universal Credit lie out with the Scottish Government's direct control.

Commission on Parliamentary Reform

An independent commission to look at how the Scottish Parliament can better engage with the people of Scotland and how its work can be improved to deliver better scrutiny was established in 2016. The Commission reported in June 2017. The Commission found that since 1999 the parliament has made: *'good progress in delivering the vision of an open, participative, power sharing, accountable Parliament with equal access for all.'* (Commission on Parliamentary Reform, 2017).

Key recommendations included:

- Establishing a Committee Engagement Unit: a dedicated team to support parliamentary committees to undertake more innovative and meaningful engagement.
- To trial 'mini public's' as part of moving towards a more participative approach to scrutiny.
- The parliament should provide personalised and meaningful feedback to people who have engaged with the parliament.

4.3.2 Increased use of participatory budgeting (and increased proportion of public spending allocated to participatory budgeting).

The Scottish Government has invested over £4.7 million in a range of measures to support the introduction and development of Participatory Budgeting (PB) between 2014 and June 2017 (Scottish Government, 2017h). This includes a national programme of support to build expertise, knowledge and resources, match and project funding for Local Authorities and the introduction of the Community Choices Fund (O Hagan, et al., 2017).

Between 2014 and June 2017, 20 local authorities were directly engaged with the Scottish Government on PB activity (O Hagan, et al., 2017). Between 2009 and 2016, 58 PB processes have taken place (Harkins, et al., 2016), a significant increase from the eight PB projects in 2013.

The Scottish Government launched the Community Choices Fund specifically to support PB in 2016/17 and the fund is now in its second year (Scottish

Government, 2018g). Originally available to Local Authorities, the Fund is now only available to community organisations and community councils with the Scottish Government offering more targeted support to Local Authorities. The funding is currently targeted particularly at deprived areas. The funding available for 2018/19 totals £750,000.

The Scottish Government set out a commitment in their 2016/17 Programme for Government to work in partnership with Local Authorities to ensure that at least 1% of Local Authority budgets (£100 million) would be allocated by PB. In 2017, COSLA and the Scottish Government agreed a framework for doing so by the end of 2021. (COSLA, 2017c) (COSLA, 2017a).

Participatory budgeting is also a key commitment under the Scottish Government's Open Government Partnership Action Plan (Scottish Government, 2016d).

O'Hagan et al (2017), in a Scottish Government evaluation of PB found that there has been a significant increase in funding and activity on PB since 2014 but that:

- There is variation in commitment, practice and definitions of PB as well as in level of participation;
- PB activity currently tends toward grant making for small community projects rather than budgetary allocations for mainstream services: 'The prospect of moving to 1% of council budgets to be allocated through participatory processes means making a "jump" from area-based allocations of an average of £10,000, to potentially up to £1m each across 23 wards in Glasgow, for example, and on a smaller scale in other local authorities.' As a result, 'the impact to date on local services has been limited

with no demonstrable evidence of impact or change.’

- Some Local Authorities are using PB in a transactional delivery method in community planning others are using it as a transformational tool transforming relationships between communities, councils and public services and resources: *‘For some participants, their experiences of the PB activities are another example of having had something ‘done to them’ or activities being tokenistic rather than having been part of a changing relationship.’*
- There is *‘a lack of clarity and certainty as to what assignment of 1% of councils’ budgets via participatory processes means in practice’* and the requisite cultural change towards more inclusive and shared decision making is not evident across all local authorities.

Some of the challenges associated with the shift toward PB can be seen, for example, in the City of Edinburgh Council’s recommendation to reverse the decision to distribute the entire universal youth work budget (£590k) in 2019/20 and to restrict distribution by means of participatory budgeting to £166K. The recommendation was made following concerns raised by the Youth Work Sector about distributing core funding by PB and an evaluation found that PB had not been an effective mode of distributing strategic funding (City of Edinburgh Council, 2018).

While promising rhetoric, the Scottish Fabians have argued that Community Choices *‘is a relatively cheap but high-profile measure that is easier to implement than more strategic changes’* (Scottish Fabians, 2018). However, the author does caveat his comments by

suggesting the Community Choices *‘does have the potential to bring communities together to learn about others’ needs and projects, and to give people precisely the kind of practical experience of decision-making... essential (for community empowerment).’*

4.3.3 New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels

Community Councils are the most local tier of statutory representation in Scotland. The Scottish Community Council model is often criticised, as in some areas of Scotland Community Councils do not exist, and in others elections are uncontested. There is also a wide variation in effectiveness of Councils across Scotland, with concern that Community Councils do not truly represent the views and needs of communities (Scottish Rural Parliament, 2018). Oliver Escobar writing in 2014, argues that this is because:

‘... they have been modelled as institutions of representative democracy rather than as institutions of participatory democracy. As such, they suffer from the same malaises that affect representative democracy more broadly, namely: low electoral turnout, public cynicism and disaffection, increasing lack of legitimacy and so on.’ (Escobar, 2014).

Since 2013, there have been a number of initiatives to reform and invigorate community councils.

In 2014, the Improvement Service launched the Community Council website (Improvement Service, 2014). The site provides information, support and advice for new and existing community councillors and anyone else interested in their community council. It also includes a Community Council Location Finder.

What Works Scotland and the Scottish Community Development Centre (SCDC) are currently carrying a collaborative review of community councils in Scotland. The review includes participatory research with community councillors, support officers and others to identify how Community Councils can have greater relevance and impact. The findings will be fed in to the Scottish Government and COSLA Local Governance Review (What Works Scotland, 2017).

4.3.4 Efforts to make participatory democracy more inclusive

The Scottish Government review of PB activity highlights that equality concerns have largely been addressed through the context of socio-economic disadvantage. The review notes a number of groups that Asian, Black and Chinese members of the community are currently under-represented in terms of participation and that *'PB activities are not (yet) breaking established exclusions experienced by ethnic minority people and other communities, such as the newly integrating communities of refugees and asylum seekers and migrants from 'new' parts of the world'*. Further, there is limited participation to date from disabled people's organisations (O Hagan, et al., 2017).

A 2016 What Works Scotland review of PB found that 90% of PB processes were located within disadvantaged areas but that rural areas were underserved (Harkins, et al., 2016). This criticism was echoed in the Independent Review of Scotland's Open Government Partnership (McDevitt, 2017).

4.3.5 Citizens feel more engaged in decision-making and feel they can influence policy and practice

Data on how people feel about civic participation and local decision-making are captured each year in the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey. The 2015 survey asked questions relating to co-production and public involvement in the design and delivery of local public services. Over half (53%) felt that people definitely should be involved in making decisions about how local services are planned and run, with 43% saying people probably should be involved in service planning and delivery; and 82% felt that people should have some degree of involvement in how money is spent on local services. (Scottish Government, 2016k).

In the 2017 survey, just 47% of people said the Scottish Government was very good or quite good at listening to people's views before taking decisions. This is roughly comparable with 46% in 2013, however it has declined in recent years after reaching a peak in 2015 at 59% (Scottish Government, 2018r).

A Carnegie UK Trust-commissioned Ipsos Mori poll conducted in 2017 found that 51% of people in Scotland felt that they had too little control over public services compared to 41% who had the right amount. A total of 66% of people on Scotland felt that attending a public meeting would be an effective approach to improving things in their local area.

4.4 From Silos to Working Together/ Integration

Significant steps towards further integration at the local level have come through the passing of the Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014 and the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015. The former provides a framework for the integration of health and social care services and delivery. However the newly formed Integration Authorities face significant structural and accountability challenges which make pushing forward with integration and pooled budgets complicated. Community Planning Partnerships have been strengthened and added to but have made slow progress in aligning and deploying resources differently to meet shared outcomes.

What we hope to see:

Successful integration through Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014; continued knowledge sharing amongst public sector leaders. A step change in shift toward pooled/ aligned resources in Community Planning.

4.4.1 Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level

At a national level, Scottish Government structures have remained relatively stable since the publication of *The Rise of the Enabling State*. Support for integration at a leadership level has continued, albeit with some changes made to the forums in which leaders meet. The Public Sector Leader's Forum has been replaced by the Scottish Leaders Forum, following a period of review by the

Scottish Government. (Scottish Leaders Forum, 2018a) The Scottish Leaders Forum is a network of leaders at the heart of public services in Scotland. They meet to discuss and collaborate on the important policy issues facing Scotland. (Scottish Leaders Forum, 2018a) The work of the forum is shared through events, (Scottish Leaders Forum, 2018b) and a range of collaborative projects such as Workforce Scotland. (Work Force Scotland, 2018) An offshoot of this work is the One Team Gov Scotland: a Scottish branch for a network of policymakers, service designers and cross-sector experts whose aim is to work across disciplines to make government more effective and efficient (One Team Gov Scotland, 2018). The network is currently in early stages of development.

Integration at a local level – Community Planning

New community planning arrangements introduced under the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 encourage integration at a local level and for the first time provide Community Planning Partnerships with a statutory *purpose*: to improve outcomes relating to the services provided by community planning partners and that local outcomes must be consistent with the National Outcomes. The list of Community Planning Partners has also expanded. Partners must now include the whole range of public services that engage and work with communities including: colleges, Police Scotland, health boards, enterprise agencies such as Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise, Historic Environment Scotland, health and social care integration joint boards, national park authorities, regional strategic bodies in further and higher education, Scottish Environment Protection Agency, the Scottish Fire and Rescue Service, Scottish Natural Heritage, Scottish Sports Council, Skills Development Scotland, regional transport partnerships and Visit Scotland. CPPS still face challenge around committing shared resources.

Integration at a local level – Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014

There has been a strong focus on integration at a local level, encouraging greater integration between NHS Boards and local authorities through the Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014. The Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014 came into effect in April 2016. (One Team Gov Scotland, 2018).

Over £8 billion in health and social care resources has been delegated to Integration Authorities (IAs), new statutory partnerships with responsibilities to coordinate local health and social care, which were previously separately managed by NHS Boards and local authorities (Scottish Government, 2018h). A total of 31 local partnerships have been set up across Scotland, to provide an integrated model of care delivery. (Scottish Government, 2016h).

The Act requires the integration of the governance, planning and resourcing of adult social care services, adult primary care and community health services and some hospital services. Other areas such as children's health and social care services, and criminal justice social work can also be integrated. The Scottish Government has set out a broad framework for the establishment of IAs allowing for local flexibility. There are two models that IAs can follow in terms of structure: A lead agency model (where responsibility for specific functions are delegated either to the NHS or the Council) or the Integration Joint Board (IJB) model (where functions are delegated to a new body the IJB). Only Highland has chosen the lead agency model. Almost all the IAs oversee more than the minimum requirement for health services, mainly by including some aspects of children's health services. IJBs in Argyll and Bute and Dumfries and Galloway will also oversee all NHS acute services, including planned and unplanned hospital services (Audit Scotland, 2015).

Audit Scotland in a 2015 report (Audit Scotland, 2015), praised the relevant stakeholders for getting the systems in place for the new IAs, but also noted that there was *'evidence to suggest that IAs will not be in a position to make a major impact during 2016/17'*. The report describes the structural challenges IAs face. IJBs will not initially directly employ any dedicated staff and are not fully independent of the NHS or Local Authority, many IJB's are large (the Clackmannanshire & Stirling IJB for example has 35 members) this may make it difficult for IJB's to force through change: *'once difficult decisions have been made there are still complex relationships back to the NHS board and council to negotiate. As a result, it is not clear if IJBs will be able to exert the necessary independence and authority to change fundamentally the way local services are provided.'*

The report also highlighted a number of additional risks including:

- Difficulty in agreeing budgets meaning IAs had yet to set out comprehensive strategic plans
- Complex governance arrangements which could lead to confusion about where responsibility lies.
- A lack of clear timescales and targets showing how they would make a difference.
- Significant workforce issues, with IAs inheriting a workforce organised in response to budget pressure rather than strategic needs and with varying terms and conditions.

A number of recommendations were made to IAs. These included:

- Providing clear and strategic leadership to take forward integration;
- Establishing clear governance arrangements particularly when disagreements arise;
- Recognising and addressing the practical

risks associated with complex governance arrangements;

- Developing strategic plans that go beyond setting out the local context and clearly set out how high quality care will be delivered differently, resources required, workforce management and how progress will be monitored and reported.

4.4.2 Evidence of pooled budgets

The new IAs oversee pooled budgets of £8 billion that were previously managed by NHS boards and local authorities. There are however complexities within the pooled budget and Local Authorities and NHS boards have found it difficult to agree budgets for the new IAs (Audit Scotland, 2015). Part of the challenge is that NHS boards and councils have different planning and budgeting cycles, another aspect is that some NHS Boards have retained budgets for larger hospitals that provide integrated services. Audit Scotland, 2015 identified a risk that: *'If NHS boards and councils seek to protect services that remain fully under their control, IAs may face a disproportionate reduction in their funding, despite the focus on outcomes that all partners should have.'*

The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 made it a legal requirement for community planning partners to commit resources as required to the community planning process. Audit Scotland, however, in their 2016 review of Community Planning (Accounts Commission and Auditor General for Scotland, 2016), note however that: *'We have yet to see CPP partners sharing, aligning, or redeploying their resources in significantly different ways and on a larger scale to deliver the CPPs' priorities, in line with the 2013 agreement on joint working on community planning and resourcing.'*

4.5 From crisis intervention to prevention

There is a strong ambition around prevention and projects have emerged across health and social care, youth justice and early years which adopt the prevention agenda. Some, such as the approach to Youth Justice have had considerable success. However, funding pressures and short termism have meant widespread preventative approaches remain constrained. Budgetary decisions remain focused on protecting acute services and as a result there have been significant and ongoing cuts to local preventative services. It is not clear to what extent understanding about what works in prevention particularly around how to successfully embed prevention into public service delivery has improved.

What we hope to see:

Clearer understanding of how prevention works in practice and a shift toward long term budgeting and performance measurement.

4.5.1 Increases in preventative spend at local and national level and evidence of culture changes that support prevention (e.g. realistic demands for results)

No data on preventative spend was available. This may be because assessing levels of preventative spend is difficult, not least as What Works Scotland points out because most public policy has a preventative dimension, including much policy that may not be labelled 'preventative' and conversely almost all

policies can be presented as having a responsive element (Mitchell & Gibb, 2015).

What is clear is that there is a stated ambition in successive programmes of government to focus on and prioritise prevention:

- Programme for Government 2016 – 2017: We need to tackle poor public health and prioritise prevention and early intervention (Scottish Government, 2016e).
- Programme for Government 2017 – 2018: Our focus on prevention from the earliest years of a child's life, including improving the rights of young people, will reduce the impact of adverse childhood experiences and ensure our young people begin their adult lives from strong foundations (Scottish Government, 2017a).

There remain challenges in achieving this in practice. In *Community Planning: Turning ambition into action* (Accounts Commission and Auditor General, 2014) Audit Scotland identify that: *'The current pace and scale of activity is contributing to an improved focus on prevention but is unlikely to deliver the radical change in the design and delivery of public services called for by the Christie Commission.'*

More recently, in their evidence to the Health & Sport Committee's Inquiry into the Preventative Agenda (Health and Sport Committee (Scotland), 2018) Audit Scotland note that: *'... some short-term national performance targets are making it difficult to reform services to deliver more preventative service models. We also found that reaching agreement on shifts in resources can be difficult as it may involve moving resources away from short-term targets towards longer-term preventative work, which may not return gains directly to the organisations that have invested resources.'*

A good example of a short term target with high visibility is the 4 hour waiting time target in accident and emergency. Often seen as an important indicator of how the NHS is performing (particularly in the media) (BBC, 2018) this target provides an incomplete picture of care quality.

In a 2017 review of the NHS in Scotland, the Auditor General (Audit Scotland, 2017) found that: *'Managing the health budget on an annual basis is hindering development of longer-term plans for moving more care out of hospital,'* and that: *'More information about how the NHS is working and the impact changes have on different parts of the system would help. For example, there are indicators measuring access to acute care services, such as hospitals, but there is little or no monitoring of activity levels and still little public information about primary care, such as GP practices, and community care.'* This was echoed again in the 2018 review of The NHS in Scotland which recommended 3 year break even arrangements for NHS budgets (Audit Scotland, 2018e).

At the local authority level, the future of preventative services such as local parks, libraries, youth groups and cultural venues has been threatened by ongoing financial pressures for local authorities. The City of Edinburgh Council has made savings of £240 million since 2012, but by its own estimates believes that it will need to save a further £150 million by 2023 in order to maintain local services (City of Edinburgh Council, 2017). The Third State of Scotland's Greenspace Report, published in February 2018, documents the decline in council expenditure on parks and green spaces, deteriorating quality, and declining user numbers. (Greenspace Scotland, 2018).

4.5.2 Policies that support prevention

Health and Social Care Integration (See Section 4.4 for more details) is an ambitious programme of reform intended to shift services from hospital care towards community-based services, and preventative services, such as support to help prevent older people from falling at home or to encourage people to be more active. The Scottish Government has provided over £500 million over three years from 2014/15 – 2017/18 to help health and social care partners develop new ways of working that focus on prevention and early intervention (Audit Scotland, 2015).

Health and Social Care partners have experienced a number of challenges to date (See Section 4.4) a report on progress by Audit Scotland is due in November 2018.

In healthcare more broadly, prevention continues to be a key policy objective set by the NHS's 2020 Vision (Scottish Government, 2013a). Current NHS schemes with a focus on prevention include diabetes (NHS Research Scotland, 2018), smoking cessation (NHS UK, 2016) and anti-obesity campaigns (Public Health Information for Scotland, 2017). Increasingly, the emergency services have started to consider a preventative approach. (Scottish Government, 2018).

Early years

A development from the Early Years Collaborative the Children and Young People Improvement Collaborative was formed in 2016 and consists of the former Early Years Collaborative, which launched in January 2013, and the Raising Attainment for All programme. The collaborative is a quality improvement initiative that aims to make public services more effective and responsive in tackling inequality and improving children's outcome. The collaborative has delivered a number of improvements including:

- increased uptake of the 27 to 30-month Child Health Review, resulting in children's developmental needs being identified and responded to earlier
- increased children's literacy and numeracy skills in nurseries and primary schools in areas of deprivation (Scottish Government, 2018f).

The collaborative is a practical application of the Getting It Right For Every Child (GIRFEC) policy (Scottish Government, 2018k), which focuses on preventing adverse childhood experiences such as abuse and neglect. (Scottish Government, 2017n).

These activities are supported by various funds. Between 2011 and 2015 the Early Years Change Fund delivered £274.25 million as a partnership fund between the Scottish Government, local government, and the NHS. Since 2016, support is provided through the Children, Young People and Families Early Intervention and Adult Learning and Empowering Communities Fund (Scottish Government, 2016g). This fund is aimed at supporting core services and infrastructure of national third-sector organisations.

Direct initiatives by the Scottish Government include the provision of Baby Boxes to all babies born after August 15, 2017 (Scottish Government, 2017i). Modelled on the Nordic approach, it aims to tackle poverty in infants. (The Independent, 2016). 85% of new parents have taken up the boxes since introduction in 2017. Assessing the impact of the scheme on child outcomes and socio-economic inequality will require longer-term evaluation.

Young Workforce

The Youth Employment Strategy (Developing the Young Workforce) aims to reduce youth unemployment levels by 40% by 2021. It is explicitly referred to as

early intervention on youth unemployment. The strategy provides work relevant education to young people, giving them appropriate skills for the current and anticipated jobs market. It does this by:

- Creating new vocational learning options
- Enabling young people to learn in a range of settings in their senior phase of school
- Embedding employer engagement in education
- Offering careers advice at an earlier point in school
- Introducing new standards for careers guidance and work experience (Scottish Government, 2014)

Through this approach, the Scottish Government achieved their target by May 2017, four years earlier than planned. Scotland's youth unemployment rate is currently 9.3%, lower than the 11.9% rate in the UK as a whole (Scottish Government, 2018e).

Justice

Justice in Scotland: vision and priorities sets out the Scottish Governments priorities between 2017-2020. Prevention and early intervention are key outcomes: *'Prevention and early intervention are at the heart of what we do to further reduce crime, prevent offending and improve life chances'* (Scottish Government, 2017b).

At the same time the Scottish Government recognise that delivering a further, decisive shift in resources to focus on prevention and early intervention is a key challenge (Scottish Government, 2017b).

The 2015 *Youth Justice Strategy: Preventing offending: getting it right for children and young people* sets out a child-centred, preventative approach to preventing offending. Prevention has been a core component of the approach to Youth Justice in Scotland since 2008

and Scotland has seen a significant reduction in crime committed by and prosecution of young people in the past 10 years.

This includes a:

- 78% reduction in the number of young people prosecuted in Scotland's courts;
- 83% reduction in the number of children referred to the Children's Reporter on offence grounds;
- 64% reduction in the number of 16 and 17-year-olds in custody.

The proportion of crimes thought to have been committed by school-age children (under 16) has decreased from 26% (363) in 2008-09 to 15% (100) in 2014-15 (Scottish Government, 2017).

A 2017 Scottish Government report on progress notes this success, but also highlights the challenge of the: *'... level of complexity, need and adverse childhood experiences associated with the much smaller number children and young people, still involved in the justice system.'* (Scottish Government, 2017).

The Community Justice (Scotland) Act 2016 established a new community justice model in Scotland and requires statutory partners to develop local plans setting out how they will prevent re-offending and deliver against community justice outcomes (see details set out in Section 4.1) including a new support body Community Justice Scotland. Community Justice Scotland.

A preventative approach has been taken to reduce violence in Scotland (Action on Violence, 2017). The Violence Reduction Unit (VRU) runs a number of projects aimed at reducing violence, ranging from employment opportunities for those at risk of

offending, to tackling issues such as dating violence. The VRU tagline is that violence is preventable – not inevitable. (Action on Violence, 2017).

Minimum pricing for alcohol

The Scottish Government introduced minimum unit pricing for alcohol in 2018, which is a significant preventative policy initiative. (Scottish Government, 2018i). Made possible by the Alcohol (Minimum Pricing) (Scotland) Act 2012, implementing the legislation has been delayed due to legal challenges posed by the alcohol industry.

4.5.3 Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention

Giving evidence to the Scottish Parliament's Finance Committee on preventative spending in 2015, What Works Scotland identified that there is good evidence about what works in terms of preventative spending in healthcare, tobacco cessation and alcohol reduction, the emergency services and early years intervention. Few studies have given thought to the practical difficulties of implementing prevention and recommended that: *'Scrutiny might be more fruitfully deployed to investigating the embedding of processes that will promote prevention and support its implementation and help transition 'losers' from the process'* (Scottish Parliament Finance Committee, 2015).

Funded between 2014 and 2018 What Works Scotland sought in part to address this through a broad programme of work exploring how public services could start to work towards the recommendations of the Christie Commission on the Future of Public Service Delivery, which included a decisive shift toward prevention (What Works Scotland, 2014).

4.6 From recipients to co-producers / from doing-to to doing-with

The language of co-production is strong in Scotland and examples of working with citizens to develop policy have emerged but there is also confusion about what co-production means in practice. The rhetoric of co-production is particularly strong in health and social care but in practice has been slow to realise notably around the implementation of Self Directed Support (SDS). The Social Care (Self-directed Support) (Scotland) Act 2013 sets the conditions for transformative co-production but senior managers' attention has been diverted by Health and Social Care integration and although the number of people accessing SDS has significantly increased since 2010 it remains a small proportion of people using non-residential social care services. There is large variation in practice across Scotland and there are challenges around commissioning and managing creativity, risk and budget constraints.

What we hope to see:

A common understanding of what co-production is and cultural and structural shifts to build on progress to date and embed co-production in policy and delivery, a particular focus on getting SDS right.

4.6.1 Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management

The language of co-production is strong in Scotland with Scottish Government rhetoric emphasising co-production, and hearing directly from citizens (Coutts & Brotchie, 2017). The Office of the Chief Social Policy define the ‘Scottish Approach to Government’ as one that: *‘places considerable importance on partnership working, involving a focus on asset-based approaches and coproduction underpinned by Improvement’*. In their 2015 analytical paper, however they also note however that *‘there is confusion and misunderstanding surrounding the concept of co-production and of the different types of co-production that exist.’* (Office of the Chief Social Researcher (Scotland), 2015).

Major philanthropic agencies, such as the Big Lottery Fund in Scotland, are following this trend and have also adopted a ‘people-led’ approach. (Big Blog Scotland, 2016).

Agencies such as The Scottish Co-production Network, aim to raise the profile of co-production, share information and encourage its use. In November 2017, Co-production Week Scotland brought together a series of events, blogs and activity from network members and partners from across Scotland. (Scottish Co-Production Network, 2017).

4.6.2 Policies and practices that support transformative co-production

The Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014 sets out a legal obligation on the new Integration Authorities to involve people who use services, carers, organisations which provide services – including

the third sector – and professionals in the strategic planning and commissioning process (McGeachie & Power, 2015).

The Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 places the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child on a statutory footing in Scotland. These include respect for the views of the child on all matters that affect them. In their review of co-production policy in Scotland, McGeachie & Power, 2015 assess the Act as follows: *‘With a strong focus on person-centred care and designing and delivering services to meet the needs of children and young people, rather than services which they need to fit into, there is a strong emphasis on co-production principles within this legislation.’*

Self-Directed Support

Now eight years into the implementation of the National Self-directed Support Strategy 2010-2020, the Scottish Government has invested nearly £70 million into the transition to self-directed care since 2010.

A key milestone has been the introduction of The Social Care (Self-directed Support) (Scotland) Act 2013, which came into force on April 1, 2014.

The Act gave councils responsibility for offering people four options for how their social care is managed (Scottish Government, 2018m):

- a Direct Payment (a cash payment);
- funding allocated to a provider of their choice (sometimes called an individual service fund, where the council holds the budget but the person is in charge of how it is spent);
- the council chooses and arranges services;
- a mix of these options for different types of support.

The Self-Directed Support Strategy Implementation Plan for 2016-18 places the focus on: '*consolidat(ing) the learning from innovative practice and the application of guidance; and embed(ing) Self-directed Support as Scotland's mainstream approach to social care.*'

However, an Accounts Commission review in 2017 identified that while the number of people accessing SDS had doubled since 2010 they still accounted for less than 5% of people receiving non-residential care.

The review identified that: '*there is no evidence that local authorities have yet made the transformation required to fully implement the SDS strategy*' and '*not everyone is getting the choice and control envisaged in the SDS strategy.*'

The Commission found that although there were pockets of good practice these did not coincide with Local Authority boundaries but rather with key individuals. There were also variations in how much choice service users could access via the individual service fund option (where a provider holds and manages the budget but the individual has control). For example in Glasgow service users' must select a provider from a menu of providers who had an existing agreement with the Local Authority rather than have genuine free choice about provider. The process to access SDS can be long and bureaucratic.

Implementation of SDS had stalled significantly due to Health and Social Care Integration which had consumed senior manager's time.

Other key concerns and challenges identified in the report included:

- People using social care services and their carers need better information and help to understand Self-Directed Support and make their choices.
- A significant minority of social work staff lack the understanding or confidence about focusing on people's outcome or do not feel they have the power to make decisions with people about their support
- Changes to the types of services available have been slow and authorities' approaches to commissioning can have the effect of restricting how much choice and control people may have. There are challenges around balancing creativity, risk and budgets.
- Workforce challenges including retention and recruitment and balancing flexibility with demands placed on staff

Realistic medicine

The first annual report of the, then, incoming Chief Medical Officer Dr Catherine Calderwood in 2014/15 sets out the challenges facing the NHS and asks if 'Realistic medicine' that involves shared decision making and a personalised approach to care could improve outcome and reduce harm, waste and variability. Dr Calderwood says: 'We need to change the outdated "*doctor knows best*" culture to one where both parties can combine their expertise and be more comfortable in sharing the power and responsibility of decision-making.' (Calderwood, 2016).

A delivery plan for Realistic Medicine is set out in the Health and Social Care Delivery Plan published in 2016 (Scottish Government, 2016b). Audit Scotland in their 2017 review of the NHS note that a Realistic Medicine Policy Team is being put in place by the Scottish Government and a number of Realistic Medicine initiatives are already underway (Audit Scotland, 2017).

4.7 From the state to community ownership and management

Scotland has built on its historic strength in community ownership with the introduction of the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016 which open up new opportunities for community ownership and control of assets and public services. Community ownership of land however, remains concentrated in the Highlands and Islands. The Procurement Reform (Scotland) Act 2014 opens up new opportunities for the community and voluntary sector to get involved with public sector procurement, while initiatives such as the Public Sector Partnerships have sought to create more collaborative commissioning environments. Long-term challenges around involving smaller third sector organisations in the commissioning and procurement process however, remain. Challenges include budget pressures, power imbalances and mainstreaming changes. Adult volunteering rates have remained largely stable over the last five years but have increased for young people. Those from disadvantaged backgrounds remain under-represented in terms of volunteering.

What we hope to see:

Building on a strong base of community ownership and control to increase access and opportunity for currently under-represented groups. To realise the opportunities afforded by the Procurement Reform (Scotland) Act 2014 and to move toward more sustainable collaborative commissioning environments with increased access and opportunity for smaller third sector organisations.

4.7.1 Policies to support community ownership and community management

As well as placing a duty on Community Planning Partners to take reasonable steps to secure the involvement of relevant community bodies in community planning, the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 contains a number of provisions that support increased community ownership, delivery of services and involvement in service planning and design. Specifically, the Act:

- Extends the community right to buy to all of Scotland, urban and rural, and changes some of the procedures;
- Introduces a range of measures to amend, and in some areas, simplify, the crofting community right to buy;
- Introduces a new provision for community bodies to purchase land which is abandoned, neglected or causing harm to the environmental wellbeing of the community, where the owner is not willing to sell that land. This is if the purchase is in the public interest and compatible with the achievement of sustainable development of the land; (Scottish Government, 2017e)
- Provides community bodies with a right to request to purchase, lease, manage or use land and buildings belonging to local authorities, Scottish public bodies or Scottish Ministers (asset transfer request). There is a presumption of agreement to requests, unless there are reasonable grounds for refusal; (Scottish Government, 2017b)
- Provides a mechanism for communities to have a more proactive role in having their voices heard in how services are planned and delivered (participation requests). By making a participation request, community groups can start a dialogue

with a public service provider about issues that are important to them, which should help to improve outcomes.

An evaluation of participation requests and asset transfer requests under the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act by Glasgow Caledonian University on behalf of the Scottish Government is currently underway and will likely be available in late 2019/early 2020.

The Scottish Land Commission are currently reviewing the effectiveness of community right to buy mechanisms.

The Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016

The Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016 requires the Scottish Government to publish a statement on land rights and responsibilities and review this every five years. The statement will contain a set of principles to guide the development of public policy on the nature and character of land rights in Scotland, to ensure that the full public benefits from land in Scotland are realised. (Scottish Government, 2016c).

The vision of the current statement is for:

‘A Scotland with a strong and dynamic relationship between its land and people, where all land contributes to a modern and successful country, and where rights and responsibilities in relation to land are fully recognised and fulfilled.’ (Scottish Government, 2017a).

The vision is supported by six principles, which include the principle that more local communities should have the opportunity to own, lease or use buildings and land which can contribute to their community’s wellbeing

and future development; and that there should be greater collaboration and community engagement in decisions about land. (Scottish Government, 2017a).

Part Five of the Act provides for a right to buy land to further sustainable development and enables communities to buy land where this is necessary to further sustainable development, and where certain conditions are met (Scottish Government, 2016c).

The Scottish Land Fund

The Scottish Land Fund is a programme that supports community organisations across Scotland to own land, buildings and other assets. Funded by the Scottish Government from 2016 to 2020, with an annual budget of £10 million, the fund is delivered by the Big Lottery and Highlands & Islands Enterprise, with grants of up to £1 million available. (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, 2016).

Community Ownership Support Service

The Community Ownership Support Service is a Scottish Government-funded programme, set up to help community-based groups in Scotland to take on land or building assets for their community.

Delivered by the Development Trust Association Scotland the service also supports local authorities, other public bodies and members of Community Planning Partnerships wishing to transfer a building or land asset (Development Trusts Association Scotland, 2018).

4.7.2 Increases in community ownership and management

Around 540,000 acres of land is owned by communities across Scotland (Community Land Scotland, 2016) with 492 land parcels/assets in community ownership owned by 403 community groups. Official statistics highlight that this is concentrated in two Local Authorities: Highland and Na h-Eileanan Siar. Na h-Eileanan Siar contains 385,340 acres of land in community ownership and Highland contains 141,912 acres. This equates to 93.7% (527,252 acres) of the total land in community ownership in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2017a).

In 2013, Scottish Government set an ambitious target to put 1 million acres of land into community ownership by 2020 to further support Scotland's communities can be stronger, more resilient and more independent through the acquisition and management of their land. (Scottish Government, 2013b).

While Scotland's community land ownership movement has come a long way in recent years, a 2017 report from Highlands and Islands Enterprise argues that more can be done. The report states that the community ownership model needs to be normalised outside of the Highlands and Islands. In addition, the way empowerment is understood needs to be rethought. The report argues that given that empowerment is conceived of from the centre, *'it promotes agency on the part of communities, but in a structured way according to conditions of legislation and funding schemes.'* (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, 2017).

The report argues for a more radical approach to community empowerment, including considering

'finding ways to reinvigorate and reimagine governmental and civic institutions in ways that devolve power to shape urban and rural geographical spaces into the hands of local communities that live in or near these spaces.' (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, 2017).

There has been no recent audit of assets in community ownership.

4.7.3 Changes to commissioning that support community and voluntary sector delivery

The Procurement Reform (Scotland) Act 2014 came into force in 2016. The Act was a key component of the Public Procurement Reform Programme which came to an end in 2016. Increasing access to procurement opportunities was a key component of the programme.

Crucially, the Act contains a Sustainable Procurement Duty. The duty requires that: *'public bodies to consider how, through their procurement activities, they can improve economic, social and environmental wellbeing; reduce inequality; promote innovation; and involve SMEs, the third sector and supported businesses.'* (Scottish Government, 2016g).

The 2016 Scottish Government report on the impact and achievements of Public Procurement Reform in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2016g) notes that: *'the full impact and benefits of the changes in legislation are yet to be fully realised'*, but sets out the expectation that the Act will: *'support improved economic, social and environmental wellbeing, reduce inequality, promote innovation, and increase access to opportunities for small businesses, the voluntary sector and disadvantaged individuals across the country.'*

Public Social Partnerships

The Scottish Government's Guide to Forming and Operating Public-Social Partnerships (PSPs) defines PSPs as: 'A strategic partnering arrangement which involves the third sector earlier and more deeply in the design and commissioning of public services.'

Funding in the region of £2.7 million has been invested between 2012-2017, in services ranging from prisoner support pathways (Highlands and Islands Enterprise, 2017), to community transport (SPT, 2017) and six strategic partnerships have been delivered between 2012-17.

A Scottish Government evaluation of PSPs (Mazzei, et al., 2018) found that the partnerships had been successful in a number of areas including:

- Developing more collaborative practices between sectors;
- Improving standards of services;
- Improving relationships between the third and public sector.

But less successful at:

- Engaging service users;
- Establishing equal relationships;
- Involving smaller third sector organisations;
- Achieving long-term collaboration or sustainability.

The National Third Sector GIRFEC Project worked in nine community planning areas to identify and address barriers to participation of the third sector in the commissioning of children's services. The project supported local partners to assess what needed to be done to improve engagement. (Barnardo's Scotland, 2016b) A key recommendation from the project

was that: '*greater consideration should be given as to how to improve third sector participation in the commissioning of Children's Services.*' (Barnardo's Scotland, 2016a).

Two of the nine area contracts available under the new Scottish employability programme: Fair Start Scotland which began April 2018 (Scottish Government, 2018b) are led by third-sector organisations, however there has been criticism from the third sector for mostly granting contracts to private-sector companies. (Third Force News, 2017).

4.7.4 Increases in volunteering

The Scottish Government has committed to 're-invigorating volunteering' in its most recent Programme for Government (Scottish Government, 2017a) Volunteer Scotland, Scotland's only national centre for volunteering, estimated that the social and economic value of volunteers in 2014 was £2 billion to Scotland's economy (Volunteer Scotland, 2014). Based on Scottish Household Survey Findings, in 2016, 27% of adults in Scotland volunteered formally through an organisation or group. This figure has remained relatively stable for the last five years (Scottish Government, 2017m).

Those most likely to volunteer are:

- women
- from higher socio-economic and income groups
- from rural areas
- from less deprived areas.

Volunteering was lower for those in the 20% most deprived areas.

Volunteer Scotland figures show that in 2014, 45% of the youth population was involved in volunteering, which rose to 52% in 2016. This is positive news for volunteering, but there are still challenges encouraging people to volunteer after they leave school, and more in urban areas. (Volunteer Scotland, 2014).

When asked how likely they would be to volunteer or help out a local charity or community group to improve things in their local area, 56% of Scots in a 2018 Carnegie UK Trust and Ipsos Mori poll (Wallace & Thurman, 2018) said that this was highly likely or likely, suggesting that there is significant latent appetite for local volunteering that could be converted into action.

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5. Review of policy developments since 2013 in Wales

Jenny Brotchie, Rebekah Menzies, Jennifer Wallace and Natalie Hancox

5.1 From target setting to outcomes

There is a strong commitment to outcomes at a national level with the introduction of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, and implementation at a local level through Public Service Boards, supported by the Future Generations Commissioner. There is evidence of other frameworks linking to the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. The focus on wellbeing outcomes requires significant culture change which is slow to emerge.

What we hope to see:

Embedding of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 into policy and spending decisions. Further cultural change and upskilling of public bodies to embed a wellbeing outcomes approach into public service outcomes and to effectively improve long-term outcomes for citizens and communities.

5.1.1 Evidence of new/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes-based performance management at a local and national level

The language of outcomes has been a feature of Welsh government policy over the past five years.

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 is a world-leading approach to carrying out sustainable development, and is perhaps the most significant policy development in Wales over the last five years. The Act places a statutory duty on public bodies, including local authorities and health boards, to improve social, economic, environmental, and cultural wellbeing in Wales in pursuit of seven national goals:

- a prosperous Wales;
- a resilient Wales;
- a healthier Wales;
- a more equal Wales;
- a Wales of cohesive communities;
- a Wales of vibrant culture and thriving Welsh language; and
- a globally responsible Wales.

The Act commits Welsh ministers to publish national indicators to measure progress towards

the achievement of the wellbeing goals (Welsh Government, 2016l). The national indicators are designed to represent the outcomes for Wales and its people that will help demonstrate progress towards the seven wellbeing goals (Welsh Government, 2017k).

In 2016, the Welsh Government published their aspirations for 2016-2020 in the Programme for Government (PFG) which sets out the outcomes for Wales for this term of the Assembly:

- prosperous and secure;
- healthy and active;
- ambitious and learning;
- united and connected.

The PFG is supported by a national strategy, *Prosperity for All*, which sets out 12 wellbeing objectives, covering the key outcomes in the PFG (Welsh Government, 2017). The strategy is organised into five priority areas (early years, housing, social care, mental health, skills and employability). These priority areas are assessed as having the greatest potential to contribute to long-term prosperity and wellbeing.

The Office of the Future Generations Commissioner for Wales was created in 2016 to promote the principles of the Act and to support public bodies as the legislation is implemented.

Local

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 places a statutory duty on local authorities and Local Health Boards to improve social, economic, environmental, and cultural wellbeing in Wales in pursuit of the seven national wellbeing goals. The Act strengthened the previous voluntary Local Services

Boards (introduced in 2007). The 19 reinvigorated Public Services Boards (PSBs) for each local authority area are integrated decision-making bodies for local public services, which must include the local authority, the Local Health Board, the Welsh Fire and Rescue Authority, and the Natural Resources body for Wales. The PSBs must also invite Welsh Ministers, the Chief Constable within the local authority area, the Police and Crime Commissioner for the police area, a representative of certain Probation Services, and at least one body which represents relevant voluntary organisations in the locality to become a member.

PSBs are not themselves responsible for the delivery of public services, they are responsible for the integrated planning of public services. In their first two years of existence, PSBs have been required to:

- Assess the economic, social, environmental, and cultural wellbeing in the area (the wellbeing assessment).
- Set wellbeing objectives which are designed to maximise their collective contribution to the seven wellbeing goals; publish a Local Wellbeing Plan on the steps it will take to meet their objectives, consulting widely on their assessment of local wellbeing and their Plan, and begin working to deliver on these objectives.

The impact of these plans is hampered by a plethora of local strategies. Local authorities and their partners have numerous duties placed upon them to produce plans and strategies which are aimed at improving the wellbeing of people in their area. Many of these plans and strategies show overlap and duplication, and the competing priorities and extensive partnership structures used to pursue these have resulted in

complexity and reduction in operational efficiency of public bodies. One example of confusion is that the Welsh Government legislated for Population Assessments under the Social Services and Well-being Act 2014, using a different definition of wellbeing to Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. As the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) Labour Group notes: *'The presence of two Acts covering much the same ground on the wellbeing and partnership agenda creates duplication and means an additional set of pieces in an already over-elaborate jigsaw of joint working across Wales'* (Welsh Local Government Association Labour Group, 2016).

The group called for a 'radical delayering' of the Welsh public policy landscape.

5.1.2 Service management level policy developments in outcomes-based performance management

A number of outcomes frameworks are in place at a thematic policy level in Wales. These frameworks each have their own outcomes and indicators, but aim to be complementary to the wellbeing goals and ways of working. These include:

- The Public Health Outcomes Framework: designed to be used by the Government, local communities, public services, private and voluntary sector organisations, as well as individuals and their families, to inspire and inform action to improve and protect health and wellbeing. It underpins the national indicators for the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, by providing a more detailed range of measures that reflect the wider determinants that influence health and wellbeing (Welsh Government, 2016c).

- The NHS Wales Outcomes and Delivery Framework: identifies key outcomes, outcome indicators and performance measures under seven domains developed through engagement with patients, clinicians and stakeholders (Welsh Government, 2017l).
- The Early Years Outcomes Framework: designed to support everyone who leads, commissions and delivers services for children and families to work towards a shared set of national outcomes for early years, with corresponding high-level aims and associated indicators (Welsh Government, 2015e).
- Sustainable Social Services for Wales: A Framework for Action: sets the national direction to promote the wellbeing of people who need care and support and carers. The framework sets out a number of national wellbeing outcomes, including: 'I know and understand what care, support and opportunities are available and use these to help me achieve my well-being'; 'I contribute towards my social life and can be with the people that I choose'; and 'I live in a home that best supports me to achieve my wellbeing' (Welsh Government, 2016f).

While it is positive that the various outcomes frameworks operating in Wales attempt to link to each other and the wider strategic policy agenda, the Wales Centre for Public Policy (previously the Public Policy Institute for Wales) has expressed concern that: *'There are too many overlapping accountability frameworks covering the same citizens and outcomes. Audit and inspection are costly and... current regulatory systems are excessive, especially during a time of austerity'* (Wales Centre for Public Policy, 2016). There is also limited evidence so far of changes to practice within these policy areas.

5.1.3 Evidence that outcomes-based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities

Public Service Boards are required to assess the state of wellbeing locally, set objectives and produce a plan designed to improve economic, social, environmental and cultural wellbeing in their local area, maximising their contribution to the wellbeing goals (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2018c).

In 2017, the Future Generations Commissioner published a report of learning from the first wellbeing assessments. While these first assessments were a positive step in the right direction, they also highlighted key challenges for public bodies, including:

- A tendency to revert to describing wellbeing in traditional ways, rather than relating local data to the wellbeing goals as defined in the legislation.
- Addressing the clear lack of capability and confidence in relation to looking at the long-term.
- A lack of meaningful consideration of the interconnections between issues, and what data means in different contexts and communities (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2017).

The Commissioner identified that the understanding and skills required to dig deeper into local data and to make connections between key issues was limited and needs to be further developed.

Reflecting on the assessment, the Commissioner suggested: *“Some of the challenges reflect a need for better resourcing, more time and more practical and policy support to deliver the scale of change needed.*

However, they also reflect the need for a clearer demonstration of the willingness to change, to step out of silos and to move away from a short-term approach to doing things the way they have always been done. Delivering the Act is a challenge that will require the strongest leadership to make the most of the opportunities for change it offers.’ (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2017).

The Auditor General for Wales has acknowledged that the outcomes focus of the Well-being of Future Generations Act will mean a new approach to audit is required. The Act places a new duty on the Auditor General to examine the extent to which each public body has applied the sustainable development principle when setting wellbeing objectives and taking steps required to meet them. Drawing upon the individual examinations of audited bodies, the Auditor General must provide a report to the National Assembly once during each Assembly election cycle (Wales Audit Office, 2016).

In April 2016, the Auditor General issued a consultation document *‘The Well-being of Future Generations Act and what it means for your audit’*. The consultation sought the views of audited bodies, and of other stakeholders, on how the audit approach should be reshaped in order that the Auditor General can effectively discharge his duties under this legislation (Wales Audit Office, 2016). The Auditor General committed to work with key stakeholders over 2017 to develop a new approach to audit (Wales Audit Office, 2016). In December 2017, the Auditor General and Future Generations Commissioner signed a Memorandum of Understanding that set out how the two will cooperate on areas of common interest, and specifically, on their related responsibilities under the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 (Wales Audit Office, 2017b).

5.1.4 Evidence of a shift toward the language of outcomes

In 2018, the Auditor General for Wales published *Reflecting on Year One: How Have Public Bodies Responded to the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015?* The report found that: *'Public bodies are able to provide examples of how they are using the Act to change how they work, but they are not yet able to describe how they are systematically applying the sustainable development principle.'* Public bodies will need to consider how they can best *"drive positive change in culture and behaviour"*, given they see this as *one of the main opportunities afforded by the Act.'*

5.1.5 Changes in organisational structures as a result of outcomes-based performance management

At a local level, the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 established PSBs in each local authority area to focus on local wellbeing outcomes. Local authorities are one of the four statutory members on the board – the other three being the Local Health Board, the Fire and Rescue Authority for the area and Natural Resources Wales. A range of other partners can be invited to participate in the activities of the Board.

A civil service business improvement programme ran from February 2015 to March 2017, in order to develop the organisation to better meet the needs of ministers. One of its innovations was the creation of a new Cabinet Office to provide greater strategic capability to support the First Minister and Cabinet in driving and coordinating the business of government. Further activities are ongoing, with the Cabinet Office supporting the implementation of the new ways of working across the civil service.

5.2 From top-down to bottom up

There has been significant focus on local government reform, however despite the Local Government (Wales) Act 2015 and a number of reviews and consultations, no progress has been made on structural changes to local government. The latest green paper on local government reform sets out a range of options and invites opinion on what additional powers should be available to local government. City region deals have been pursued in Swansea and Cardiff, but there are tensions between the traditional GDP focus of the deals and the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. Overall, it is unclear whether the Welsh Government is committed to localism.

What we hope to see:

Clarity on local government reform, with any reforms developed in a positive and constructive way with local government and communities. Radical delayering of Welsh public policy landscape.

5.2.1 Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers

The relationship between local and national government in Wales has been tense for some time. Welsh local government has been significantly affected by austerity policies. The Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) identifies that since 2010, there has been a cut of £720m from local services, which has resulted in budget reductions of between 20 and 50% (Welsh Local Government

Association, 2015). In addition, short-term financial settlements have hindered planning for the long term. The Welsh Government has prioritised protecting the health budget, from 2013-14 onwards, NHS spending has steadily increased as a proportion of the Welsh resource budget since, to reach 48% in 2017-18, up from 43% in 2011-12 (Ogle, et al., 2017).

Tensions have also been heightened by recurrent debates over the correct ‘size’ of Welsh local government and whether the 22 local authorities should be in some way slimmed down following the report of the Williams’ Commission in 2014 (Welsh Government, 2014a). The Local Government (Wales) Act 2015 makes provisions for voluntary mergers of local authorities, but the policy was on hold following the Brexit vote.

Local government reform was a focus of the Welsh Programme for Government 2016-2021 (Welsh Government, 2016e). The PfG committed the Welsh Government to:

- Build a shared understanding of the challenges facing local government and wider public services, and on the need for innovation, to develop a wider conversation about the reform needed, the models and pace of delivery and the pace of change;
- Change the relationship between Welsh Government, WLGA and local government, slash numbers of performance indicators collected, cut guidance and reform external audit and inspection;
- Provide funding to put in place a floor for future local government settlements;

- Reform local government funding to make councils more sustainable and self-sufficient using the findings of the independent commission on local government finance and Welsh Government’s Finance Futures Panel;
- Work with local government to review council tax to make it fairer so that people with low and moderately valued properties pay less than they do now.

Following the 2016 Welsh Assembly elections and change in government, the Welsh Government released a white paper *Reforming Local Government: Resilient and Renewed* (Welsh Government, 2017m). The paper set out a new relationship between Welsh Government and local government in Wales, based on mutual understanding and respect. The paper made proposals for reform based on greater regional working, allowing local authorities to undertake service planning, commissioning and delivery at an appropriate scale.

The WLGA expressed concerns about the prescriptive nature of the Welsh Government proposals: ‘*Whilst the Welsh Government should rightly set national objectives and outline the strategic framework, local authorities are best placed to determine local governance or delivery arrangements. Flexibility and maximum local discretion should therefore be provided with regards the discharge of any new duties, the design and delivery of local (or regional) services or any local accountability and governance arrangements*’ (Welsh Local Government Association, 2018).

In March 2018, the Welsh Government released a further consultation document on local government reform. The green paper *Strengthening Local Government: Delivering for People* proposes a range

of options for creating 'larger and stronger' local authorities. More recently it has been announced the focus will be on voluntary mergers (Welsh Government, 2018g).

The green paper also contains proposals to strengthen the role of local councillors and asks what additional powers local authorities might have. It states '*that this will be an enriching and positive debate*' (Welsh Government, 2018h). However the conversation so far has fixated on the number of councils and proposals for merging.

The Programme for Government 2016-2021 and supporting national strategy commit the Welsh Government to modernising the elections processes, including the use of digital technology to enhance voter participation, and introducing votes for people aged 16 and over (Welsh Government, 2016e). In 2017, Welsh Government undertook consultation on electoral reform in local government to support participation in local democracy through boosting the numbers registered as electors, making it easier for people to cast their votes, and make local democracy more inclusive (Welsh Government, 2017g).

City and Growth Deals

The Cardiff Capital Region city deal involves 10 local authorities with an investment fund of £1.2 billion over 20 years. Over its lifetime, local partners expect the City Deal to deliver up to 25,000 new jobs and

leverage an additional £4 billion of private sector investment (Cardiff Capital Region City Deal, 2016). The Swansea Bay city deal is backed by £1.3 billion of investment and aims to boost the local economy by £1.8 billion over the next 15 years (Swansea Bay City Deal, 2018). Growth deals are being pursued in North Wales, with a vision for the region of creating 5,300 jobs and attracting private sector investment to the value of £1bn in the region over the next 15 years, and are in early stages in mid-Wales (UK Government, 2018).

The Welsh Assembly Economy, Infrastructure and Skills Committee undertook an inquiry into city deals and the regional economies of Wales (2017). They found a clear tension between: '*. . . the GDP-focus of City Deals, and the Welsh Government's broader definitions of prosperity, and wider aspirations set out in the Well-being and Future Generations legislation. While all partners in both the Cardiff City Region and Swansea Bay claim that both can be achieved, it is not 100% clear at this stage whether or how that will be done.*'

Researchers at Cardiff University have also expressed concerns as to the extent to which the city and growth deal programmes are consistent with the Wellbeing of Future Generations Act (2017). They note that it is a UK Government programme with a focus on standard measures of economic growth, whereas the Well-being of Future Generations Act '*requires public bodies to define prosperity more broadly and include efforts to move toward a low carbon society.*'

5.2.2 Increased local diversity in policies and practices

Local wellbeing planning should, in theory, lead to tailored local policies and practices. However, the Commissioner for Future Generations in her review of the first set of local wellbeing assessments notes that there is the opportunity to use a wider range of data and explore data more deeply to understand local contexts and communities (2017). The Commissioner also called for PSBs to go beyond ‘a safe and non-contentious picture of wellbeing at the local level’ and to question: ‘whether current approaches to public service delivery are fit for the future, or exploring key pressures and tensions in delivery’.

5.2.3 Data on increased citizen engagement in local place

Participation in Welsh Local Council elections, 42% was up since 2012 (38.9%) this is slightly lower than turnout at the 2016 National Assembly elections: 45.6% in the constituency election and 45.4% in the regional election (Electoral Commission, 2017).

A 2018 poll conducted by Ipsos Mori on behalf of the Carnegie UK Trust found that 59% and 54% of people respectively felt that contacting an elected representative and making a complaint to a service provider would be effective in improving something in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

5.3 From representation to participation

The Wales We Want Conversation was a significant participatory exercise which engaged nearly 7,000 people across Wales focussing on the country they want to leave behind for future generations. Participation does not currently have a strong emphasis in the implementation of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. Participation has continued at the local level though with many Public Service Boards engaging with local communities on what wellbeing means to them. Communities First has been phased out and it is not clear what will replace it. Participatory budgeting remains largely aspirational.

What we hope to see:

Positive relationships built with communities as part of Communities First maintained; a greater emphasis on community engagement and participation in the implementation of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act; participatory budgeting informing future budgets.

5.3.1 New policy developments that support participatory democracy

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and the Wales We Want

The most significant participatory exercise undertaken in Wales since the publication of *The Rise of the Enabling State* (Wallace, 2013) was the national conversation called *The Wales We Want* over 2014 and 2015, to support the development of the Well-

being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. Through the conversation, nearly 7,000 people were engaged across Wales to discuss the sort of country that they want to leave behind for their children and grandchildren, considering the challenges, aspirations and ways to solve long-term problems to create a Wales that they want by 2050 (The Wales We Want, 2018). The conversation produced seven foundations for the wellbeing of future generations, including greater engagement in the democratic process, a stronger citizen voice and active participation in decision making is fundamental for the wellbeing of future generations.

The wellbeing goals, Welsh Government objectives and national indicators do not place emphasis on democracy and participation. The Welsh Government national indicator set measures influence over local decisions and volunteering rates, but not wider measures of democratic participation (voter turnout or trust in institutions). Democracy does not feature at all in the national strategy *Prosperity for All* (Welsh Government, 2017g).

The *Well-being Statement* developed to supplement the current Programme for Government outlines the key features of the Welsh approach to participation with the public to date:

- Continuing dialogue with delivery partners and stakeholders.
- Insight from the assessments of local wellbeing carried out by PSBs, and subsequent work on wellbeing objectives by public bodies, provided important insight into the sustainability issues at the local level, and the priorities for public bodies.
- Permanent Secretary engagement with over 1,000 staff across the Welsh Government

- Work on the Valleys Taskforce and its innovative approach to involvement provides insight into how best to engage citizens in the issues that affect them.

It is notable that two of these relate to communication within public services, rather than direct engagement of the public.

At local level, the approach to public participation and engagement has continued through into the development of wellbeing assessments by the PSBs, with independent analysis showing that many had consulted with communities about what wellbeing meant to them. However, this was not consistent (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2017) and while some had been able to interpret qualitative data from the public and weave it into a local wellbeing narrative, other PSBs had focused on the existing structure of services (Netherwood, et al., 2017).

The third sector has also raised concerns about the extent of their involvement in PSBs development of local wellbeing assessments. Some perceived the assessments as being a top-down approach to create plans and documents that may not resonate with local issues and concerns (Welsh Council for Voluntary Action, 2017). This experience is not uniform across Wales – a number of PSBs have moved away from an assumption of local government control to Chairs and/or vice-Chairs who come from other public bodies or non-governmental organisations.

Further, the nature of the evidence presented by the third sector based on case studies and qualitative evaluations, did not fit well with the overall quantitative approach to monitoring wellbeing through national

indicators. There has been little support for local authorities or their partners on how to consider different types of evidence to build an overall picture of wellbeing to ensure their local frameworks have resonance with citizens.

The Planning (Wales) Act 2015

The Planning (Wales) Act 2015 gave people in Wales the right to provide input into the development of their local area, as Local Planning Authorities in Wales are now required to work with communities to draft Place Plans as Supplementary Planning Guidance. Although still in the pilot phase, the premise behind Place Plans is that they provide community input into the development of an area from the local level upwards, and provide more detailed thematic or site-specific guidance to supplement the policies and proposals in the Local Development Plan (Welsh Government, 2015a).

The Valley's Taskforce

The Valley's Taskforce is a notable example of where decision-making has been devolved to a more local level. A Ministerial taskforce was established in 2016 with a five-year work programme to spearhead the regeneration and sustainable growth of the South Wales Valleys. The Taskforce invited people living and working in the Valleys to contribute to *Our Valleys, Our Future*, asking what people want to see happen in their local communities, now and in the future (Arad Research, 2017). Following this public conversation, the Taskforce has set out three priorities: good quality jobs and the skills to do them; better public services; my local community (Welsh Government, 2017). The Taskforce has committed to ongoing engagement with people as their work in the Valley's continues.

Communities First

Communities First, a community-focussed programme aimed at tackling poverty, which involved the direct engagement of community members from Wales' most deprived communities, has been phased out.

The Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee undertook consultation on the lessons learnt from Communities First in 2017. Many consultation responses highlighted that community engagement is something that Communities First had done particularly well (National Assembly for Wales, 2018).

Community engagement and involvement in planning and decisions remains central to the processes of transitioning away from Communities First (Welsh Government, 2018k). In transition planning guidance, the Welsh Government has included the principle of empowerment (making sure communities are engaged and empowered to have their voices heard in the decisions that affect them) (Welsh Government, 2017a). It is not yet clear what will replace Communities First, but the Welsh Government plans to take the opportunity to take views from service users. Although the loss of funding is not a positive step, the Welsh Government has committed additional funding in different streams (Welsh Government, 2016b).

5.3.2 Increased use of participatory budgeting

Participatory budgeting is not a widespread practice in Wales, largely restricted to the delivery of smaller grants by voluntary organisations and public bodies. In 2017, the Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Local Government asked the Wales Centre for Public Policy (WCPP) to review the evidence to provide a framework

for considering how participatory budgeting techniques might be used to inform spending decisions in Wales. The Welsh Government has also produced a toolkit for using participatory budgeting with young people (Welsh Government, 2014). WCPP indicated in their report that they were unable to find any evaluation of the toolkit's use (2017).

5.3.3 New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels

As part of the wider local government reform agenda, the Welsh Government established an independent review to consider the future role of Community and Town Councils. The review:

- explored the potential role of local government below local authority councils, drawing on best practice;
- defined the most appropriate model(s)/structure(s) to deliver this role; and
- considered how these models and structures should be applied across Wales. This included consideration of any situations in which they would not be necessary or appropriate.

Outline findings from the consultation process have been published and a final recommendations report was made available in October 2018 (Welsh Government, 2018d).

5.3.4 Efforts to make participatory democracy more inclusive

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 legislation requires public bodies to use five ways of working, which includes 'involvement'. Public bodies must involve people with an interest

in achieving the wellbeing goals, and ensure that the people involved reflect the diversity of the area which the body serves (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2018b). This review did not identify any evidence on progress in this area.

WCVA hosts the Open Government Network Wales, a coalition of citizens and civil society organisations committed to making the Welsh Government work better for people through enhanced transparency, participation and accountability. Their plan states that the network will have an equalities focus and that it will carry out work on disengaged citizens (Open Government Pioneer Project, 2017) but no further detail or an update on progress was identified.

5.3.5 Citizens feel more engaged in decision making and feel they can influence policy and practice

The 2017 National Survey for Wales found that only 20% of people in Wales agreed that they can influence decisions affecting their local area (Welsh Government, 2018a). This has decreased from 25% in 2013/14. A 2017 democratic audit of local government in Wales found that the public are still largely unaware of who makes decisions and how (Democratic Audit, 2017).

In contrast, a Carnegie UK Trust-commissioned Ipsos Mori poll conducted in 2018 found that 41% of people in Wales felt that they had too little control over public services, compared to 50% who felt they had the right amount. A total of 55% of people in Wales felt that attending a public meeting would be an effective approach to improving things in their local area (Wallace & Thurman, 2018).

5.4 From Silos to Working Together/ Integration:

Collaboration is a key principle of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and efforts to apply this way of working are evident at the local and national level. Despite the introduction of the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014, health and social care integration and delivering seamless services remain a challenge. No evidence of pooled budgeting was identified in this review.

What we hope to see:

Evidence of pooled budgets and improved integration at local and national level.

5.4.1 Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 is designed to encourage a 'beyond-silo' approach (Future Policy, 2018). The legislation contains five ways of working which public bodies need to evidence that they have considered when applying the sustainable development principle to improve economic, social, environmental and cultural wellbeing (Welsh Government, 2015d). Included in the five ways of working are:

- Integration: Considering how the public bodies' wellbeing objectives may impact upon each of the wellbeing goals, on their objectives, or on the objectives of other public bodies.

- Collaboration: Acting in collaboration with any other person (or different parts of the body itself) that could help the body to meet its well-being objectives.

Part of the role of the Future Generations Commissioner is to support and encourage public bodies to work with each other and other persons to improve wellbeing (Welsh Government, 2015). In a review by Future Policy, the Welsh Government was congratulated for implementing '*a highly progressive and innovative non-silo approach to the formulation, implementation and monitoring, as well as continued development of sustainable public policy-making*' (Future Policy, 2018).

The sustainable development duty set out in the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 automatically applies to all public bodies. The duty is on the 44 bodies to show that they have applied the sustainable development principle in their work. While this is far-reaching, it cannot be said to encompass all public services in Wales. There are some interesting anomalies. Firstly, the Welsh police forces are not included, as policing is not a devolved function (though the Public Service Boards are required to invite the police boards to participate, and all have done so). Secondly, some bodies are not classed as public bodies under the Act, including Estyn (the schools inspectorate), the Public Services Ombudsman for Wales and the Wales Ambulance Services Trust. Further, a detailed report by the Auditor General for Wales highlighted that the duties do not apply directly to private-sector or third-sector bodies delivering public services or subsidiary bodies (Wallace, 2018).

Since 2007, successive reforms have reduced the size of the top tier of the civil service, initially to seven Directorates and then in 2015, to four Groups – headed by the Permanent Secretary, two Deputy Permanent Secretaries, and the Director General for Health and Social Services (who is also Chief Executive of NHS Wales) (Welsh Government, 2016h). The senior civil service now have their own personal objectives aligned to the wellbeing goals and ways of working and the Permanent Secretary has initiated a wider review of the performance management, progression arrangements, leadership training and other development programmes that is focused on: *‘developing a capable, confident and resilient civil service that can work in new ways, collaborate across traditional portfolio boundaries and involve stakeholders and citizens to achieve better outcomes for Wales’* (Wales Audit Office, 2018).

The Welsh Government has set out its desired approach to integration which specifically includes shifting to a ‘whole of government approach’. This involves commitments to cross-departmental working and taking a life-course approach, recognising that people do not live their lives by policy boundaries, or by the public services they receive (Welsh Government, 2017). The Programme for Government states: *‘Wales in the 21st century is diverse and complex and our programmes need to reflect that... The issues we face can only be tackled through new ways of working, including joined up programmes... Taking Wales Forward sets out how we will work across traditional boundaries to deliver our priorities’* (Welsh Government, 2016e). The Welsh Government has recently commissioned a piece of work exploring how to improve cross-cutting government working.

A civil service business improvement programme ran from February 2015 to March 2017 in order to develop the organisation to better meet the needs of ministers. One of its innovations was the creation of a new Cabinet Office to provide greater strategic capability to support the First Minister and Cabinet in driving and coordinating the business of government. Further activities are ongoing, with the Cabinet Office supporting the implementation of the new ways of working across the civil service (Welsh Government, 2016d).

Local level

The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 created integrated decision-making bodies for local public services: the Public Service Boards. The PSBs are responsible for integrated planning of public services.

Reviewing the first round of local wellbeing assessments the Commissioner for Future Generations found that many assessments presented: *‘... an “un-integrated” picture of wellbeing, looking at issues and policy challenges within narrow, traditional siloes and missing opportunities to make links between interconnected issues and therefore to understand what these connections mean for wellbeing’* (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2017).

Local authorities and their partners work in a complex public policy landscape with multiple duties placed upon them.

Health and Social Care Integration

The Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 brings local authorities and health boards together in new statutory partnerships to promote the wellbeing of people with care and support needs.

The recent parliamentary review into the future of health and social care in Wales, published in January 2018, however, raises concerns with a lack of progress improving health outcomes, and advocates for a different system of care. The report highlights that health and social care are separate sectors: healthcare is publicly funded, planned and commissioned by the NHS; whereas social care is privately or publicly funded and provided through multiple public, private and third sector providers. To tackle this, the Review makes high level recommendations that identify the need for one seamless system for Wales. The Welsh Government's response: *A Healthier Wales: Our Plan for Health and Social Care* was published in July 2018 (Welsh Government, 2018j).

5.4.2 Evidence of pooled budgets

The Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 allows for pooled budgets between a local authority and a Local Health Board for integrated health and social care, as well as the introduction of future regulations to require pooled budgets. This review was not able to find evidence on the implementation of pooled budgets to date.

5.5 From crisis intervention to prevention:

Wales is a global leader on sustainable development legislation and prevention sits at the heart of safeguarding the interests of future generations. Prevention is an investment and policy priority underpinned by legislation, including the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 and the Housing (Wales) Act 2014. The current focus however is largely on mid and downstream interventions with programmes focusing on health, and support for early years and families. Upstream preventative initiatives are facing funding pressures. The focus on Adverse Childhood Experiences is underpinned by a robust evidence base which has informed policy in other jurisdictions.

What we hope to see:

A greater focus on downstream preventative measures.

5.5.1 Increases in preventative spend at local and national level

Prevention was outlined as an investment priority for the Government in the draft Budget 2018/19 with a particular focus on NHS and social services. The word 'prevent' appeared 43 times in the draft budget proposals (Welsh Government, 2017b). An analysis of budget allocation within the NHS in Wales in 2016/17 found that 3% of total expenditure was on prevention programmes and services that support individuals with social rather than

health care needs (Welsh Government, 2018b). Proposals for the 2019/20 include the creation of a new Early Intervention and Prevention Fund – a consolidation of the existing grants paid to local authorities in support of early intervention, prevention and support that would give local authorities more flexibility over spending and the ability to: *‘... better align services in pursuit of their wellbeing objectives’* (Welsh Government, 2017b). In common with other jurisdictions, however, no overall figure on preventative spend was identified.

In evidence to the Finance Committee on the draft budget the Commissioner for Future Generations noted that: *‘Primary prevention of ill health needs to feature far more strongly in the raison d’etre of all health and social care bodies in Wales’* and that *‘... in a public service that is effectively collaborating to provide an integrated approach, investment in prevention cannot just be about the NHS.’* The Commissioner recommended that: *‘New money going into the NHS should be considered in terms of being spent in partnership with others. I think the Public Service Boards provide quite a good opportunity or platform to do that, so that we can start this shifting to collaborative prevention, rather than purely focusing on the type of medical prevention that we’re seeing in the NHS at the moment.’*

The Sustainable Development Alliance echoed the Commissioners comments suggesting that the Government should have more focus on preventative spending in general, rather than just in health.

The committee also heard concerns about a clear lack of a definition of preventative spend. The Commissioner for Future Generations has since advised and successfully agreed with the then Cabinet Secretary for Finance, Mark Drakeford AM a definition for prevention.

The Commissioner will use her powers to scrutinise the draft budget for 2018/19, with a particular focus on:

- Mental health, in relation to “Promote good health and well-being for everyone”
- Decarbonisation, in relation to “Drive sustainable growth and combat climate change”
- Social care, in relation to “Deliver quality health and care services fit for the future”. (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2018a).

5.5.2 Policies that support prevention

Wales is a global leader on sustainable development legislation and prevention sits at the heart of safeguarding the interests of future generations. Preventative approaches are underpinned by the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 and the Housing (Wales) Act 2014. Programmes such as Families First and Supporting People have an explicit preventative objective. The focus is, however, largely on midstream and downstream interventions with universal upstream initiatives facing budget cuts.

Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015
The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 highlights that as part of the sustainable development principle a public body must take account of: *‘how deploying resources to prevent problems occurring or getting worse may contribute to meeting the body’s well-being objectives, or another body’s objectives’* (Welsh Government, 2016g).

Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014

The Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 imposes duties on local authorities, health boards and Welsh Ministers that require them to work to promote the wellbeing of those who need care and support, or carers who need support. The Act requires local authorities to assess the needs in their areas for care and support, as well as support for carers and preventative services, and requires local authorities to provide or arrange for the provision of preventative services.

Housing (Wales) Act 2014

The *Housing (Wales) Act 2014* places a duty on local authorities to work with people who are at risk of losing their home within 56 days to help find a solution to their problems. Part 2 of the Act aims to extend services preventing homelessness and provide assistance to all eligible applicants.

A Welsh Government-commissioned evaluation of the Housing (Wales) Act 2014 found that: *'The overwhelming consensus is that the new statutory homelessness framework ushered in by the Act has had an array of positive impacts. It has helped to shift the culture of local authorities towards a more preventative, person-centred and outcome-focused approach, which has meant a much-improved service response to tackling homelessness. The official statistical returns bear this out, with almost two-thirds of households threatened with homelessness having it prevented and two-fifths of homeless households being relieved of homelessness'* (Welsh Government, 2018c).

In their *Well-being Statement 2017*, the Welsh Government identified the need for a clearer focus on preventing ill health, improving emotional resilience

and reducing the levels of homelessness. The need for prevention is explicitly linked to the barrier of silo-based working.

Key preventative programmes in Wales include:

- Flying Start: the Welsh Government's targeted Early Years programme for families with children under four years of age who live in some of the most disadvantaged areas of Wales (Welsh Government, 2017).
- Families First Programme: this programme includes a revenue grant, provided to local authorities, in collaboration with local health boards and the third sector to provide specific early years services to eligible children living in Wales aged under four. The programme is open to all families regardless of earnings or the area they live in (Welsh Government, 2017c).
- The Supporting People Programme: the programme provides housing-related support to help vulnerable people to live as independently as possible.

Funding for upstream preventative activities is however at risk in a number of areas. The Children, Young People and Education Committee in a 2016 report, highlighted that budgeted expenditure for youth services by local authorities had reduced by almost 25% over a four-year period (National Assembly for Wales, 2016), and concern has been raised about youth clubs closing, leading to suggestions that this could lead to more young people getting involved in crime (BBC News, 2017a).

Cuts in health and social care are well publicised, due to the high profile of the NHS (Wales Online, 2017).

Libraries are coming under similar pressure, despite warnings of the costs to communities and the industry of these cuts (BBC News, 2017). Parks – including Snowdonia National Park (BBC News, 2018) and local community public parks – are coming under pressure due to funding cuts and are widely felt to be in decline. The Heritage Lottery Fund undertook research on the state of Welsh parks in 2014 and found that their state made for ‘worrying reading’ (Heritage Lottery Fund, 2014). WLGA have called for investment into local libraries, museums and cultural services because of the preventative impact they have, particularly on physical and mental health and wellbeing.

A key fault line appears to be between a health definition based on early identification and targeting of at-risk groups, and other approaches which focus further upstream or are universalist in nature.

The Welsh Government has established a Third Sector Partnership Group to explore the issue of the definition of prevention.

5.5.3 Evidence of culture changes that support prevention (e.g. realistic demands for results)

The Future Generations Commissioner is focusing on supporting culture change around three key areas. In common with the other jurisdictions, Wales faces challenges around tracking the flow of costs and benefits of preventative spend between administrations and budgets.

There is a widespread recognition that culture change will not happen overnight. The Commissioner for Future Generations for example is focusing on embedding culture change around three key areas: procurement, carbon budgeting and participatory budgeting (National Assembly for Wales, 2017).

Looking at the feasibility of analysing the rate of return on the Welsh Government’s investment in early intervention in 2015, the Early Intervention Foundation identified that there was a risk that Wales will not gain all of the fiscal benefits of its spending. To avoid significant disincentives to invest in early intervention, the Foundation recommended the Welsh Government, HM Treasury and others develop a better understanding of the flows of cost and benefits between administrations and across budgets (Early Intervention Foundation, 2015).

The Early Intervention Foundation recognised that Wales and has been leading the way in meeting some aspects of the data and evidence requirements for rigorous assessment of rate of return on preventative spend but noted that: *‘Estimating the rate of return on investment would require more detailed knowledge of local data and decisions. It would also be necessary to develop improved forecasts of population outcomes and a better understanding of how interventions achieve key outcomes.’*

5.5.4 Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention

An area of significant evidence-based policy development in Wales has been on Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs). Bringing together the ways of working on long-termism and prevention, the aim is to improve the wellbeing of future generations by reducing harm in early childhood.

The focus on ACEs is informed by a growing body of evidence which suggests that children who are exposed to multiple ACEs are more likely to adopt health-harming behaviours during adolescence, which can lead to poor mental and physical health in later life. The need for effective early intervention and prevention that builds family resilience and wellbeing is reinforced by Public Health Wales' Adverse Childhood Experiences study (Public Policy Institute for Wales, 2015).

In 2017, the Welsh Government announced funding of £400,000 in 2017-18 to help Cymru Well Wales to set up an evidence hub to tackle the negative impact of ACEs (Welsh Government, 2017h).

The impact of the national work on ACEs can be seen filtering through to the local wellbeing action plans, where 16 out of the 19 PSBs have identified ACEs as one of their priorities. It is early to review in terms of witnessing social change, but the policy intention is crystallising around the need to support children to safeguard the interests of future generations.

5.6 From recipients to co-producers / from doing-to to doing-with

The Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 and the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 provide an enabling legislative environment for transformative co-production in Wales, but this has not yet been translated into mainstream policies and practices based around transformative co-production rather than just collaboration.

What we hope to see:

A move from policies and practices that support user voice and collaboration to those that create the conditions for citizens to be equal partners in the design and delivery of services, particularly in health and social care.

5.6.1 Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management

Although there is evidence of a policy ambition for greater co-production particularly in health and social care the term co-production does not appear to be widely used in policy rhetoric in Wales.

5.6.2 Policies and practices that support transformative co-production

Transformative co-production is the relocation of power and control through the development of new user-led mechanisms in planning, delivery

management and governance. The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 represent enabling pieces of legislation for policies and practices that support transformative co-production, although this review did not find evidence that this has been followed through systemically in policy and practice. For example, the latest plan for Health and Social Care in Wales is strong on the principles of user voice and personalisation but does not set out a vision for transformative co-production.

While not directly using the language of co-production, the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 requires public bodies to evidence that they have acted in ‘collaboration’ to meet their wellbeing objectives.

Co-production principles are also at the heart of the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014. The Act imposes duties on local authorities, health boards and Welsh Ministers requiring them to work to promote the wellbeing of those who need care and support, or carers who need support. It is a change to social services delivery because it gives people more control over what support they need. Voice and control: ‘. . . putting the individual and their needs at the centre of their care, and giving them a voice in, and control over reaching the outcomes that help them achieve wellbeing’ and co-production: ‘. . . encouraging individuals to become more involved in the design and delivery of services’ are core principles of the Act (National Assembly for Wales, 2014).

And in *Prosperity for All*, the Welsh Government acknowledges that: ‘How we deliver is as important as what we deliver, and in order to make a real difference to people’s lives, we need to do things differently and involve people in shaping the services we use every day’ (2017g).

Prudent Healthcare

In 2015, the Bevan Commission (an independent Commission hosted by Swansea University) in collaboration with the Welsh NHS, Public Health Wales, 1,000 Lives Improvement and the then Minister for Health and Social Services, Mark Drakeford, proposed four principles of Prudent Healthcare to guide the NHS in Wales (Bevan Commission, 2017). They were:

- Achieve health and wellbeing with the public, patients and professionals as equal partners through co-production;
- Care for those with the greatest health need first, making the most effective use of all skills and resources;
- Do only what is needed, no more, no less; and do no harm.
- Reduce inappropriate variation using evidence-based practices consistently and transparently.

In the latest plan for *Health and Social Care: A Healthier Wales: our plan for health and social care in Wales*, the philosophy of Prudent Healthcare is acknowledged and the 10 principles include:

- Independence: supporting people to manage their own health and wellbeing, be resilient and independent for longer, in their own homes and localities, including speeding up recovery after treatment and care, and supporting self-management of long-term conditions.
- Voice: empowering people with the information and support they need to understand and to manage their health and wellbeing, to make decisions about care and treatment based on 'what matters' to them, and to contribute to improving our whole system approach to health and care; simple, clear, timely communication and co-ordinated engagement appropriate to age and level of understanding.
- Personalised: health and care services which are tailored to individual needs and preferences including in the language of their choice; precision medicine; involving people in decisions about their care and treatment; supporting people to manage their own care and outcomes. (Welsh Government, 2018f).

Some of the more transformative language about equal partnership however has gone.

Social Care Direct Payments

The most direct application of the principles of co-production is through the implementation of Social Care Direct Payments.

However, in practice, there have been difficulties in implementing these. Gwynedd Council adopted an asset-based approach to better cope with the Direct Payments system. Their experience is described in *Seeing is Believing: Case Studies*, produced by Public Health Wales and Co-production Wales. It states: '*We started with a problem... social workers were confused and uncertain about what could and couldn't be bought using Direct Payments, and many people defaulted to a traditional home care package delivered in the same way every day, every week. Recipients did not feel able to vary the timing or nature of the care, or to come up with new ideas to help them live the lives they chose*' (Public Health Wales, 2018).

The Council, acting on these concerns, made changes to the way that direct payments were delivered to allow people to design a care package that was right for them, through consultation with service users.

Co-production Catalogue

The Co-production Network for Wales, a member-led network describe their role as: '*Shar[ing] power and work[ing] together to bring positive change to our public services and communities; and to contribute to the laws that shape our society*' (Co-production Network for Wales, 2018). Looking at examples of co-production in practice, Good Practice Wales in partnership with Public Health Wales, produced and released a *Co-Production Catalogue* (Good Practice Wales, 2015). This report provided examples of over 20 co-production activities in Wales.

5.7 From state to community ownership and management:

A policy ambition to support greater community ownership appears to have stalled and funding available to support communities to take on assets has reduced. While the Third Sector Scheme and the Third Sector Partnership Council point to an aspiration to involve the third sector more in commissioning and service delivery the funding environment is challenging and local authorities are not currently best placed to deliver this.

What we hope to see:

Re-invigoration of Community Ownership in Wales, a focus on local commissioning and procurement and opportunities to involve the third sector more effectively.

5.7.1 Policies to support community ownership and community management

There is currently no cohesive legislative framework for community rights in Wales (Wales Cooperative Centre, 2016). The 2015 white paper on local government reform, *Reforming Local Government: Power to Local People*, proposed the facilitation of asset transfer to communities and greater community participation (Wales Cooperative Centre, 2016). Later the same year, the Welsh Government ran a consultation on protecting community assets. In a statement following the consultation Lesley Griffiths, the then Minister for Communities and Tackling Poverty, stated that: 'A legislative framework for

establishing a Welsh Assets of Community Value (ACV) Scheme could be put in place by commencing Chapter 3 part 5 of the Localism Act 2011 and in subsequent Welsh regulation made under the act' (Welsh Government, 2015c). It is not clear, however, whether any progress has been made on this to date.

The latest green paper on local government reform makes no mention of community ownership. Nonetheless the PfG contains a section on community assets that contains three relevant policy ambitions:

- Develop a 'Made in Wales' approach reflecting Welsh needs and aspirations.
- Work with communities to protect local facilities that bring people together, including pubs, libraries, museums, arts centres and leisure centres.
- Introduce measures to prevent unnecessary closures and to help communities take ownership of community assets where appropriate.

In 2016, the Welsh Government published *Community Assets: a Best Practice Guide* (Welsh Government, 2016a). The Guide was intended to help manage the process and minimise the risks associated with community asset transfers and guide local community asset transfer policies.

Funding for communities who wish to take on ownership of community assets is available through Welsh Government *Community Facilities Programme*: a capital grant scheme which can be used to improve community facilities which are useful to, and well used by, people in the community. Communities can bid for grants of up to £250,000. This is a reduction since 2016 when grants of up to £500,000 were available.

5.7.2 Changes to commissioning that support third sector delivery

The Third Sector Scheme (required under Section 74 of the Government of Wales Act 2006) was revised in 2014. The Scheme sets out the relationship between the Welsh Government and the third sector in Wales and how the Government proposes to represent the interests of relevant voluntary bodies (Welsh Government, 2014c). The Scheme states: *'We believe that the third sector can help to transform the way that public services meet present and future demands, by treating people and communities as assets and equals in the design and delivery of services, not only as service receivers.'* (Welsh Government, 2014).

Funding for the third sector is supported by agreed processes set out in the *Code of Practice for Funding the Third Sector*.

Through its Third Sector Scheme and the work of the Third Sector Partnership Council (Wales Council for Voluntary Action, 2018) the Welsh Government is placing a greater emphasis and reliance on the increased involvement of third sector organisations as key partners in the delivery of public service (Wales Audit Office, 2017a).

However, overall funding for the Third Sector both through grant income and procurement contracts is falling. The annual Welsh Government report on the third sector states that in 2016-17 total expenditure on the third sector was £285.7 million (grant and procured) and that the third sector was successful in securing £29.1 million via procurement (Welsh Government, 2018l). In 2013/14, government expenditure on the sector totalled £326.5 million (grant and procurement) (Welsh Government, 2015).

The Wales Audit Office in their 2017 review of local authority third sector funding noted that in general, local authority spend on the third sector is increasing but expressed concern that *'local authorities are not always making the best use of the third sector nor doing enough to ensure they are securing value for money'* (Auditor General for Wales, 2017).

The report notes that:

- Few local authorities have comprehensive corporate-wide strategies or frameworks that are based on good quality and accurate data to drive decisions, plans and activity.
- Partnership activity is not consistent nor effective enough to deliver better outcomes and the important work of county voluntary councils is not always valued nor recognised which reduces their effectiveness.
- Despite local authorities recognising the importance of creating efficient and streamlined systems to manage their third-sector funding, many weaknesses exist.
- The quality and accessibility of local authority information on the processes for applying and the criteria used to award contracts is of a variable quality and are not always streamlined to support full engagement from third sector organisations.

The report concludes that it is unclear at this time whether a growing role for the third sector in public services is deliverable (Auditor General for Wales, 2017).

A report by the WCVA argues that a strong third sector has a vital role to play in securing a positive future

for Wales but action is needed to prevent the sector becoming weaker and more fragmented in the coming years (Wales Council for Voluntary Action, 2017).

A report by the Lloyds Bank Foundation highlighted that smaller charities tend to lose out in procurement processes, as they struggle to compete (Lloyds Bank Foundation, 2016).

5.7.4 Increases in volunteering

WCVA figures suggest that 28% of people in Wales engage in voluntary activity in 2016/17. This compares to 38% of adults in 2014 (Wales Council for Voluntary Action, 2014).

When asked how likely they would be to volunteer or help out a local charity or community group to improve things in their local area, a 2018 Carnegie UK Trust and Ipsos Mori poll revealed that 57% of people in Wales said that this was highly likely or likely to (Carnegie UK Trust, 2018). This suggests that there is significant latent appetite for local volunteering. This could be converted into action.

The Welsh Government supports volunteering by allocating core funding to minimise administration costs and improve efficiency. In addition, County Voluntary Councils and Volunteer Centres exist in each local authority area in Wales. All the Volunteer Centres in Wales work to a common standard of service within the framework (Welsh Government, 2017j). The Welsh Government has acknowledged the importance of volunteering: *'The Welsh Government values volunteering as an important expression of citizenship and as an essential component of democracy. It is the commitment of time and energy for the benefit of society and the community and can take many forms'* (2014c).

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