Inclusive Growth in Cities: Global Lessons for Local Action

A conference hosted by the Inclusive Growth Analysis Unit Conference, 19th – 20th November 2019 at The University of Manchester

This first major UK academic conference on inclusive growth brought together scholars both domestic and international from disciplines as diverse as economics, geography, social policy, politics, sociology and urban planning, with policy-makers, practitioners and thought leaders – totalling around 120 delegates. The key objective was to understand what can be learned for action at the city region scale from Greater Manchester, and to find new solutions to social and spatial inequalities in the face of increasing social divisions, rising populism and the growing welfare costs of unequal societies from international perspectives. IGAU’s work on Greater Manchester (GM) was presented, the Mayor of Greater Manchester Andy Burnham spoke on regional issues and delegates attended site visits, in sum giving our conversations a focus on GM as a case study for issues and solutions for inclusive growth more widely.

Keynote presentations on the first day were given by Torsten Bell, Chief Executive of the Resolution Foundation, Professor Chris Benner, Director of the Everett Program for Technology and Social Change at University of California, Santa Cruz, and Professor Ruth Lupton, Head of IGAU, as well as the Greater Manchester (GM) Mayor, Andy Burnham. Two back-to-back breakout sessions offered a diverse body of presentations of research from around the world, discussed by delegates across four key themes: Actors & institutions; Place, community & organising; Labour market, work & skills; and Theory, frameworks & measurement. The day closed out with a panel discussion where Paula Black (Nottingham Civic Exchange), Lynn Collins (Liverpool City Region), Professor Danny McKinnon (Newcastle University) and Issy Taylor (One Manchester) joined earlier speakers.

The second day offered keynote speeches by the Chair of the UK2070 Commission, Sir Bob Kerslake and Professor Teresa Córdova, Director of the Great Cities Institute at University of Illinois, Chicago, Study visits around GM then gave delegates the opportunity to meet representatives of inclusive growth-related initiatives in Rochdale, Wigan, and Manchester, and learn about the strategic approaches of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority. Delegates pooled their insights from these visits in workshop sessions on Building Inclusive Economies; Linking People to Opportunities; Strategic Approaches; and on What's Missing from Inclusive Growth. An informative day was finished up with lively debate in a final panel discussion with Linda Christie (University of Glasgow), Ed Cox (RSA), Mike Hawking (JRF), Ben Lucas (Metrodynamics), and Liz Richardson (University of Manchester).
Overview of key note speeches and panel discussions

Presentations can be found at www.manchester.ac.uk/inclusivegrowth

Context for the inclusive growth agenda

- Globally we are seeing a climate of the labour market change, inequality and political crisis, which brings a lack of trust as citizens are dissatisfied, experience insecurity/ precariousness, and feel institutions are broken. In those places in experiencing a post-industrial decline, industrial transition has been mismanaged with underinvestment in infrastructure, skills, communities and services. (Chris Benner)
- High inequalities in the UK have been pervasive since the 1980s. We have had historically high employment in recent years, but this is accompanied by 2010s pay stagnation and we are seeing child poverty rising largely as a result of changes to the social security system. The state is redistributing away from poorest families. (Torsten Bell)
- We are at a pivotal political moment of post-Brexit Britain and climate crisis, there is an economic tsunami coming, which can be made ‘less bad’ but can’t be stopped. (Paula Black)
- In Greater Manchester growth has been uneven and there are very significant spatial inequalities. Devolution has offered opportunities for tackling these issues through inclusive growth. (Ruth Lupton)
- UK is the worst large-scale developed country in terms of spatial inequalities, and gaps will continue to grow even though there may be successes in some cities. (Bob Kerslake)

Why inclusive growth is an opportunity to deal with these challenges

- There has been limited capacity to deal with these challenges until recently. Devolution has been necessary for inclusive growth, and has provided a space for progressive policy. (Ben Lucas)
- We must recognise the importance of history – we have inherited a spatial structure based on the past and the inequalities we have inherited are so embedded we must come to terms with that legacy to move forward. (Chris Benner)
- Places that are more equitable are showing stronger and more resilient growth. (Chris Benner)

What we have learnt about inclusive growth

The concept

- Inclusive growth is interpreted differently by different stakeholders.
- This is a resurgent concept, it isn’t new and there is much we already know about place-based approached that we can draw on, while also connecting with new priorities such as sustainability and wellbeing.
- There are trade offs in the term, we are asking for inclusivity with growth in it, but we need to think what the trade offs are and that’s an uncomfortable conversation.
**Nationally and locally**

- We must recognise that we are in an informational economy rather than an industrial economy. Thus, information and knowledge is a big economic asset, and we must remember that this is collectively produced, rather than by individuals or individual organisations/companies. As a result, we require a collective contribution to this value, which can then be shared.
- Currently geography is key to determining whether you benefit or not from the growth in GM but we must connect ordinary people to what they need. Infrastructure is essential.
- We can learn a lot from the initiatives already being rolled out in UK cities as well as from international examples: Chicago, Oklahoma, Jacksonville, London
- There were various views on whether inclusive growth could or should happen at a national or local level, and how national and local agendas could work together. Some said there needs to be a central national policy (Bell) and consistent plan as partial plans weren’t working (Kerslake), others said there is power in devolution for the inclusive growth agenda (Lupton, Burnham, Kerslake).
- We were reminded that we must be wary that devolution in GM is complex, and although we are impatient for change, it takes time for the green shoots of IG and devolution need to take root.

**What needs to happen to promote inclusive growth**

- More voices and stakeholders must be incorporated into policy planning to create better solutions and ensure people feel included in the decision-making process – ‘co-production is the essential ingredient to inclusive growth’.
- Conceptual clarity on what inclusive growth is – currently a ‘fuzzy term’.
- We need a framework for further devolution – it needs to be bigger and tidier to make a real difference and prevent further inequalities and recession. National geography for devolution, as we want to create capacity in other areas of the country for making change, but they may not have a natural combined authority, so we need to consider how this works in places that don’t already have the governance set up.
- We need to understand the capacity of devolution and what the long-term process can be. We need to build a consensus for a long process of sustainable change. This requires citizens to be genuinely engaged and included (see co-production point above).

**How we make inclusive growth happen well**

- Inclusive growth needs ‘hard-wiring’ into policymaking – not as an add-on or after thought. Long-term ‘vision’ thinking and commitment required.
- A need for collective, collaborative leadership, with shared budgets and responsibility.
- Political leadership and commitment to create opportunities for education and decent work, and tackle issues of population loss and crime.
- Repair/replace ‘broken institutions’, and bring together ‘fragmented knowledge’.
- Need for a ‘theory of change’ focused on outcomes that are specific and measurable.
- Issues of empowerment: inclusive growth should be done with communities, not to communities. Important who is involved in making policy, and how it is produced.
- We need to be able to understand who is involved in making the decisions and who is accountable.
- A need to focus on the ‘whole individual’ and building their capacities, as well as thinking of ‘whole places’, and unifying public services.
Funding has largely been on ‘hard’ interventions. Shift towards supporting ‘soft’ enablers (such as on business support) needed in the next round of funding.

Need to look upstream on key social issues, to tackle the causes of poverty and insecurity and crisis.

Need to use all levers (for example the value of procurement), and we still need to raise awareness and win the argument (for example take the employment charter further).

Policy areas need to be better linked up, for example housing is largely disconnected to economic policy but makes up a huge part of peoples’ disposable income.

Focusing on the ‘inclusive’ aspect is important, but we must not forget growth aspect. “There’s no point growing if growth just goes to the top %”.

We should reframe the idea of ‘hard to reach’ populations and shift to thinking about people experiencing ‘deficient service provisions’, because this demonstrates that growth has been unfair and unequal.

In order to have the growth, we need labour but that means investing in education and training as people are not necessarily ‘job-ready’.

A summary of parallel sessions on day 1

Presentations are available at www.manchester.ac.uk/inclusivegrowth

These notes highlight some key points from the discussions

Theme 1 - Actors & Institutions

Speakers:

- Richard Crisp, Sheffield Hallam University: Theorising inclusive growth as a Polanyian ‘double movement’: exploring differences, tensions and contradictions in the accounts of state and non-state actors
- Brian Connolly, Glasgow Caledonian University: Exploring the relationship dynamics between the public and private sector in the delivery of Inclusive Economic Growth in Scotland.
- John Goddard: The Civic University
- Deborah Ralls, University of Manchester: Redefining Education for Inclusive Growth: Becoming Relational
- Marianne Sensier and Elvira Uyarra, University of Manchester: Investigating the governance mechanisms that sustain regional economic resilience and inclusive growth
- Issy Taylor, One Manchester: Greater Manchester Housing Providers – Inclusive Growth, Practical delivery and insights
- Andrea Gibbons and Lisa Scullions, University of Salford: Using knowledge exchange partnerships between universities and local government to tackle social inclusion: the example of Salford’s Anti-Poverty Task Force

Notes

- There was a call for indices and metrics for IG that crosses actors and institutions engaged with IG, and encouragement for more engagement from the academy to do this.
- Exploring what is meant by economic resilience, and using a scorecard, helps us to compare how responses have differed between places.
• Highlighting that the voices of educationalists are missing here and calling for the need to refocus on education policy to create a social solidarity economy.
• IG is being owned by the public sector in Scotland, but needs to bring private sector back into conversation
• Highlighting the role of frontline services to deliver social value, such as housing providers, showing that many actors are involved with creating the inclusive economy. Next need to develop an evidence base and work more systematically with other public services.
• Research showing regeneration and housing developments not benefited existing residents, this highlighted the issue of centralised governance structures, as local communities had few powers to intervene in private rented sector or housing markets in general
• Calling for universities to take their roles as anchor institutions in cities more seriously, universities should develop civic agreements.
• Using theory to help us conceptualise IG as a response to uneven outcomes of growth and within contradictions of the market, theory helps us understand aspects of IG as a countermovement to address harms of current growth model.

Theme 2 - Place, community and organisation

Speakers:

- Andrew Miles and Jill Ebrey, University of Manchester Everyday Cultural Participation: Why ordinary culture should be a key pillar of ‘inclusive growth’
- Sara Hassan, Anne Green, Lisa Goodson and Peter Lee: University of Birmingham Building a co-produced research legacy: Lessons from community research in Birmingham
- Sophie King, Sheffield University: Seeing the inner city from the South: reflections on autonomy, inequality and women-led organising
- Temidayo Eseonu, University of Manchester: Politics of inclusive growth: amplifying the voices of ‘hard-to-reach’ groups in Greater Manchester
- Tim Butcher, The Open University, Ruth Barton, University of Tasmania, Kim Lehman, University of Tasmania, Warren Staples, RMIT University: Understanding entrepreneurial learning approaches to community-organised inclusive growth in northern Tasmania
- Simon Yin, Hefei University of Technology: Inclusive Growth in Gentrification over Colonial Segregation Legacy in Qingdao, China

Notes:

• Cultural participation and cultural institutions needs recognition as a key pillar of any inclusive growth strategy. Inclusive growth initiatives are often done for people and to people, but must be done with people.
• We are experiencing a crisis in local democracy. Currently Government objectives put ahead of the people.
• Inclusive economy thinking allows us to focus at a local scale – to understand people and place together and to use existing assets when reimagining economic development.
• We must take into account the histories of places, economic history but also cultural and social.
• Exploring options for co-production - collective action and collective voice are critical to change. Designing services together with target populations (BME) is key. No groups should
be seen as ‘hard to reach’; services need to be designed better. Research has found that communities are hard to reach because they only share with people who they trust.

- Inclusive co-production means creating active strategies to ensure: politics of presence; substantive representation; and in deliberative spaces.
- A successful local government takes risks and shares power.
- There is lots to learn from women-led social movements creating inclusive cities in the global South, once we recognise the similarities in power and socio-spatial inequalities between deprived areas of the UK and urban poverty in Africa, Asia and Latin America.
- To achieve inclusion we have to address inequality. We can talk about exploitative growth to help us recognise the difference from inclusive growth.
- We want to build long-term legacies, this is hard with short-term funding rounds, the developers need to change perspectives.
- With instances of public funding erosion, we can look to community-organised inclusive growth through entrepreneurial (co-curative and collaborative) learning approaches to understand how communities are learning to cope.

**Theme 3. - Labour market, work and skills**

**Speakers:**

- Stephen Mustchin, Marti Lopez Andreu, Mat Johnson, University of Manchester and University of Leicester: *Workers on the margins of the ‘Northern Powerhouse’ – precarious work, welfare, and austerity*
- Anne Green, City-REDI, University of Birmingham, Imelda McCarthy and Monder Ram, Aston Business School: *Microbusinesses and inclusive growth*
- Mat Johnson, Miguel Martinez Lucio, Stephen Mustchin, Jo Cartwright, Jenny Rodriguez, Damian Grimshaw, Tony Dundon, University of Manchester: *The City Region and the Regeneration of Good Industrial Relations: Rhetoric, Language and Politics in the case of Greater Manchester*
- Edmund Heery, Deborah Hann, David Nash, Cardiff Business School: *Paying and Promoting the Real Living Wage in British Local Government*
- Sue Jarvis and Belinda Tyrell, Heseltine Institute, University of Liverpool: *Emerging Policy and Practice: Liverpool City Region Households into Work*
- Abigail Taylor, City-REDI, University of Birmingham: *The rationale for using a geographical saturation model to address concentrated spatial disadvantage and promote inclusive growth*
- Lorna Unwin, University College London, Ruth Lupton, University of Manchester: *Capacity Building for Inclusive Growth Through a Sectoral Approach to Work-Based Training in the City-Region*

**Notes:**

- It has been possible to develop innovative employment support programmes in the context of city-region devolution but care should be taken to adapt programmes to context of a particular place.
- A ‘neighbourhood saturation’ approach can help in targeting policy at people and places of greatest need.
- There is a real need to map occupational pathways within sectors, and to give this a place-focus.
• Flexible labour markets and precarity has been normalised in the context of the UK. Tackling these issues will not just be a public sector agenda. We must not let employers off the hook when tackling poor employment relations and standards in context of city-region devolution.
• Research on casual work in Greater Manchester has shown a shift from low pay to no pay with those in the welfare system sometimes coerced into work, high turnover, wage theft and few opportunities for development. We need to focus on role of employers, better access to employment tribunals and legal aid, and more meaningful enforcement of employment rights.
• Encouraging us to consider the microbusiness offering for inclusive growth – can provide important services in the community, are locally embedded and may facilitate employment entry. However, there are some issues in informal and casual employment and limited opportunities for progression.
• In the GM Working Well project – we see the need for collaborative action between local state and civic society. Yet the focus has been on ‘any job’, rather than fairness and dignity within those jobs. Therefore, we need to see better regulation of the labour market, clearer aims rather than overcrowding of projects and a place for SMEs.
• Research on local authorities paying living wage shows that many who pay it don’t promote it, but those who are accredited from the Living Wage Foundation are more likely to promote it and the accreditation succeeds in reaching into supply chains.
• Key barriers to IG: fragmentation, misalignment and homogenous silo-based policies
• Sector and place-based strategy needs to: Identify effective workplaces and workplaces needing support, strengthen occupational pathways, pilot short-cycle training, target priority neighbourhoods.
• Shifts needed in welfare state to relational welfare: From needs to capabilities; from means testing to open to all; from a financial to a resource focus; from centralised institutions to distributed networks; from individual to social networks.

**Theme 4 - Theory, frameworks and measurement**

**Speakers:**
- Danny MacKinnon and Andy Pike, Newcastle University: *What kind of ‘inclusive growth’ and for whom?*
- Chris Gibbons and Laura White, Sheffield City Council: *Building an Inclusive Economy in Sheffield: the challenge of turning vision into reality*
- Shifa Sarica, Karl Ferguson, Deborah Shipton, NHS Health Scotland: *Protocol for developing a conceptual framework to inform an inclusive economy approach in Scotland*
- Matthew Thompson, Heseltine Institute, University of Liverpool, Andrew Southern, University of Liverpool and Vicky Nowak, Manchester Metropolitan University: *Entrepreneurial Municipalism: reinventing industrial strategy for city-regional economies*
- Linda Christie, David Waite, Duncan MacLennan, Alan McGregor, Des McNulty, University of Glasgow: *The path dependencies in delivering the resurgent concern for inclusive growth: a city-region approach in Scotland*
- Shirley Woods Gallagher, Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council, Leon Feinstein, University of Oxford
- Deborah James, Manchester Metropolitan University: *Using data and Intel to improve child development in interest of child development and inclusive growth.*
- Yannish Naik, The Health Foundation: How can economic development be used to improve health and reduce health inequalities?
Notes:

- IG is a fuzzy idea, so whilst it is increasingly referenced politically, systems evidence for policy implementation supporting remains unclear, fuzzy and evolving. There is no agreement about how IG is achieved, leaving a partial view of how IG interventions shape policy reforms.
- While it may be an imperfect concept, it has shown itself to be a workable one in order to bend the economy in more social directions and has reinserted social and spatial growth concerns into the mainstream political and political agenda.
- Some discussion over how IG can be scrutinised and what measurement is possible: the lack of clarity prevents robust evaluation and measurement that can be easily transferable, measurements of outcomes not fully formed so it is difficult to evaluate and prove success of interventions, there was the call to make IG more practice-oriented and outcomes oriented in the academic theory and evaluation.
- Various views on whether indices or comparisons are possible or even desired: for some indices we seen as important, and they must be comprehensive, repeatable, mathematically simple and comparable between places; others stated that comparisons should be avoided and it is meaningless to compare cities that are not alike.
- Current IG work does not exist in isolation, there is a long-term narrative and scholarship that we can learn from.
- Moments of ‘transformation’ are often individual and unique – this (IG) work exists to improve people’s lives and the most important moments are when this actually happens.
- Academics and practitioners have much to learn from the knowledge and intelligence of individuals with more varied experiences than we have.
- Engagement with communities is key – so consultation on IG strategy should focus on which priorities local residents think are important in the short and longer term.

A summary of workshops on day 2

The delegates all went on study visits around Greater Manchester, to see the work taking place on inclusive growth across the city region. The study visits included: a social enterprise and co-operative hub in Wigan where members of the community to turn their skills and interests into products or services that fulfil local needs; the Your Employment Services Collyhurst, North Manchester and the regeneration taking place in the area with £1million Big Local lottery funding; the Real Food Wythenshawe cross-sector project with housing associations, the health sector, voluntary and community organisations and the local college, which is linking health and wellbeing with employment and education opportunities; a major regeneration neighbourhood in Rochdale with the New Pioneers project and the Rochdale Stronger Together work; a visit to Manchester Town Hall to see the regeneration that has building in social value from the outset, and to hear about the Local Industrial Strategy which has put inclusive growth at its heart; a visit to Greater Manchester Combined Authority and Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Partnership to hear experiences of Devolution and some of the ambitions and challenges this joined-up leadership faces in the near future.

Delegates then took what they had learned from their visits to one of four interactive workshops to discuss: Growing Inclusive Economies, Linking People to Opportunities; Strategic Approaches; What’s Missing?
Workshop 1 - Growing Inclusive Economies

- Funding is an overarching challenge for implementing the IG agenda at many levels.
- Capacity is an issue and the group highlighted the need to think about capabilities and build capacity. This was exacerbated by problem of staff turnover that impacts knowledge base and short-term funding opportunities. There was also a mixed picture of difficulties of IG as high unachievable expectations for some and low priority for others.
- There was willingness to take risks, but questions arose about how long it takes to judge success.
- Concerns raised that IG is fragmented and coordinating policy is complicated. It was recommended that we needed to build from a whole-system view to motivate more stakeholders, and policy-makers need to start with an outcomes focus.
- The idea of establishing a baseline was recommended, that must have indicators linked to outcomes and can operate at different levels. However, there was recognition that access to data was patchy in some areas.

Workshop 2 - Linking People to Opportunities

- Deprivation and poverty was at the heart of these conversations, to then consider what action can be taken, largely to build relationships with businesses to develop their social value and commit to benefiting local residents.
- Believed it was important to have a document or strategy to refer back to, for example the Wigan Deal or GM Strategy. This helps to enable people to take responsibility, influence behaviours and build capacity.
- The attendees noted the value of organisations that are locally based, but also raised concerns that opportunities were missed to connect with other organisations elsewhere.
- There was emphasis on linking at an earlier stage to opportunities through schools and early years intervention. Overall, early intervention was championed to lessen pressure on resources.
- Recognised adult education and skills key to linking people to opportunities, but frustrations were voiced at inability of systems to tackle in-work poverty through effective adult education.
- Again, the issue of funding cuts arose.
- A key element needed to improve this linking of people and opportunities was ‘empowerment’, though better, more creative and more flexible mechanisms for engagement, better cross-sector organisational approach, investment in community organising. Local engagement must not be tokenistic or pointing to decisions that are already happening.
- Concerns were raised about the high level strategy on inclusive growth not connecting with work on the ground. Suggested needs to be done to get voices of communities into decision making. There was a view that consultation efforts in GM hadn’t been conducted very well but this is shifting.
**Workshop 3 - Strategic Approaches**

- City regions must be outward-facing, not just looking in to cities. This needs work across institutions as the combined authority can facilitate, support, advocate, community wealth building and spreading out the expertise, but can’t create a city-region by itself.
- Those attendees who did their study trip to Wigan noted the distance from Manchester City Centre and noted the challenges of greater economic integration when the distances were a restraining factor.
- The Wigan Deal was championed as a way to tackle inequality through strengthening community infrastructure.
- Place-based approaches should mobilise people, encourage them to experiment but experimental projects have a tendency to be short-term.
- Context is everything, and local characteristics of a city or town or region will always be different. Therefore, the focus is not on total transformation, but on improving the quality of life for residents.
- The devolution of power was explored as it was noted that we have not yet decided what level of devolution we want or is best, and questions arose about how much power people are prepared to give.
- Again, funding was raised as an issue as one site visit showed the project had had 8 years of funding but was now facing the cliff edge and using of time and energy to secure their future investment.

**Workshop 4 - What’s Missing?**

- Joined up thinking, for example between housing association and social workers to improve healthier eating and healthier environment.
- Things that were particularly successful at one of the site visits and could be recommended as area for development elsewhere: tackling issues through co-production and inspiring leadership.
- Successes of services are working across purposes (e.g. GP surgery helping economically inactive people into the labour market) showing ambition and successful when placing focus on doing things with people not for people.

This conference was supported financially by University of Manchester Hallsworth Conference Fund. It was jointly organised by a network of inclusive growth researchers from around the UK, including from:

- Manchester 1824
- City REDI
- University of Birmingham
- LSE
- The London School of Economics and Political Science
- Newcastle University
- Sheffield Hallam University
- Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research
- University of Glasgow