Inclusive Growth in Cities: Global Lessons for Local Action
Parallel Paper Sessions - Tuesday 19th November: Programme

Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 1: Theme 1 - Actors & Institutions

Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm
Chair: David Waite

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<th>1.10</th>
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Break: 2.40 - 3.00pm

Session 2: 3.00 - 4.30pm
Chair: Richard Crisp

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Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 2: Theme 2 - Place, Community and Organising

Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

Chair: Liz Richardson

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Break: 2.40-3.00pm

Session 2: 3.00-4.30pm

Chair: TBC

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Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

Chair: Mike Hawking

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Break: 2.40 - 3.00pm

Session 2: 3.00 - 4.30pm

Chair: Miguel Martinez Lucio

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Theme: Labour market trends and inclusive growth
### Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 7: Theme 4 - Theory, frameworks and measurement

#### Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

**Chair:** Des McNulty

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**Break:** 2.40 - 3.00pm

#### Session 2: 3.00 - 4.30pm

**Chair:** Danny MacKinnon

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Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 1: Theme 1 - Actors & Institutions

Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

Paper 1: Theorising inclusive growth as a Polanyian 'double movement': exploring differences, tensions and contradictions in the accounts of state and non-state actors

Richard Crisp, Sheffield Hallam University

Inclusive growth has gained traction in the UK as policymakers search for ways to ensure that the benefits of growth are experienced more evenly by low income groups and areas. Yet despite efforts to define and identify the component parts of inclusive growth, there has been little attempt to theorise inclusive growth as a policy response to poverty and inequality. This limits our ability to understand why inclusive growth has become an increasingly prevalent policy framework, and how it has been informed by, and seeks to shape, the economic, political and institutional contexts in which it has emerged over space and time.

This paper will address this by drawing on Polanyi’s historically-informed account of the 'double movement'. This highlights the way in which state-facilitated moves to establish self-regulating markets provoke counter responses to protect individuals from the 'deleterious action of the market' (Polanyi, 1944/2001: 138). The value of the concept lies in its ability to inform 'dialectical analysis, strategically centred on those (social and institutional) reflexes triggered by marketization and commodification' (Peck, 2013: 1551). Accordingly, this paper will explore these 'institutional reflexes' in terms of how inclusive growth has been variously conceived, operationalised and challenged by both state and non-state actors as a mechanism for tackling the uneven outcomes of growth. Drawing on interview, workshop and documentary data collected through five inclusive growth research projects in the UK over the last four years, the paper will contend that this 'double movement' is not a single, coherent response. It will highlight the nuances, tensions and contradictions between and within different articulations of inclusive growth, and how these emerge in the context of low growth, 'austerity' and the reconfiguration of urban policy and governance. It will show the value of a Polanyian-inspired approach in deepening our understanding of the rise of inclusive growth.
Paper 2: The Civic Turn? Exploring the Role of Universities in Local Inclusive Growth

Eric Lybeck, University of Manchester

As policymakers, academics and stakeholders begin to incorporate the concept of inclusive growth in their strategies, activities and accountability processes, it is worth considering the particular role of knowledge and higher education within emerging local, regional and national political economic configurations. This is all the more important as policy discourses surrounding the ‘civic university’ have come to the fore in the wake of a commission led by Lord Kerslake that has drawn attention to the diminishing civic role of universities in recent decades, as higher education institutions direct their attention toward global rankings, international students and high technology transfer.

In one direction, the shift back toward places, local communities, adult education and social impact as were characteristic of civic universities in the past should be welcomed. On the other hand, insofar as the new civic university idea has yet to distinguish itself from the broader trajectory of higher education policy and practice in recent decades, there remains an opportunity to explore a more profound reconfiguration of the relations between universities, local governments and regional populations. Drawing on recent scholarship in the field of civic sociology, social generativity and critical university studies, this paper will recommend some possible paths forward to facilitate new articulations of/for civic universities for the 21st century, which would contribute to more inclusive growth.
Paper 3: Municipal Energy Companies, Inclusive Economies and the Sustainable City

Larry Reynolds, UCLan Institute of Citizenship, Society and Change, Preston

In the UK and many EU member states, new imaginaries, practices and infrastructures of energy localisation and re-municipalisation are taking shape. This paper is based on research that examines the recent experience of local authorities in the UK who since 2015 have began to establish locally owned or locally branded municipal energy supply companies.

A number of rationales are advanced in support of these new municipal ventures. These include supporting local economic strategies and building community wealth, combatting fuel poverty, providing localised energy services, and facilitating the renewable energy transition.

These are the first municipal energy companies in the UK since nationalisation centralised the industry in 1948, and also the first forms of public ownership since electricity privatisation in 1989. In the new municipalist energy model, local public ownership and decentralised systems are offered as a remedy to the problems of both privatisation and previous forms of state-centric nationalisation. Claims are advanced that the existing structure of privatised oligopoly is not only driven by profit maximisation but that it also represents a ‘wealth extraction’ model organised on scales that seem too vast and distant from local communities to respond to their capacities and needs. Energy municipalisation is therefore often advocated as part of a new inclusive municipalist economic and social model, that attempts to resist these scales and dynamics of ‘extraction’.

However, UK energy municipalisation is a paradoxical process – a putative return to public ownership that has been enabled by market liberalisation – which has allowed space for local authorities and other small entrants to become competitive energy suppliers. Operating within liberalised energy markets, these new companies face a series of strategic dilemmas around competition, cooperation and economic geographies of scale versus local democracy and local identity. There are also often trade-offs between declared imperatives of supplying both low carbon and low cost energy. Furthermore, localisations and city-regional devolutions in energy as in other areas of social policy may generate inequalities and exclusions, as well as new forms of inclusive growth. This paper explores these tensions around scale, markets and locality in the emerging world of UK energy municipalisation and draws out the implications for inclusive growth in the sustainable city.
Paper 4: Exploring the relationship dynamics between the public and private sector in the delivery of Inclusive Economic Growth in Scotland

Brian Connolly, ProfDoc Candidate, Glasgow Caledonian University

The concept of inclusive growth is one which continues to shape economic development theory and practice amongst developed countries, driven by an awareness of growing inequality and the need to challenge existing models of growth. Through recognition of these global trends, this paper proposes to evaluate the issue in Scotland, through consideration of power in the stakeholder relationship between the public and private sectors. As the public sector becomes more of an active player in the facilitation of economic growth, they have also sought to exert greater influence on the support they offer and the social return expected from private firms. For the private sector, there has been concern around creeping intervention into business practice with concepts such as inclusive growth seen as owned by the state.

This paper will consider the steps taken by public sector agencies in Scotland to further inclusive outcomes and whether this impacts on the dynamics of its relationship with the private sector. This will be explored through suitable theoretical frameworks (stakeholder relationships, CSR, economic development policy) leading to consideration of the challenges this presents in establishing a unified position for inclusive growth. It is proposed to employ Gadamerian hermeneutics to understand the experience of inclusive growth and the impact on the public/private sector relationship. A series of 18 in-depth semi-structured interviews will be carried out, balanced between representatives from the public sector economic actors (e.g. SG, SE, SDS, HIE) and cross sector private companies from across Scotland who are engaged in either shaping discussion or receive support. Insight will be analysed on a cyclical basis presenting an opportunity to review experience and reflect this within current literature. Upon completion, the research will demonstrate how stakeholder power is perceived and the implications for the delivery of inclusive economic growth in Scotland with consideration of global application.
Across the globe, there is increasing evidence that cities are looking for new ways of addressing issues of inequality and urban poverty by setting out to build more inclusive economies. An emergent area of interest is the growth in popularity of the social and solidarity urban economy (EESC, 2017; UNRISD, 2016; Vickers et al, 2017), which represents the belief that a change in relationships based on solidarity and co-operation is a fundamental component in developing sustainable and inclusive economic activities and policies in our cities. So far, however, there has been little focus on how education interventions could build stronger relationships with urban communities and help to lay the foundations for more inclusive, social solidarity economies. This study addresses gaps in policy and academic discussions about inclusive growth by illuminating the extent to which a place and its communities can become more relational through education policies and practices.

This paper reports on findings from the first year of a three year international research project, funded by The Leverhulme Trust. The research examines the comparative way in which education institutions in four different cities around the world engage with their locality through various relational mechanisms and infrastructures (such as governance, curriculum and pedagogy). The cities (Barcelona, Berlin, New York and Rio de Janeiro) have been identified based on evidence of their attempts to develop, in different ways, an enabling and supportive urban context of cross-sector partnerships and collaboration that can help to build a successful social solidarity economy (Vickers et al, 2017; Solidarity NYC, 2013).

The findings presented in this paper focus on two key questions from the research:

- What are the discourses of public services/policy/schooling that support a social-solidarity approach to education?
- What are the institutional foundations that support a social-solidarity approach to education?
Paper 2: Investigating the governance mechanisms that sustain regional economic resilience and inclusive growth

Marianne Sensier with Elvira Uyarra, Economics and Alliance Manchester Business School, University of Manchester

We compare the UK cities of Manchester and Preston in terms of their recovery and resilience since the financial crisis. We review the academic and policy literature on governance mechanisms and policy interventions that have been applied to help with the recovery from the financial crisis in 2008 and explain their potential role for the post Brexit transition and economic development towards inclusive growth. Greater Manchester is part of the 100 Resilient Cities Project funded by the Rockefeller Foundation and now has a Local Industrial Strategy. Preston has pursued local wealth building strategies since 2010.

Ayres, et al (2018) note that “crises open ‘windows of opportunity’ by potentially jolting institutions or constitutional configurations out of established pathways and thereby facilitating the introduction of new structures and relationships”. Political elites may seek to control the crisis and return to the status quo but reform agendas can be followed by committed individuals who seek to remove ‘executive blockages’ before the window of opportunity closes. The financial crisis could have provided a window of opportunity for some places to develop new arrangements supporting new path creation and diversification of regional economies.

Fastenrath et al (2019) discuss Melbourne’s resilience strategy. They “argue that resilience actions can be conceptualized as ‘governance experiments’ that aim to re-construct established urban governance structures by disrupting institutional path dependencies through collective innovation, cooperation and coordination” (p.7-8). They also discuss the need for more policy experimentation and combining solutions from “bottom-up” grass roots organisations (for example in the voluntary and social enterprise sector) with “top-down” established urban planning policy.
Paper 3: Greater Manchester Housing Providers – Inclusive Growth, Practical delivery and insights

Issy Taylor, One Manchester

The Greater Manchester Housing Partnership (GMHP) comprises of 27 housing associations all based or with significant stock within Greater Manchester. As place based organisations we have been working collaboratively over the last few years to improve our inclusive growth impact, scale and reach.

Using the social value act as a key driver, we established the GMHP Social value group to explore how we could collectively increase the social value we deliver including proactively engaging our supply chain to encourage more smes and local providers to participate. We have a social value pledge to encourage and foster more local organisations and sme’s to become part of our supply chain which has been successful.

In addition, as Social housing providers, we take our role in supporting and encouraging inclusive growth seriously, and have developed a myriad of ways in which do deliver this practically and strategically. In 2018/19 over 98% of our staff were paid at least the real living wage; we supported over 2000 residents into jobs and spent over £4 million with not for profit organisations. None of this is accidental, as anchor institutions in a climate of reducing core funding and the retraction of the state we view ourselves as important anchors in inclusive growth and work with many partners to achieve this. Our approach is ground breaking nationally and is seen as an exemplar within the housing sector. Our session would focus on the practicalities and lessons learned of encouraging, fostering and delivering inclusive growth which would provide an interesting case study for delegates. We would be interested to hear from academics and experts from across the world how to improve and refine our approach to delivering inclusive growth at scale.

We also would be able to provide interesting study tour sessions of inclusive growth in practice; with examples of economic regeneration with inclusive growth and the outcomes achieved, intended and unintended.
Paper 4: Using knowledge exchange partnerships between universities and local government to tackle social inclusion: the example of Salford’s Anti-Poverty Task Force

Andrea Gibbons and Lisa Scullion, University of Salford

This paper explores the potential for collaboration between universities and local government in co-producing evidence-based policy that can work towards supporting genuinely inclusive growth. It draws on the work produced by the Salford Anti-Poverty Taskforce, a research and knowledge exchange collaboration between Salford City Council and the University of Salford. Launched in February of 2017 to support Salford’s Anti-Poverty Strategy, the taskforce is made up of both frontline and strategic staff within the council as well as representatives from the third sector and the University. In only two years it has undertaken studies of the private rented sector followed by a policy briefing on the potential of a living rents policy; the convening and research support for the ‘A Place to Call Home Commission’ on homelessness in Salford; research with young people not in employment, education or training; and collaborative work on the growing use of independent food banks. These projects have brought together the lived experience of poverty in its multiple dimensions with the experience of frontline staff in both the council and third sector as a basis for both council action and advocacy.

This paper will examine the areas where our collaborative research was able to make a concrete change in the everyday practices of the council and impact on policy, contrasted with those areas where potential policy fixes proved to be unworkable. This will provide some insight into best practice for such collaboration as well as consider how these contrasts have raised issues around just how much local government can do to tackle poverty and social inclusion.
Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 2: Theme 2 - Place, Community and Organising

Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

Paper 1: Everyday Cultural Participation: Why ordinary culture should be a key pillar of ‘inclusive growth’

Andrew Miles and Jill Ebrey, University of Manchester

In the context of the ‘creative city’, culture has often been mobilised as an instrument of the economy; a crucible for re-development and wealth creation, driven by an open and dynamic ‘creative class’ (Florida 2002). However, subsequent evaluations have challenged the sustainability of the culture-led regeneration model, revealing its exclusions, removals and inequalities (e.g. Peck 2005, Krätke 2010). Drawing on Raymond Williams’s (1958) assertion that ‘Culture is ordinary’, our research on the Understanding Everyday Participation project (www.everydayparticipation.org, Miles and Gibson 2016, Miles and Ebrey 2017), suggests that the notion of inclusive growth must take account of culture as a common good, rooted in the vernacular creativity of everyday practices and relations rather than the predilections and prescriptions of an urban arts elite.

In order to ‘increase our prosperity in ways that benefit the many not the few’ (Lupton, Rafferty and Hughes (2016:3), a new model of the cultural economy is required; one that reverses the marginalisation of everyday cultures and the destruction of associated infrastructures and institutions. Such a renewal is vital to a revival of civic democracy, which gives capacity to economic planning and local decision-making by communities in overlooked urban and rural spaces. We argue, therefore, for ‘ordinary’ culture, as the crux of economic and social life (Calhoun and Sennett, 2009: 3), to be considered seriously as a recognised pillar of inclusive growth, and invested in appropriately.
Co-production is a term that is applied to a range of different forms of engagement with society in urban planning and development issues. It builds on debates in the planning theory that stem from collaborative and communicative planning. Co-produced research can have similar interpretations within a number of disciplines such as community development, health, education, housing and social care. However, the term can be profoundly different in its application and impact particularly in culturally diverse urban areas.

This paper showcases how meaningful co-produced research can be used not only to empower local communities but also to influence inclusive growth, challenge assumptions of planning thought in urban regeneration and involving communities in the production of knowledge. A three year European funded programme, explores co-produced research delivered through founding a pool of community researchers in a super-diverse area in an inner city deprived neighbourhood in Birmingham, UK. The research planning and evaluation was not predetermined and instead embraced the different voices of participants and diverse stakeholders. While initially used as a community engagement method. Community Research methodology offered enormous insights into a wide range of processes, relationships and phenomena at a community level.

The paper contributes to the literature on urban planning theory and co-production. It also advocates the call for more qualitative and participatory research that stems from core community problems and issues.
This paper argues that economies and places can change in an inclusive way. Just as the economic geography of places has changed from the past, by the same token, places will continue to change in the future. This paper presents two contributions to evolutionary economic geography (EEG), which aims to understand how economies and places change over time.

The first contribution addresses the gap of inclusive economic development in evolutionary economic geography (EEG). Much of the EEG literature aims to understand why some places fail to reinvent themselves and how places can forge new economic development paths. Yet, EEG overlooks the notion of inclusivity. This paper argues that the nebulous idea of inclusive economic development can be better defined when studied at the local scale; and identifies some assets that provide foundations for inclusive economic development paths to emerge.

Secondly, the paper contributes empirical evidence of how creative, community enterprises in Morecambe, Lancashire, have facilitated the emergence of new, inclusive, economic development paths. Utilising assets such as cheap rents, and grand, yet run-down, Victorian buildings, has provided the foundations for these enterprises to grow. Anchor institutions such as Lancaster City Council are considered vital to the future success of the new development path, and are required to intervene with inclusive economic development policies to facilitate this. The local approach to economic development helps identify endogenous assets, which entrepreneurs in Morecambe have utilised, to address the specific needs of the community, and begin to forge a new, inclusive, economic development path.
Autonomy is a critical ingredient within transformative urban social movements. Such movements significantly change the character of power relations between citizens/residents and those in control of urban resources, i.e. the state, the market, or some combination of these actors. A relational perspective illuminates the parallel experiences of low income communities in relation to socio-spatial power relations and inequality across different global contexts. In this presentation, I will share experiences and reflections from an action research initiative called *Seeing the inner city from the South* through which low income women in Greater Manchester have experimented with the ideas and approaches of an international social movement called Shack/Slum Dwellers International. I will reflect on the links between autonomous community action, socio-spatial inequality, and the effects of women-led forms of organising within long term deprived areas of the City of Manchester.

The research and findings address three hypotheses:

i. Autonomous urban social movements driven from below are critical to reducing inequality and advancing the needs and interests of long-term deprived communities

ii. Urban social movements that aim to be women-led are likely to have more transformative effects on socio-spatial inequality and localised forms of democratisation than gender-blind movements

iii. Adapting lessons from such movements in the Global South has the potential to catalyse these kinds of movements in cities of the Global North: translation from South to North is possible and opportune
Paper 1: Politics of inclusive growth: amplifying the voices of ‘hard-to-reach’ groups in Greater Manchester

Temidayo Eseonu, University of Manchester (ECR)

Whilst different people view inclusive growth through various lenses such as an economic or social lens, there is more of a consensus on the ‘target’ of inclusive growth policies, strategies and agendas. However, the diverse voices of the targeted populations seem to be missing from the conversations and debates on inclusive growth.

In the Manchester city-region, its ‘Our People, Our Place’ strategy has inclusive growth as its core and talks about involving the people of Manchester in the delivery of the strategy. It makes reference to ‘harnessing the strengths of Greater Manchester’s people and places we can create a more inclusive and productive city-region where everyone, and every place, can succeed’. Consequently, more thought needs to be given on how to amplify the voices of and harness the strengths of Greater Manchester’s people especially those classified as ‘hard to reach’. This paper suggests that co-production is one mechanism through which this could be achieved.

This paper suggests that co-production presents an opportunity for practices to be reinvented or developed in a way that encourages the inclusion of ‘hard-to-reach’ groups. In particular, this paper wishes to share lessons learnt from the methodology of a co-production initiative with a hard to reach population in one of Greater Manchester’s local authorities. As part of a doctoral research project, a design experiment was used to test ways in which a council’s service could use co-production to access the views of young people especially Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) young people. This paper will discuss the opportunities, challenges and successes of the journey to amplifying and harnessing the voices of young people. It is hoped that this paper provides a starting point for discussion on how the inclusion of ‘hard-to-reach’ groups could be implemented at city-region level.
The world's population has grown rapidly in urban areas. As a result of the surge in urban population, demand for housing has also increased. The formal housing market in developing countries usually cannot provide enough low-cost products. Informal housing, therefore, becomes an inevitable choice for low-income people.

Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC), Vietnam, one of the fastest-growing cities in Asia, is also facing the rapid spread of informal housing. This city is selected as a case study to analyze the challenges of informal housing to inclusive cities.

Informal housing is often associated with poor quality of life. Interestingly, living environment and housing quality of the informal sector in HCMC are generally much better than other major cities in developing countries. The reason is that the HCMC government has legalized numerous houses and built basic infrastructures in the informal areas. This intervention has been helping many families in the informal housing areas in HCMC to have relatively good places to live under rapid growth pressures. However, some citizens have deliberately broken the law with expectation sooner or later their illegal constructions will be legalized. The higher the number of illegal houses, the more difficult the government strictly handles. Hence, the existent outcome so far has been acceptable, but the growing number of informal settlements in the future may cause serious problems for the HCMC urban sustainable development.

Using a qualitative analysis and a case-study approach, this paper will discuss the challenges from informal housing to inclusion, and the role of the local government in addressing informal housing as well as promoting more inclusive growth in the city.
Paper 3: Understanding entrepreneurial learning approaches to community-organised inclusive growth in northern Tasmania

Tim Butcher, The Open University, UK
Ruth Barton, University of Tasmania, Australia
Kim Lehman, University of Tasmania, Australia
Warren Staples, RMIT University, Australia

Poverty and disadvantage are significant issues in regional post-industrial economies such as in northern Tasmania (Barton, 2018). Tasmania is 20% poorer per capita than the rest of Australia, with high levels of economic disadvantage, and poor educational, social and health indicators (UTAS, 2019). Yet public funding cuts have shifted responsibility to communities to develop, lead and organise solutions to those problems themselves. The key question we seek to address through this research is how such disadvantaged communities can learn to build the capacity needed to increase individual economic participation when starting from such a position of disadvantage. In this paper, we outline a longitudinal participatory action research agenda to work closely with communities in northern Tasmania to understand how they learn to develop approaches to inclusive growth.

Our agenda involves bringing together transdisciplinary researchers, entrepreneurial practitioners, local community activists, non-government organisations, and state government policymakers via unconferences in the region to learn together how to build capacity for individual economic participation in inclusive ways. Our research utilises the theory of entrepreneurial learning commonly employed in contemporary coworking communities, which through legitimate peripheral participation is a two-stage process of learning to collaborate and collaborating to learn between individuals who would not otherwise work together but realise opportunities to grow their collective capacity through this approach (Butcher, 2018). Hence, we will theorise how communities and stakeholders first learn to share and develop ideas via unconferencing, and then how they might develop collaborations that are generative of learning new entrepreneurial approaches to developing solutions that meet community needs for inclusive growth.
From 1897 to 1914, Qingdao city in northern China was Germany’s only colony in Asia. The Germans devoted a lot of wealth and personnel to transform the region into a model city in Asia. Qingdao holds many number ones and records in China’s modernization. The colonial legacy still exists in Qingdao today. The Germans envisioned apartheid in Qingdao, in which the Germans would live in the center and the Chinese would live in some relatively backward outskirts, which were basically slums. Many Chinese citizens were relocated from the city center of Qingdao as a result of German attempts to rid parts of the city of its Chinese roots. The railroad as well forced many locals to be relocated at times against their will. After the Communist takeover in 1949, segregation and inequalities remain. People in the Communist Establishment (especially cadres) live in the former German zone, which has the best of everything and excels in economic and social indicators. This delineation and segregation made by the Germans is still visible in Qingdao today.

Chinese cities have gone through turbulent times in modern history. The Chinese Communist regime has turned many things upside down. But the German colonial legacy lingers on in Qingdao’s urban landscape. The German-made segregation and the subsequent inequalities have evolved and transformed under different city administrations, beginning from the early colonial years, to the Republican era, the Maoist years, all the way into the reform and open-up period since 1978.

Drastic changes have taken place since the Qingdao municipal government, with its great capacities and resources, has implemented a heavy-handed gentrification program of the Chinese zone in the 2010s, in the context of the national campaign of poverty reduction. The community has been dismantled, as many people were resettled and houses were torn down. In this paper, based on my extensive fieldwork, I critically examine how the government has turned the Chinese zone from a dilapidated and poor inner-city neighborhood to a central business district (CBD) with an uncertain future, without sense of belonging. Skyscrapers do not necessarily mean good well-being. I argue that, neglecting citizen engagement and historical legacy, although economic statistics look good on paper, the government-initiated project has failed to achieve inclusive growth, with serious negative consequences, such as rampant crime.
The flexibility of employment in the UK is prized by policy-makers as a key driver of job creation, which allows individual workers to match work and family life. At the same time, highly flexible forms of work characterised by low and variable hours and limited job security are increasingly recognised as a contributing factor to high levels of in-work poverty, resulting in a significant burden on the state to subsidise poor quality work. Cuts to state services and welfare provisions since 2010 have in turn shifted some of the responsibility for supporting the out-of-work and in-work poor onto individual households, the voluntary sector and charitable organisations.

Drawing on original qualitative data gathered from unemployment support services across the Greater Manchester area, this paper highlights the challenges faced by those on the margins of the labour market in accessing work that is both flexible and good quality. It finds that despite a relatively strong record of job creation since the crisis, under significant pressures of welfare reform job seekers increasingly appear to accept second choice jobs that offer little in the way of security, financial independence or personal fulfilment. Furthermore, high levels of ‘churn’ and the extensive use of non-standard forms of employment suggests that employers and employees alike increasingly see low commitment employment relationships as a ‘natural’ feature of the labour market.

More broadly in the absence of any strong state or market pressures on employers to create high quality work, the responsibility for achieving a suitable degree of ‘fit’ has increasingly been transferred onto individuals who are expected to switch between employers in pursuit of better work or to accept the shortfall in hours, earnings or career prospects. The harmonisation of in and out of work benefits under Universal Credit places new pressures on workers to find better paying work or to adopt full-time working hours to avoid sanctions, but there are no requirements on employers to create more full-time work. This ‘more of the same’ approach does little to challenge the power imbalance between
employers and employees, and is likely to further normalise the uptake of multiple non-standard jobs which approximate full-time hours. Although a tightening of the labour market and a rising minimum wage will have a positive effect on hourly rates at the bottom, a lack of guaranteed hours for some workers is a barrier to achieving a subsistence income, and a concomitant reduction in the value of in-work benefits means that some will be forced to rely on the charity of others to get by.
Microbusinesses (with 0-9 employees) are largely neglected in debates about the role of business in inclusive growth where the emphasis has tended to be on larger employers. Yet microbusinesses (including the majority which have no employees) form an important component of the economy: in 2018 there were 5.4 million micro-businesses in the UK, representing 33% of employment and 21% of turnover. This suggests that microbusinesses have the potential to play a key role in inclusive growth ambitions to enable as many people and places as possible to both contribute to and benefit from economic success.

Microbusinesses are themselves heterogeneous, ranging from ‘gazelles’ (i.e. high growth) firms to those that are concerned primarily with survival. While the former fit centrally within the ‘growth’ component of ‘inclusive growth’, the latter may have diverse growth ambitions but be well placed to contribute to the inclusive social goals emphasised in ‘inclusive economy’ models. Microbusinesses may arrest economic decline and provide important services in deprived areas. Their local embeddedness and community links may help facilitate employment entry for those residents who may be screened out of various other jobs by formal selection procedures. Quite how much employment they generate may be difficult to measure given the informal nature of ways of working in some microbusinesses. Given business size, opportunities for internal progression may be limited. Yet the existing evidence base suggests that despite lower than average wage rates, microbusiness employees score highly on intrinsic ‘good job’ indicators. The social contribution of microbusinesses is also underappreciated, which for disadvantaged communities in particular, is a significant omission. The potential for such businesses to serve as a vehicle for social inclusion, and for some, social mobility, is a longstanding feature of sociological research. Yet this is curiously detached from much academic and policy discourse on inclusive growth.

This paper seeks to explore and provide a preliminary assessment of the role of micro-businesses in inclusive growth, with a particular emphasis on ethnic minority businesses (in catering, retail and creative sectors) in disadvantaged areas. It draws on a review of the literature and some early findings from an ESRC-funded project in the West Midlands focusing on ‘Productivity from Below’. We make connections between hitherto disparate
literatures on minority enterprise and inclusive growth, and present new findings from focus groups with microbusinesses in neglected areas of the region to promote enhanced understanding of their lived experiences. We also reflect on the implications for enterprise support, which is significant, not least because major policy pronouncements on Local Industrial Strategies, wittingly or unwittingly, tend to exclude such businesses.
Paper 3: The City Region and the Regeneration of Good Industrial Relations: Rhetoric, Language and Politics in the case of Greater Manchester

Mat Johnson, Miguel Martinez Lucio, Stephen Mustchin, Jo Cartwright, Jenny Rodriguez, Damian Grimshaw, Tony Dundon, University of Manchester

This paper explores the changing policy making and regulatory landscape across Greater Manchester in respect of work and employment, and critically evaluates the efforts to upgrade standards in a systematic and coordinated way. The starting point for this paper is to try and capture the complexity and diversity of a city region economy in transition, but it also seeks to reflect on more general challenges for labour regulation created by state retrenchment and institutional fragmentation. It also argues against the secondary status of ‘job quality’ in debates and political projects designed to promote growth and rebalance the economy, and calls for greater coordination between actors and institutions with a stake in regulating labour markets and shaping the HRM practices of individual firms.

Drawing on a wide range of secondary labour market data, and 30 interviews with key stakeholders and actors within the Greater Manchester area including local councils, employers, trade unions, voluntary sector organisations and business groups, we find clear evidence of segmented labour markets with a persistent gap between the prospects and material conditions of work experienced by different communities, sectors and workforce groups. At a fundamental level, alongside issues of high structural unemployment and low wages in some parts of the city region, there remains the significant challenge of upholding the core principles of fairness, justice and dignity in the workplace in a context of public and voluntary sector retrenchment and economic turbulence.

The unequal distribution of the economic development across Greater Manchester in many ways reflects the reliance of policy makers on physical regeneration to solve structural problems of poverty and exclusion (Overman 2009), and the faith in simple agglomeration economics which assume that growth in cities will create more and better jobs, underpinned by efficiently functioning markets with only a limited role for ‘regulation’ (Haughton et al. 2016). Although the political discourse has shifted slightly to take in the notion of ‘inclusive growth, issues of work and employment have largely been left out of the debate around devolution and the Northern Powerhouse, and there are clear challenges around establishing suitable governance mechanisms for the burgeoning economic and political system at a time of significant state rescaling (Pike and Tomaney 2009).
Despite the significant pressures of austerity, in the vacuum created by declining systems of joint regulation of pay and conditions between employers and unions, individual local authorities are de facto taking a lead role in setting higher labour standards and promoting notions of decent work through ‘ethical’ business kite marks and bringing together businesses with an interest in tackling skills shortages. The trade unions remain active in the region, and have a role to play in shaping the agenda around fairness, justice and dignity at work but the scope to negotiate and collaborate directly with larger private sector organisations remains a significant challenge beyond ‘quick wins’ such as living wages and flexible working policies (Parkes 2012). Furthermore, issues of decent work or good work tend to be framed within a wider narrative of productivity and the business case as opposed to more universal and abstract notions of worker rights (Ton 2014).

The key challenge we identify through our analysis of Greater Manchester is how to scale up and coordinate localised initiatives around work and employment which translate ‘soft’ regulation into more binding labour standards (Stuart et al. 2011). On clear example is the adoption by local councils of social value criteria such as higher rates of pay and conditions in external contracts even for low wage and low margin services such as social care for the elderly (Jaehrling et al. in press). These initiatives could act as a template or blueprint for other city regions that are destined to adopt a mayoral model in the coming years. The pieces of a new economic and political logic of collaboration are in place at the local level but this requires a much greater level of national commitment not just in terms of social rights but also in terms of developing the political and organisational capacity of local actors.
The Real Living Wage is a voluntary labour standard formulated by the Living Wage Foundation, an offshoot of Citizens UK which itself is part of the international community organizing movement. The standard comprises an hourly rate of pay for London (currently £10.55 per hour) and for the UK (currently £9.00 per hour) based on research into the expenditure requirements of low-paid workers in different family settings. Employers can be accredited by the Foundation if they commit to paying the Living Wage to their own employees and to the employees of subcontractors who normally work on their premises. In recent years the campaign to promote the Living Wage has intersected with the movement to promote inclusive growth in local economic development. The number of jobs in a locality paid less than the Living Wage has been used as an indicator of inclusive growth by researchers and local authorities espousing a policy of inclusive growth, such as Preston City Council and the Greater Manchester Combined Authority, have become Living Wage Employers and encouraged businesses to adopt the standard in their areas of jurisdiction. This paper will present original research material on the spread and impact of the Living Wage in British local government. It will use a database of 75 accredited local authorities and a similar number of non-accredited councils to provide quantitative evidence on three issues:

1. The characteristics of local authorities that become accredited as Living Wage Employers, including their regional distribution, political control, size, and local economic circumstances (e.g. are they found in localities with large numbers of low-wage jobs that seemingly require a policy of inclusive growth or are they found in high wage areas where the prevailing wage at the base of the labour market is close to the Living Wage);

2. The activities that local authorities (accredited and non-accredited) adopt to promote the Living Wage within their areas of jurisdiction, including the adoption of procurement, investment, funding, and other policies that serve to encourage local business to follow the lead of local authority ‘anchors’ in becoming Living Wage Employers

3. The impact of Living Wage accreditation in areas where the council has formally adopted the Living Wage, including an assessment of the degree of take-up of the Living Wage by employers, success in persuading other anchor institutions to become accredited and the extent to which employees have benefited from Living Wage accreditation both in local government employment and in local authority areas where the authority is an accredited Living Wage Employer.
In the UK, Relational Welfare (RW) is permeating into public service reform policy and practice in a piecemeal and often implicit way. Liverpool City Region’s 2015 devolution agreement has provided the opportunity to better articulate, scale and apply RW insights more purposefully and systematically through a locally funded programme, across 800 households, supporting people into work. Devolution brings the opportunity for a clearer, longer-term and more integrated vision locally; with better value for money and services focused around social as well as economic goals. But would allocating scarce resources to such a mission be justified? Does evidence support the claim that RW delivers better outcomes? To answer this we examine the performance of the Households into Work (HiW) programme which is actively embracing RW principles and practise with households where two or more adults are out of work and because of their complex circumstances, find themselves unable to engage in a sustained search for employment.

Delivered across a City Region where there are currently c.130,000 residents in receipt of ‘out of work benefits’ (NOMIS), representing one of the highest rate of any economic area nationally. The HiW programme unlike more traditional employment support programmes, which focus on developing an individual’s progress through skills based interventions, offers a disruptive new approach to welfare reform by taking a holistic approach to intervention on household issues.

This research draws upon primary and secondary data on households, including data from the Pathways Star System which is used to track participant progress against agreed outcomes, and interviews with household members and service providers across public, private and third sector organisations. Examining the performance of the programme to date we will discuss the challenges and opportunities of such an innovative approach to service delivery and more broadly what the implications are for wider service reform and frameworks for inclusive growth both in the Liverpool City Region and beyond.
Paper 2: The rationale for using a geographical saturation model to address concentrated spatial disadvantage and promote inclusive growth

Abigail Taylor, City-REDI, University of Birmingham (ECR)

With Tony Wilson, Anne Green, Rosie Gloster, George Bramley, Clare Huxley and John Hall

Inclusive growth involves “enabling as many people as possible to contribute and benefit from growth” (Inclusive Growth Commission, 2017, p.6). Connecting people to the labour market through employment support is one aspect of an inclusive growth strategy. Nonetheless, understanding of the potential of geographical saturation models at neighbourhood level to address concentrated spatial disadvantage and promote inclusive growth remains limited.

This paper seeks to shed light on the rationale for adopting such an approach. First, it defines a geographic saturation model as a place-based approach to employment support delivered in low-income neighbourhoods. It stresses the importance of using social networks and wider community engagement to promote participation in the programme and employment. Secondly, it explains how the saturation model came about, reflecting on the importance of the Jobs-Plus model in the US. The paper then analyses potential differences between the US and the UK in terms of governance, funding and delivery structures that need to be considered when evaluating the implementation of a geographic saturation model in the UK.

Finally, the paper discusses why using a geographic saturation model is of interest in the UK, emphasising possible strengths of the model in terms of focusing resources where they are needed most and on whom they are needed most, gaining a better understanding of local barriers and gaining results faster through community social capital. It argues that recent devolution policies in the UK such as the devolution of management for selected employment support programmes from the Department for Work and Pensions to combined authorities as well as the focus on delivering inclusive growth within local industrial strategies provide greater power at local level to implement geographic saturation models to promote inclusive growth.
Paper 3: Capacity Building for Inclusive Growth Through a Sectoral Approach to Work-Based Training in the City-Region

Lorna Unwin is Professor Emerita (Vocational Education at the UCL Institute of Education, London, and Honorary Professorial Fellow and Associate of IGAU, University of Manchester.

Ruth Lupton is Professor of Education and Head of the Inclusive Growth Analysis Unit (IGAU) at the University of Manchester.

Devolved powers to city-regions offer a significant way forward to break through the tendency of UK government’s to apply top-down and (usually) supply-side policy solutions to the long-standing problem of low productivity and skills shortages. In August 2019, city-regions were given control of the Adult Education Budget (AEB), providing the means to reorganise access to training opportunities in ways that respond to both employer and individual need. Building economic and social capacity at a local level is critical for inclusive growth, but this requires fresh thinking and a change in behaviour on the part of stakeholders used to operating in silos and within the restrictive framework of national policymaking. In this paper, we draw on the findings from a study we conducted in Greater Manchester (GM) of the skills challenges facing the construction sector to show how devolution can bring stakeholders together and affect change.

Construction plays a major role in the GM economy as well as in people’s lives through shaping and maintaining the city-region’s built environment. It is important for social mobility because it continues to provide relatively well paid employment and training for young people and adults in skilled trades and allied occupations at a time of an increasingly hour-glass shaped labour market, and provides opportunities for income progression. In-work poverty rates are low in the construction industry. As a result, the industry does not exist in isolation, benefiting only itself. Our research shows that collaboration is key because the stakeholders need to work together to address the ways in which they each still erect barriers to the creation of a much better connected approach. This involves greater understanding of each other’s primary motivations and pressures and stronger commitment to collective goals. We explore some examples of how this is being achieved in Greater Manchester.
Contemporary cities in Global South are increasingly getting dependent on precarious forms of employment. The presence of informality in labour market of Indian cities is since times of colonial period as argued by Bhattacharya (2005). However, the extent and the pervasiveness of precarity at work are moving horizontally across sectors and vertically within a sector. Besides, the formal-informal divide is getting blurred because of contractualisation and casualisation cross cutting the formal or organized sectors. The political economy of Indian metropolitan cities is manifested in urban expansion and spatial restructuring. The urban fabric is an interwoven outcome of varied spaces and places where binaries between rural-urban, formal-informal, legal-illegal stands refuted.

The paper aims to highlight the impact of spatial restructuring and urban planning policies on working-class in Delhi. It reflects upon the ways in which workers engage with geographies of capitalism and produce urban landscape. In the process, the paper argues for few major theoretical and methodological interventions in discipline of human geography, especially in context of South Asian cities and labour market. Firstly, it says, there is a need to understand the entanglements that exists between the relations of social reproduction of labour and relations of production, arguing that they play role in defining labour market and urban landscape and vice-versa. Secondly, it makes a case for using ethnography and oral history as a method of understanding the links between labour and urban geographies. The paper draws from the case study of a peripheral region called Narela, in Delhi Metropolis and underlines its making/peopling, which further magnified inequality in the metropolis. Paper shows how the planning policies and the mechanisms of local/state governance have only exacerbated the segmentation across space and labour market by avoiding the messiness which exists in the local politico-economy.
Manchester Meeting Place, Meeting Room 7: Theme 4 - Theory, frameworks and measurement

Session 1: 1.10 – 2.40pm

Paper 1: What kind of ‘inclusive growth’ and for whom?

Danny MacKinnon and Andy Pike, Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies (CURDS), Newcastle University, UK.

Over the past decade, ‘inclusive growth’ has emerged as a leading academic and policy idea in the wake of the 2008 crisis and on-going political-economic inequalities, instabilities and discontent. Researchers and policymakers have sought more socially ‘inclusive’ forms of economy and a framework capable of reducing and/or ameliorating inequalities by distributing the benefits of economic growth more widely – both socially and spatially. Despite its rapid ascendancy and adoption by multiple academic disciplines and policy institutions internationally, ‘inclusive growth’ is bedeviled by fundamental and unresolved issues.

Yet, there has been only limited and fragmented critiques and reflections on this zeitgeist idea to date. Trying to move things on, this contribution outlines the main issues concerning its aims and purposes, conceptual and theoretical basis and anatomy, distributional aspects, translation into policy, governance and politics, measurement and evaluation, and geographies and adaptation to context especially in global North and South settings. It argues that while ‘inclusive growth’ is a potentially workable concept for pragmatic utilisation by urban and regional researchers and policymakers in efforts to bend sub-national economies in more social directions, its incoherence and internal contradictions may undermine its most basic premise of achieving more socially and spatially inclusive economies. It is not enough to simply (re)insert the social and spatial distribution of growth into the economic and political agenda whilst prioritizing an ‘economy as usual approach’. Rather, creative, disruptive and innovative thinking is required regarding new models and policies for genuinely more inclusive urban and regional development.
Paper 2: Building an Inclusive Economy in Sheffield: the challenge of turning vision into reality

Authors: Dr Chris Gibbons (Health Economics and Research Manager) & Dr Laura White (Strategy & Partnerships Manager), Sheffield City Council

Abstract: This paper will use an empirical approach to define what an ‘inclusive economy’ means from the perspective of a local authority. We focus on the case study of the Sheffield City Partnership’s Framework for an Inclusive & Sustainable Economy and explore the policy and practical challenges associated with implementing this type of approach. Within this we will pay particular attention to three key elements of the Framework: engagement, progressive procurement and inclusive economy indicators.

Firstly, there will be some discussion of the approach which the Sheffield City Partnership has taken to involving and engaging citizens and communities in a conversation around ‘what an inclusive economy would look like for them’. This will include some discussion of the methodological approaches to engagement as well as the aims and motivations. Secondly, we will reflect on what learning and tangible outputs have been achieved from the local ‘progressive procurement’ partnership, which brings together heads of procurement from the city’s main public sector institutions. Finally we will explore methods for defining and monitoring of indicators suitable for measuring inclusive economy and how these can be applied to cities, with particular reference to approaches being explored in Sheffield as well as published inclusive growth/inclusive economy metrics. We explore the pragmatic considerations in developing and using these methods and the friction between these indicator sets and the preferences of local authorities in terms of inclusive growth policy priorities. We also emphasise the critical need for local Anchor Institutions to be involved in policy design and implementation and offer some insights into how this can be done most effectively. We will conclude with some general reflections on barriers and opportunities with the aim of helping other cities working in this policy space.
Paper 3: Protocol for developing a conceptual framework to inform an inclusive economy approach in Scotland

Shifa Sarica, Karl Ferguson, Deborah Shipton, NHS Health Scotland

**Background:** The current administration in Scotland, including others, increasingly recognises an inclusive economy (IE) as a priority. Although there is a growing body of literature on what an inclusive economy is and how to deliver it, the empirical evidence-base on what works, and in what context, is still emerging. To enable local and regional policymakers to pursue an IE approach, there is a need to synthesise available information and provide an overview of the working definitions and mechanisms through which an IE can be delivered. Addressing this gap, this work aims to collaboratively develop a conceptual framework to identify the evidence- and theory-based mechanisms which can be harnessed to deliver an IE.

**Methods:** In addition to empirical evidence, we will draw on the theoretical literature and expert opinion to develop the conceptual framework. Our work will involve two main phases which will be conducted iteratively. In the first phase, we will identify IE outcomes and relevant economic and socio-political concepts. A systematic theoretical review, based on realist review methods, will be used to develop a draft framework mapping the associations and mechanisms between identified outcomes and concepts. In the second phase, we will discuss the draft framework with experts and stakeholders to get feedback on its validity and applicability. Both phases will be guided by an advisory group including stakeholders from local authorities, national bodies and academic experts.

**Impact:** The framework will be published and actively disseminated to local and regional policymakers to inform policy and to support the development of new initiatives and interventions. It will also allow theoretical assumptions to be tested in further studies.
**Paper 4: Entrepreneurial Municipalism: reinventing industrial strategy for city-regional economies**

Matthew Thompson, Heseltine Institute, University of Liverpool

Andrew Southern, University of Liverpool

Vicky Nowak, Manchester Metropolitan University

Conventional approaches to local economic development are failing to address deepening polarization both within and between regions across advanced capitalist economies. This paper presents the case for industrial strategy to be rescaled from the national to the municipal and reoriented from a focus on productivity and innovation in high-tech sectors towards more ‘foundational’ sectors (Foundational Economy Collective, 2018) with greater capabilities to generate new employment, social value and inclusive growth. We explore how an alternative model – what we call ‘entrepreneurial municipalism’ – might help resolve enduring urban-economic problems afflicting post-industrial cities where sector-based industrial strategy and neoliberal urban entrepreneurialism have failed.

Rooted in a Polanyian perspective and building on the ‘entrepreneurial state’ (Mazzucato 2013) and the ‘grounded city’ (Engelen et al. 2017), we posit entrepreneurial municipalism to suggest how city regions facing multiple difficulties from economic decline, social deprivation, political austerity and intensified global competition can invest in endogenous assets, in people and place, rather than rely on exogenous factors of mobile capital and footloose export industries. We situate entrepreneurial municipalism within recent trends towards new municipalism(s), locating it between more radical interventions such as in Barcelona and Preston and more neoliberal strategies, such as the ‘financialised municipal entrepreneurialism’ emerging in some London boroughs (Penny and Beswick 2018). Drawing on original research on the Liverpool City Region, we explore how local authorities, anchor institutions and civil society actors are harnessing municipal and place-based assets for economic experimentation. Finally, we draw out the implications of this approach for inclusive growth more broadly.
Paper 1: The path dependencies in delivering the resurgent concern for inclusive growth: a city-region approach in Scotland

Linda Christie, David Waite, Duncan MacLennan, Alan McGregor, Des McNulty, University of Glasgow

There is path dependency in policy development, often disguised or minimised by the desire of new administrations to be seen to be innovative. Indeed, new policies rarely plough new ground. Prior to the Scottish Government’s embrace of “inclusive growth” in 2015, a rich layering of previous policies for places, regions and neighbourhoods in Scotland can be identified in academic and policy literatures. With a focus on the consequences for urban and regional policy, the paper situates the analysis on IG policy in Scotland by considering two interrelated frames: an assessment relative to initiatives dating back to the 1970s; and an assessment of current and future policy challenges. The assessment brings into view a wide scope of interventions seen to rest on core principles of IG policy, rather than explicitly stated definitions.

In developing a retrospective and progressive perspective, the paper points to three core issues contributing to the emerging literature concerned with IG policy application (Lee, 2018; Sissons et al., 2018; Chapple, 2018). One, the role(s) of path dependency in policymaking (institutional and epistemic); two, the apparent tensions in meshing a central, top-down (Holyrood led) agenda with bottom-up and local strategies; and three, designing policy frameworks to balance growth with equity outcomes. The analysis unveils how actors/agencies are participating in, delivering, monitoring and evaluating IG policy at intersecting local, regional and national scales, reflecting both the practical and conceptual ambiguities underpinning the delivery of IG. The paper draws on document reviews connected to regional and urban policy initiatives stemming back a number of decades in Scotland and participant observations from recent policy fora, to reflect learning from past successes and limitations in policy.
Paper 2: Using data and Intel to improve child development in interest of child development and inclusive growth.

Shirley Woods Gallagher - Assistant Director of Education (SEND), Education and Early Years, Economy, Skills and Neighbourhoods, Oldham Council

Leon Feinstein – Director of Evidence, Children’s Commissioner’s Office and chair of GM School Readiness Task and Finish Group

Deborah James, Professor of Education Psychology, Manchester Metropolitan University

The issue of the early years development of children has been highlighted by GM as a priority in relation both to social justice and local economic growth. This raises important questions about what is meant by school readiness, why it matters for productivity and growth, how it is measured and how GM can work with the 10 GM boroughs and agencies, practitioners, children and families in a way that will support and nurture development in an inclusive way that also boosts growth.

We will present on three themes: i) why child development is important for inclusive growth and what does the early years have to do with it; ii) the challenges of defining and measuring early years development; iii) issues in the coproduction of a performance measurement framework with children, families and communities. The session will explore how measurement and data can be combined with approaches that are careful in their positioning of agents and in the concept of agency – thus trying to work towards an inclusive dialogic frame so that dehumanisation is avoided and shared goals can be achieved collectively.

The proposed panel is a subgroup of those working with councils across Greater Manchester on the question of school readiness.
Paper 3: How can economic development be used to improve health and reduce health inequalities?
Yannish Naik, Senior Policy Fellow, The Health Foundation

Economic factors such as income and the quality of work are key to people’s health. The UK Industrial Strategy places a renewed focus on the use of economic development to address these factors in local places. Alongside this, major trends such as automation and an increasing proportion of the unemployed having poor health present major challenges for action. This session will draw on learning from case studies collected from the UK and internationally by the Health Foundation, the RSA and Demos Helsinki, as well as the broader evidence base to illustrate how economic development can be used to improve health and reduce health inequalities.

The session will outline the types of economic development levers and practices that places can use to promote health and reduce health inequalities and discuss the potential benefits and risks of innovative approaches to economic development that are emerging. It will provide practical insights into how places can implement economic development strategies that are better for health and health inequalities. It will also discuss the role of national government in creating the right macroeconomic context for population health. This session will highlight uncertainties that will need to be addressed as part of this type of approach.