



The Enabling State: Where are we now?

Review of policy developments
2013-2018

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Overview
report



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Context

Five years ago, the Carnegie UK Trust published *The Rise of the Enabling State* (Wallace, 2013). A review of over 180 policy sources, the report identified seven interconnected policy shifts evident across the UK. Together, these changes constitute a move from a *traditional Welfare State* to an *Enabling State*: a state that aims to take a whole of government approach, seeking to empower individuals and communities. Figure 1. provides an overview of these changes, detailing what each shift entails: Each is complex, interdependent and far from risk free.

A number of positive and negative factors have driven these developments:

- Circumstances: A gathering storm of social, environmental and economic pressures on public services meant that business as usual was no
- Failure: A growing understanding that even when resources had been more plentiful, the welfare state had unsuccessfully improved outcomes for everyone in society to an equal extent. There are continuing and stubborn inequalities that persist, particularly for those in society who were already disadvantaged (Elvidge, 2012). Analysis of research post-Brexit referendum illustrates a 'deep divide' across the UK, with a significant proportion of the population feeling 'left behind' and believing that politicians and those in power

longer an option without a fundamental rethink of how public services are designed and delivered (Wallace, et al., 2013). Simultaneously, citizens have increasing expectations about their degree of autonomy, choice and influence when selecting and using services.

Figure 1: The shift from Welfare State to Enabling State – the seven interconnected policy shifts



do not understand or represent their interests or concerns (Goodwin & Heath, 2016).

- Evidence: There is growing evidence that our sense of agency and control, the degree to which we are engaged in civic action, and the strength of our social interactions, are all critical factors in determining our overall wellbeing (Wilson, et al., 2018).

Previous research conducted by the Carnegie UK Trust has identified that changes in organisational practice in response to the above shifts are piecemeal, often going against the grain of the mainstream public sector (Murphy & Wallace, 2016). At the same time there are significant inhibitors which act to curtail and derail the shift (some of which are also drivers). These also present risks and include:

- Norms: a culture that emphasises efficiency, rules, professionalism, accountability and competition over empathy, kindness and collaboration (Unwin, 2018).
- Circumstances: the austerity and rising demand that create a drive to transform models of public service delivery also make it very difficult to achieve transformation as public services exist in a constant state of crisis (Wallace, et al., 2013).
- Structures and regulation: The shift is taking place within structures and regulations set up for traditional public service delivery (Better Way Network, 2018).

Five years on from the Rise of the Enabling State, the gap between ambition and implementation feels as great as ever. The demographic and budgetary pressures on public services are continuing and increasing. The need for more personalised, responsive

public services and for citizens to have a voice is stronger than ever. The failure to translate this into a reality has never been more obvious.

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

About the review

The intention of this review was to identify:

- What are the significant, inspiring examples of progress – the rising stars in policy development?
- Where has progress stalled, and why?
- What are the shared challenges – where should collaborative learning focus?

To assess progress we carried out a desk based review of policy and practice developments since 2013. To analyse developments consistently across each jurisdiction, we used a framework of indicators related to each of the seven policy shifts highlighted in *Figure 1*. The assessment framework and a full description of our methodology can be found in the full report. After reviewing developments against the indicators, we made an overall progress assessment regarding the policy area in each jurisdiction (producing a 'report card').

Table 1: UK summary

Policy Shift	England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales
 1. From targets to outcomes				
 2. From top down to bottom up				
 3. From representation to participation				
 4. From silos to working together				
 5. From crisis intervention to prevention				
 6. From recipients to co-producers				
 7. From public to third sector				

Key:  Rising star  Steady progress  Green shoots  Vulnerable



Shift 1: From target setting to outcomes

DESCRIPTION

A shift away from measuring inputs and processes towards measuring outcomes for people at an individual, community or societal level.

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales

KEY POINT

The devolved legislatures have moved further and faster on an outcomes-based approach.

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * New/improved strategic policy developments in outcomes based performance management at a local and national level
- * New/improved service management level policy developments in outcomes based performance management
- * Outcomes based performance management developments have been effective in improving outcomes for citizens and communities
- * New/improved methodologies for capturing improved outcomes and measuring wellbeing
- * A shift toward the language of outcomes
- * Changes in organisational structures as a result of outcomes based performance management

The devolved legislatures are involved in a complex process of learning and dissemination, both amongst themselves, and as part of wider national and international movements on wellbeing and sustainable development (Wallace, 2019). Scotland and Wales have both notably introduced legislation to **embed wellbeing frameworks** through the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. These acts, along with the outcomes frameworks that complement them, encapsulate a number of changes that demonstrate how the government now thinks about its role and how it aims to achieve outcomes for people.

Scotland: The National Performance Framework



The OECD has identified Scotland as a global leader, referring to the National Performance Framework (NPF) as ‘the most developed outcomes-based approach adopted by government in the world’ (OECD Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, 2018). Increasingly linked to policy-making for inclusive growth, its prominence has grown steadily since 2007. The latest version, published in 2018, clearly shows a development from a performance management tool to a wellbeing framework, with 11 outcomes and 81 indicators. In May 2019, the Scottish Government published Scotland’s Wellbeing Report; this was the first time key trends in data from across the 11 outcomes have been combined with existing evidence to provide a more holistic picture of how Scotland is performing (Scottish Government, 2019).

Although some within the civil service believe that the framework has been transformative, others have indicated that the scale of change has not yet

been achieved. One of the main strengths of the framework remains with the fact that it is a whole-of-government approach, operating at a horizontal level (Wallace, 2019). Yet the success of the tool for vertical integration has been less successful due to a number of competing initiatives that, although designed to facilitate a conversation between decision makers and the people of Scotland, have influenced local government and local government services in unpredictable ways. To provide one example, legislation such as the Public Bodies (Joint Working) (Scotland) Act 2014 – created to ensure that Integration Authorities provide health and social care services for their area under Integration Joint Boards – have, at service level, created a stark increase in new measures, outcomes and indicators for services to report on. One policy’s seemingly seamless goal has the capacity introduce a myriad of outcomes at local level, which, if not streamlined, will put further pressure on local services.

Wales: Holding public bodies to account



In 2015, three months before the UN introduced the UN Sustainable Development Goals and following a consultation period known as the Wales We Want National Conversation, Wales passed the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. The act places a legislative duty on public bodies, such as local authorities, health boards, national libraries and museums, to put long-term sustainability at the heart of their approach, working collaboratively and utilising concepts such as prevention, integration, inclusivity and long-term, strategic thinking (Wallace, 2019). The introduction of the act saw the creation of the Future Generations Commissioner, who works to protect the interests of the future generations and support public

bodies to progress on achieving the outcomes defined within the well-being goals. Local Well-Being plans also placed a duty on Public Service Boards to set objectives for local areas to contribute (Wales Council for Voluntary Action, 2019).

The implementation of this legislation clearly shows that a culture that focuses on performance management for public services has arisen. And though it could be said that such a focus has detracted from the key aim of sustainable development, early indications of impact are clear, particularly in regard to the development of practice to improve adverse childhood experiences. The creation of a new Adverse Childhood Experience Support Hub, a Police Transformation Fund, and ongoing work with the Wales Audit Office Good Practice Exchange demonstrates a drive to improve outcomes for people.

Whilst the narrative and legislative context within Wales and Scotland is strong, both remain on a journey towards mature outcomes-based governance. As pioneers, these jurisdictions are now at a crucial stage in implementing the legislation. To achieve transformational, systemic change, they must tackle shared challenges that will require them to streamline processes, particularly in relation to linking budget, audit and reporting processes more closely to outcomes. If Scotland and Wales can successfully achieve this step change, they may find shifts 2-7 become more achievable.

Northern Ireland: Outcomes at a local level



Despite the political vacuum in Northern Ireland, there is still reason to be optimistic. There has been steady progress and a shift towards outcomes-based management, particularly at local government level. Wellbeing outcomes are at the centre of the Draft Programme for Government Framework (2016-21), produced following the elections in 2016. And in the absence of a devolved government, the Northern Ireland Civil Service published an Outcomes Delivery Plan in 2018, which includes 14 strategic outcomes and 42 indicators (The Executive Office, 2018).

At local government level, newly formed Community Planning partnerships are focusing on identifying the long-term wellbeing priorities for their areas and, as a result, are shifting behaviours towards these outcomes. Current evidence points to a continuation of the wellbeing approach in any revised Programme for Government and the wellbeing duty on local government, established in 2014, has been vital in taking forward the approach through Community Plans.

Community leadership and local government play an integral part in the outcomes approach story for Northern Ireland, which has increasingly been delivering. The Statements of Progress deadline which is approaching in November 2019 is an opportune time for Northern Ireland to have renewed conversations with stakeholders and communities about Community Planning and what local government have achieved, laying the foundations for when the Executive and Assembly return.

England: early signs of collaborative commissioning



In England, there is no comparable 'whole of system' approach to outcomes, perhaps characteristic of the size and scale of the challenge for the jurisdiction. Outcomes based language has been used in commissioning in a way that encourages, rather than discourages, target-setting (Knight, et al., 2017). Though there is no sense of an overall move away

from New Public Management approaches, valuable outcomes frameworks do exist for major health and social care areas, and fresh thinking on how to create outcomes collaboratively is developing (Crowe, et al., 2014). Moreover, the UK Government has announced a commitment to 'collaborative commissioning', which seems to recognise the complexity of outcomes, and may represent a major shift if it comes to fruition (Office for Civil Society, 2019).

THE CHALLENGE

There is a cluttered landscape of **accountability**. Outcomes sit alongside short-term targets and accountability frameworks overlap. The Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) have called for a 'radical delayering' of the Welsh public policy landscape and in Scotland, the Accounts Commission and Auditor General in Scotland suggest that there is an opportunity to: 'streamline national performance frameworks and place more emphasis on longer-term outcomes measures'. Both the Auditor General in Wales and Audit Scotland in Scotland are developing new approaches to auditing for outcomes and this will help focus energy and resources.

Budgets in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland are yet to be linked to outcomes. In Scotland, the Budget Process Review Group has recommended that scrutiny of outcomes should be an integral part of the budget process.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Governments should focus their efforts on streamlining and standardising the accountability landscape so that priorities are clear and services understand their contributions to shared outcomes.



Shift 2: From top down to bottom up

DESCRIPTION

A shift away from centralised control of resources towards local government

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales

KEY POINT

Progress is affected by reduced resources and approaches to austerity in all jurisdictions

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * Policy developments that provide local government with increased powers
- * Increased local diversity in policies and practices
- * Data on increased citizen engagement in local place

Achieving the fundamental shift of power



Central to the first shift towards an outcomes based approach, in recent years, the UK Government has developed its localism policies, seeking to devolve more control and power to neighbourhoods, communities and local authorities, and aiming to shift power from central to local tiers of government. Localism is not a new concept and the localism agenda can be seen in the political rhetoric of all the jurisdictions, but progress has strongly been affected by continuing budget cuts to local government, with parish and town councils taking on additional services to fill the gaps. The ‘fundamental shift of power’ – pledged in the Localism Act of 2011 – is yet to be fully achieved (Locality, 2018).

Whilst across the UK, City Deals have offered regional areas more control over economic development, this concept of localism is focused on economic growth at a regional level, rather than providing tangible solutions for local authorities. Indeed, as Locality’s Commission on the Future of Localism (2018) highlighted, if true localism is about offering citizens more power to create change within their own local area, there remains a need to provide a platform for the voice of communities themselves and the people who live within them.

England: City Deals impact hampered by reduction of local government funding



In England, local action has become a necessity, rather than a choice (McKee, 2015). With eight devolution deals, the core powers devolved include restructuring the further education system; business support; planning and land use; fiscal powers and supporting people into work through the Work and

Health Programme. Yet despite the perceived increase in investment through the European Structural and Investment Fund and the Transforming Cities Fund, the devolution of powers was matched by a significant reduction of central government funding and a reduction of revenue from business taxes (Sandford, 2018); (Eckersley, 2018). The Local Government Association estimates that by 2020, councils in England will have lost 60p of every £1 the Government has provided for services since 2010 (Locality, 2018).

To address these challenges, there have been calls for more council tax flexibilities and power for local government and county councils to introduce fees for some services to help manage budget cuts. Local government in England took over public health in 2013 when it was transferred from the National Health Service to Public Health England; since then, overall spending on public health has fallen in real terms (The Kings Fund, 2018). The Delivering Differently programme, which aimed to improve public services by offering funding to utilise support from voluntary organisations, saw the emergence of non-standardised solutions, although this funding has now ended.

Case studies demonstrate that increased ‘real life’ conversations and engagement with the local community, especially in relation to housing and planning, could prove fruitful and could go some way to helping to resolve the housing crisis in England (Cusack, 2018). For Roche in Cornwall, the local community was active in the consultation stages of a local community plan which resulted in an extra 150 homes being built in addition to the 636 they originally requested in 2014. Residents in Southwark have similarly taken more control over planning through the introduction of an online, interactive portal, which has helped to streamline the planning process, making it more transparent and accessible to the community (Cusack, 2018).

Scotland: Reviewing local democracy



Scotland, having experimented with a mature relationship between central and local government through Single Outcome Agreements since 2007, is currently undertaking a significant review of local democracy. The Scottish Government's recent consultation, *Democracy Matters*, sought to build a conversation in communities about the issues that are important to them, whilst simultaneously working with a range of public services to understand the challenges they face and how to make a positive difference locally. The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015, supports and promotes community asset ownership, aiming to 'empower community bodies through ownership or control of land and buildings, strengthening their voices in decisions about public services' (Scottish Government, 2017).

Northern Ireland: A missed opportunity for localism



In Northern Ireland, the number of local authorities was recently reduced in a reform that also granted the new authorities increased powers. However, there is a far greater level of centralism in Northern Ireland than in the other jurisdictions so while showing promise, it cannot be said to be leading. According to the most recent annual update of the Northern Ireland Good

Relations Indicators produced by NISRA, less than a third of adults felt that they have any influence when it comes to any of the local decisions made in their neighbourhood (The Executive Office, 2018). The recent decision not to transfer powers surrounding transport, planning, regeneration, the environment and business development to local government was very much seen as a missed opportunity for localism.

Wales: Local government reform



Whilst England and Scotland have been assessed as showing green shoots on localism, the situation in Wales has been evaluated as vulnerable. Despite a significant focus on local government reform and the introduction of the Local Government (Wales) Act 2015, very little progress has been made on structural changes to local government and there is a paucity of evidence available on the topic. The Welsh Local Government Association estimates that funding from the Welsh Government has reduced by over £1bn. The most recent green paper, *Strengthening Local Government: Delivering for the People* sets out a variety of options and invites discussion on what additional powers should be available to local government. It is difficult to see any further progress in this area and it is unclear whether the Welsh Government is committed to localism.

THE CHALLENGE

Evidence from across the jurisdictions suggests that to achieve the 'fundamental shift in power', there needs to be radical action to drive a culture change and strengthen local institutions, particularly in the face of budget cuts.

All local authorities face a shared challenge to improve outcomes in the communities in the face of **ongoing budget cuts**. The current tensions between central and local government in each jurisdiction make it unlikely that local government will be able to deliver the radical change in the design and delivery of local public services that an Enabling State approach requires.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Governments across the UK should be bolder in their devolution of powers and funding to local areas. They should continue to acknowledge the local narrative of place, and take a pragmatic approach, encouraging collaborative working to share mutual successes and challenges.



Shift 3: From representation to participation

DESCRIPTION

A shift toward supporting and opening up opportunities for participatory democracy.

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales

KEY POINT

The UK is experiencing a difficult transition to participatory democracy

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * New policy developments that support participatory democracy
- * Increased use of participatory budgeting (and increased proportion of public spending allocated to participatory budgeting)
- * New policies that support devolution of decisions to more local, community levels
- * Efforts to make participatory democracy more inclusive
- * Citizens feel more engaged in decision making and feel they can influence policy and practice

Polarised opinion on participatory democracy



The process and outcome of the Brexit referendum in 2016 has polarised opinion on participatory democracy. Whilst some argue that it demonstrates the risks involved in direct democracy, others argue that the parliamentary response to Brexit requires more direct democracy not less (Involve, 2019). Following the Brexit referendum, research has illustrated the degree to which so many people, and often those on low incomes, feel their voices are not heard and are excluded from policy-making (Ainsley, 2018).

Only 15% of people across the UK believe that they can influence national decisions, a ‘stubbornly low’ statistic which has reduced between 2013 and 2018 (Hansard Society, 2019). When we consider the jurisdictions specifically, in Northern Ireland, just over a quarter of people (29%) report having a say over the decisions made in Northern Ireland (NISRA). Figures in Scotland are higher; 47% of people said the Scottish Government was very good or quite good at listening to people’s views before making decisions (though it should be noted that the question was phrased in a markedly different way). However, this statistic has declined in recent years after reaching a peak in 2015 at 59% (Scottish Government, 2018).

In England, figures demonstrate that only about a quarter of citizens believe that they can influence local decisions, representing a continuing decline: 44% in 2001, 34% in 2013/14 and 27% in 2016/17 (UK Government, 2017). The decline is also shown in the Hansard Society figures. In Wales, the National Survey for Wales, conducted in 2017, found that only 20% of people agreed that they can influence decisions affecting their local area (Welsh Government, 2018) –

an interesting statistic given the vulnerable assessment we provided during our analysis of the previous shift.

Four-nations polling carried out by Ipsos Mori for the Carnegie UK Trust found that the majority of people across the jurisdictions think that standard methods of engaging citizens (such as attending public meetings and contacting elected members) are effective (the highest levels of effectiveness are in Scotland where the figures are 63% and 66% respectively, the lowest in England with 54% and 57% respectively). Yet, the figures for those who think these methods are very effective are much lower – particularly in England, where the figure drops to 11% and with 13% strongly agreeing for each type of citizen engagement. However, when looking more closely at behaviour, less than 5% in England, Wales and Northern Ireland had either contacted an elected representative or attended a public meeting. The figures are higher in Scotland but still under 10% for both behaviours (Thurman & Wallace, 2018).

Wales and Scotland: Slow but steady progress



Progress on participative democracy remains slow but steady in Wales and in Scotland. The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act represent powerful enabling legislation for mainstreaming participation. A structured approach to participation across government and the public sector at the national level is not yet evident though: examples such as Fairer Scotland and the Wales We Want have largely been one off events. A report produced by the Participatory Budgeting Project – which outlines exactly what is needed to increase democracy beyond elections – suggests that many of the key shifts covered in this

report, such as the co-production of the design of the participatory process itself and ensuring local engagement, might help to facilitate civic engagement (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2019).

Both Wales and Scotland have a stated ambition to mainstream participatory budgeting, despite this requirement not being directly included in legislation. In Scotland, the ambition can be seen in a commitment to allocate 1% of local authority budget by participatory budgeting by 2020. In Wales, participatory budgeting is anticipated to inform future budgets (Williams, et al., 2017). To date this has largely been an unrealised ambition and although there are a number of examples of Participatory Budgeting in Wales, it is not a widespread practice and like much of the UK, it has been mainly been delivered in the form of small grants by public bodies and voluntary organisations (Williams, et al., 2017).

Green shoots: England and Northern Ireland



There are green shoots in England and Northern Ireland. The Civil Society Strategy, alongside the commitment to the Innovation in Democracy programme, which promotes the use of Citizen's Juries and online tools to support engagement, is encouraging. There have been similar projects in Northern Ireland to engage citizens more actively, often through the Building Change Trust which has undertaken a number of projects such as creating a Civic Activism Toolkit and Awards Programme that brings together learning from across the world to inspire citizens to get closer to politicians and decision makers (Building Change Trust, 2019). Although promising, such initiatives now require the addition of more long-term, national structural changes to policy making and decision making processes.

THE CHALLENGE

To move to mainstreaming participation and build in structured approaches to participation at both the national and local level.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Local and national governments should explore how participatory democracy can be mainstreamed within planning and budget processes.



Shift 4: From silos to working together

DESCRIPTION

A shift to integrating public services across departmental or professional boundaries.

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales

KEY POINT

All jurisdictions face ongoing significant challenges around successful integration of health and social care

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * Policy developments that result in increased integration of public services at local and national level
- * Evidence of pooled budgets

A generation of policy developments have attempted to get different parts of the public sector to work together to improve outcomes for people. This is particularly the case for health and social care, where the advantages of integrating services are most clear.

The policy focus has led to a number of legislative interventions and restructures across the jurisdictions. In England, the Health and Wellbeing Board that was introduced in 2012 was overshadowed by the non-legislative Sustainability and Transformation Partnerships. Introduced in 2016, NHS and local councils from across 44 areas in England developed proposals to improve health and care. The resulting new partnerships attempted to run services in a more strategic, coordinated way and agreed to plan collectively and work towards joint priorities to improve public health (NHS England, 2019).

Moving towards integrated services in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland



In Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland there are ongoing efforts to move toward more integrated services, notably at the local and regional level through Community Planning Partnerships in Scotland and Northern Ireland, and Public Service Boards in Wales. Implementation of the Bengoa report in Northern Ireland (Department of Health NI, 2016) proposed as a result of the Health and Wellbeing 2026 strategy (Department of Health NI, 2017) is yet to

be implemented due to the collapse of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The complexity of the governance and accountability mechanisms makes it difficult to pool budgets between and across sectors to effect real change, though there are some examples where this has happened successfully. Social prescribing, also known as community referral, has provided a means of enabling health and social care professionals to refer people to a range of non-clinical and local services (The King's Fund, 2017).

Change within the civil service in Northern Ireland aimed to improve integration, with a reduction in departments from 12 to nine. However, a recent OECD review of the governance in Northern Ireland pointed out that the silo mentality remained strongly ingrained (OECD, 2016).

England: Unsteady progress



While rhetoric on joining up services exists in England, we assessed it as showing green shoots rather than progressing. The initiatives do not appear connected to a broader structural change. There are examples of developments that could move the agenda forward. For example, Wealden District Council in England recently introduced a jointly funded NHS and council service, working with local GPs and a charity leisure organisation. Use of the scheme cut regular visits to the GP by up to 61% (Darby, 2019).

THE CHALLENGE

Bringing together partners with very different cultures, organisational priorities and workforces is challenging. Getting the governance arrangements right so that partnerships have the necessary resources, independence and authority to lead change is key.

THE RECOMMENDATION

National and local governments must move away from territorialism over budgets to allow for full integration of services, to improve outcomes for people.



Shift 5: From crisis intervention to prevention

DESCRIPTION

A shift to interventions that aim to work up-stream, either in the life cycle or before issues hit a crisis point for an individual or community.

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales
			

KEY POINT

The shift to prevention is hampered by overall budget cuts, and cuts to local authority budgets in particular

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * Increases in preventative spend at local and national level
- * Policies that support prevention
- * Evidence of culture changes that support prevention (e.g. realistic demands for results)
- * Improved understanding of what works in terms of prevention.

The policy rhetoric is sympathetic to a shift to prevention in all four jurisdictions yet structural and funding realities are making it difficult to see any real positive change. Between 2015-16 and 2019-20, there was a £600m reduction in budgeted public health funding from central government and, as data from the Office for National Statistics shows, there was a 1% rise in deaths which should have been avoidable in 2016 (Seccombe, 2018). These findings are concerning.

Wales: Leading the way on prevention



The Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 offers an intrinsically preventative approach to public service delivery and a legislative basis which is further supported by the Future Generations Commissioner for Wales; it is ranked as a rising star on prevention.

Under the act, public bodies must consider the long-term impact of the decisions they make, ensuring that they adhere to the 'sustainable development principle'. The principle stipulates that public bodies should 'act in a manner which seeks to ensure that the needs of the present are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Welsh Government, 2019). As part of the Act, Public Service Boards were introduced. They tasked public service organisations to work collaboratively with local authorities, health boards and fire services to design and implement Local Well-being Plans which are informed by a detailed review and assessment of the present and future needs of a local area.

Scotland, Northern Ireland and England: Green shoots on prevention



The other jurisdictions are all ranked as showing green shoots and good practice at a local level demonstrates the incredible potential for wellbeing outcomes and public health if prevention initiatives were properly resourced. In England, the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017 and the NHS Long Term Plan both put an emphasis on prevention and planning for the future; the Homelessness Reduction Act 2017 was received as one of the largest changes to the rights of homeless people in England for over 15 years and called on local authorities to look more closely at the cause of homelessness (Shelter, 2017).

In terms of public health, social prescribing – which has also had a positive impact on other shifts – has moved up the agenda in all jurisdictions and has provided non-medical interventions to improve public health. Despite this, there has been a shift in secondary prevention activity and primary preventative services like youth clubs, parks and libraries continue to face cuts as frontline services are prioritised.

Within Scotland, work (especially within the community sector) is continuing to progress on the recommendations made during the 2011 Christie Commission on the future delivery of public services, in which prevention was a fundamental pillar. Yet research has highlighted just how difficult planning preventatively is, with it being hard to justify a reduction in investment in one area, to support new initiatives for the future (What Works Scotland, 2019). An approach that utilises the principles of co-production can path the way for prevention, helping to find the balance between downstream and upstream activities; 'a strong co-production approach

to programme development has the potential to sow the seeds for future preventative work in a community' (What Works Scotland, 2019).

In Northern Ireland, there is an increasing emphasis on early intervention in policy initiatives, especially around children and young people. The 2016 Child Poverty Strategy which was created to make progress on the Life Changes Act 2010, has a clear preventative

vision, aiming to 'eradicate child poverty in the future' (Department for Communities NI, 2016). However more generally, the narrative on prevention is not well established. The Draft Programme for Government's focus on outcomes does show some potential for a shift towards prevention, with indicators that focus on carefully measuring child development, employment, community cohesion and crime rates, to intervene early (Northern Ireland Executive, 2016).

THE CHALLENGE

There remains a need to build the case for preventative spend on the basis of wellbeing outcomes, rather than cost-benefit savings. Building a stronger understanding of the system dynamics of prevention will not only strengthen the shift toward prevention but will have a benefit in terms of strengthening the shift toward outcomes-based management, coproduction, integration and third sector provision.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Regular government accounts on the amount of preventative spend would focus minds on the scale of the challenge and support calls for a shift in resources.



Shift 6: From recipients to co-producers

DESCRIPTION

A shift toward the direct involvement of users in the production of their own services (distinct from community ownership and management)

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales
			

KEY POINT

Structural and cultural barriers remain in the way of a shift towards co-production of public services, key examples have had mixed results.

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * Increases in use of language of co-production, co-governance and co-management
- * Policies and practices that support transformative co-production

Achieving the shift towards transformative co-production has, like prevention, been difficult to achieve.

There is, without a doubt, a clear drive across all the jurisdictions to involve people in the design and development of services which may impact them now, or in the future. This desire is distinctively evident within the health and social care sector in Scotland, Wales and England. The Social Care (Self Directed Support) (Scotland) Act 2014, the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 and the Care Act 2014 have all contributed to the introduction of legislative frameworks for personalised care, with an underpinning vision to move away from more traditional individual deficit based models, towards an approach which views individuals and their families as valuable assets, with resources and insights to share.

Co-production at local government level: Green shoots in England, Scotland and Wales



Some progress has been made at local government level and there are champions for co-production in England (Think Local Act Personal), Scotland (Scottish Co-production Network) and Wales (Co-production Network for Wales) who encourage sharing of good practice and training. In England, there are a number of good examples of co-production working well, including the Participatory City approach in Barking and Dagenham and the Way Ahead initiative in London. Participatory City is an initiative that brings together residents, organisations and the local council within the borough of Barking and Dagenham to empower local people to engage and share with one another, making practical participation a key component of everyday life for those within the borough (The Alternative UK, 2017). Similarly, the Way

Ahead initiative in London aims to provide a hub for members of the community to come together, build strong networks and have a 'voice' within the ongoing debate about London's future (The Way Ahead, 2019).

There may be a sense of moving towards mainstreaming through the civil society strategy which promises support to local 'Citizen Commissioners' to make commissioning decisions on behalf of their communities, whilst at the same time increasing participation and strengthening social value (Young, 2018). Yet, there is still some way to go. There remains confusion across all jurisdictions about what exactly co-production is, and diverse views about to what level recipients – or co-designers – of services should be involved to make it a meaningful approach. And although co-production has the capacity to be truly transformative, in practice, a web of complex structural barriers and institutional frameworks persist, with some questioning whether co-designed services lead to empowerment, or further deepen inequalities (Farr, 2018). Co-production challenges the status quo and requires power relations to be challenged (Coutts, 2019).

Four nation polling carried out for Carnegie UK Trust by Ipsos Mori found that the population is split between wanting more control over the services that they use and reporting that they have about the right amount of control over public service. Levels of satisfaction with their level of personal control are highest in Northern Ireland at 55% (and 36% reporting too little control). Satisfaction with the amount of control is lowest in Scotland, with 51% reporting that they have too little control (with 41% reporting satisfaction with the level of control) (Thurman & Wallace, 2018). This is counter intuitive as there are few initiatives on co-production in Northern Ireland and far more in Scotland.

Scotland, England and Wales: shared interest in direct payments and personalised care



The policy literature suggests that practitioners in Scotland, England and Wales have struggled to get personalised care and direct payments right and there are signs of a loss of momentum. In England, 20 local authorities joined a trailblazing scheme to introduce direct payments to residential care during 2013-2015. By March 2016, the number of engaged local authorities had dropped to 9 councils (Wittenberg, et al., 2015). In Scotland, consensus revealed that a focus on Health and Social Care Integration is diverting Senior Manager's time (The King's Fund, 2019). Promisingly, there is a shared interest in overcoming these barriers and getting social care direct payments right across the UK.

Northern Ireland: Lagging behind on co-production



In Northern Ireland, co-production has struggled to gain any significant foothold in the delivery of public services at national or local level, though it does appear in the health and Wellbeing 2026 strategy (as yet unimplemented due to the collapse of the Northern Ireland Assembly). Encouragingly, in 2018 the Department for Health launched the Coproduction Guide for Northern Ireland which sets out the underpinning principles for co-production and offers practical guidance on the key steps to achieve meaningful co-production (Department of Health, 2018).

THE CHALLENGE

The argument for co-production has not yet been won in all sectors, despite clear evidence that users of public services would like more control. The language can feel complicated and with multiple meanings and definitions, there is confusion about what meaningful co-production entails. In addition, the funding and evaluation elements of projects are often not conducive to co-production methodologies. The initiatives that do exist are very much taking place at a local level and there is a struggle to get co-production off the ground in mainstream settings.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Networks in all jurisdictions should continue sharing success stories of what can be achieved through coproduction. Their audience should be mainstream decision-makers and service providers in health, social care, education and housing.



Shift 7: From the state to community

DESCRIPTION

A shift toward community and voluntary sector involvement in the ownership, delivery and management of public services.

England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales
			

KEY POINT

There is strong public support across the jurisdictions for a shift toward more community involvement in the delivery and management of services and assets.

EVIDENCE SOUGHT

- * Policies to support community ownership and community management
- * Increases in community ownership and management
- * Changes to commissioning that support third sector delivery
- * Increases in volunteering

Associational life and the informal relationships and networks that we have in our communities all have an enormous impact on our individual and collective wellbeing. The public value of community activity is increasingly being recognised. See, for example, the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 in Scotland, the NHS Voluntary and Community and Social Enterprise Strategy and the new Civil Society Strategy in England and, the Third Sector Partnership Council in Wales. There has been considerable success in terms of supporting community ownership in the Highlands and Islands and, as such, Scotland is classified as progressing on this agenda.

At the same time, community assets and services such as parks and youth clubs are facing funding challenges as other areas of public service delivery are prioritised. Research undertaken by Unison found that youth services lost over £60m of funding between 2012 and 2014 (Unison, 2019). This is alarming, especially as the recurring theme in our review was the degree to which community and community-based services are valued, measured and prioritised.

Public value of community across all jurisdictions



Four-nations polling for the Carnegie UK Trust carried out by Ipsos MORI found strong support for voluntary and community activities in all jurisdictions. Around three-quarters of people reported that they felt volunteering or helping out at a local charity or community group was an effective way of improving the local area. Two-thirds of participants also stated that starting up a local community group would be effective. There is more variation when we look at those who think volunteering or setting up a community organisation would be very effective, from

24% and 15% respectively in England to 41% and 26% respectively in Wales. In England, we were able to run an analysis on ethnicity and found that Black and minority ethnic people were more likely to consider themselves likely to set up a voluntary organisation or volunteer at a local charity. In general, across the jurisdictions women were more likely to volunteer and consider it very or fairly effective (Thurman & Wallace, 2018).

Scotland: Empowering communities with increased community ownership and management



In Scotland, progress has been made to shift towards an approach that puts community ownership and community management at the heart of the delivery and management of services. The introduction of the Procurement Reform (Scotland) Act 2014, the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 and the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2016 have all opened up new opportunities for community and voluntary sector involvement and demonstrate a desire to empower communities, providing a platform for their voices in decisions about public services.

The Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015 made Community Planning Partnerships a legal obligation, requiring public bodies to involve community groups and organisations in all aspects of community planning. Similarly, the Procurement Reform (Scotland) Act – which sits alongside the Public Contracts (Scotland) Regulations 2012 – created new ways for community and voluntary organisations to be involved in public sector procurement by supporting third sector organisations to participate (Coalition of Care and Support Providers in Scotland, 2019). There are, however, some long-term challenges still

to be addressed, which include involving smaller third sector organisations in the commissioning process, overcoming budget pressures, addressing power imbalances and mainstreaming changes.

The Scottish Government committed to ‘re-invigorating volunteering’ in its most recent Programme for Government. And, although adult volunteering rates have remained largely stable over the last five years, the figures have increased for young people – a similar story across the jurisdictions. A tough employment market, easier access to voluntary opportunities, and more targeted campaigns to involve young people – such as through the Year of Young People 2018 and the Saltire Awards – may offer a possible explanation for such an increase and demonstrate that there is significant latent appetite for local volunteering which could be converted into action. (Scottish Government, 2019).

England: Moving towards co-designing health care systems with communities



The approach in England has been markedly different to that in the devolved legislatures. The focus has largely been on outsourcing public services that has benefited the private sector. The third sector and community groups consistently report being locked out of commissioning processes due to supposed efficiencies of scale.

There are green shoots here though with the UK Government’s Civil Society Strategy promising to reform commissioning in favour of the sector. The NHS England Voluntary Community and Social Enterprise (VCSE) Review and Action Plan also commits to exploring how best to coordinate local VCSE organisations, making them a recognised core part of delivering wellbeing and resilience at a local level and encouraging greater use of the Social Value Act. In line with our analysis of the shifts required to become an enabling state, the VCSE Review concluded that a shift is required towards co-designing health and care systems with communities and working with community rooted organisations who are able to engage with a diverse range of citizens from all parts of the local community (Fox, 2019).

Vulnerability in relation to community ownership in Northern Ireland and Wales



During our review, Northern Ireland and Wales were both classified as vulnerable in relation to voluntary and community ownership and the delivery of services. And though there are some examples of good practice, neither jurisdictions have strong cultures of third sector delivery of public services under contract, or of community ownership of land or other assets. Northern Ireland lacks a Social Value Act; this could allow public sector commissioning to consider non-economic value.

THE CHALLENGE

There are ambitions to open up commissioning and procurement to the community and voluntary sector but in all of these jurisdictions the challenge has been to engage small (community based) third sector organisations.

THE RECOMMENDATION

Government and civil society in all jurisdictions should recognise and more frequently articulate the public value of community action. They should further investigate how this value can be measured and prioritised when it comes to designing and delivering services and programmes.

Conclusion: An uneven and uneasy paradigm shift

Five years on from the *Rise of the Enabling State* our review of policy developments in the four jurisdictions re-affirms our 2013 analysis: there is a paradigm shift from a Welfare State to the Enabling State, which involves seven interdependent policy areas across the UK.

There have been a number of important developments since 2013 and the policy landscape and rhetoric has moved considerably. The shift toward an Enabling State involves multiple policy areas unpicking existing structures and ways of working that is buffeted continually by external pressures and drivers. As a result, progress is uneven and non-linear.

Overall, the challenges associated with the shift to the Enabling State are much more evident now than in 2013, particularly as the government have begun to implement Enabling State policies. But progress has not been linear. The step changes have not occurred in all areas or in all jurisdictions.

There is a risk in this context that showing unsteady progress as clearly as we have here is viewed as evidence of failure rather than as evidence of how much has already been achieved and how to move forward.

The scale of the budgetary and demand pressures facing public services are significant and in many cases the evidence shows they are hampering and undermining transformation. These are the circumstances in which the shift to the Enabling State is taking place. We hope that this report inspires those involved in policy development and decision-making across the UK to ask what their neighbours are doing, and what they can learn from those experiences.

If you would like to read the detail, we have produced a full report and summary report cards for each jurisdiction. These are available on our website at www.carnegieuk.org.uk

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