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The next safety net? - Anchor Institutions and the end of the 'Peak State'

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Abstract

With the shrinking of the English state through austerity, there is a recognised need for transformation and rebalancing of the respective roles, responsibilities and expectations of public, private, social, and community actors and institutions in the functioning of a place. This receding 'peak state' suggests a more fundamental social and economic role for Anchor Institutions, as major public, private and third sector/community institutions and assets anchored in local areas, to mitigate the impact on individuals and communities.

This paper examines the potential of Anchor Institutions to facilitate social inclusion and tackle poverty and inequality as the 'peak state' in England recedes, using the Leeds City Region as a case study and drawing on experience from the United States.

It concludes by questioning whether, given the pace, scale and potential impact of spending reductions, a greater reliance on Anchor Institutions can significantly impact on the challenges facing local communities without similar transformations in culture, power, policy and actors for the re-shaping of complex regional systems.

Introduction

The ongoing impact of austerity on public agencies is arguably not only financial and structural but also cultural. The emergence of narratives 'proving' that austerity is not only the entrenched reality, but also the inevitable future, has given rise to a drive across public agencies to engage other local stakeholders in responding to the challenges that the state is viewed as being unable to effectively respond to alone.

A greater role for 'Anchor Institutions' in delivering local outcomes, growing local economies and mitigating the impacts of austerity on communities has been cited by both the public sector and think tanks as an innovative and socially inclusive response to these pressures.

Whilst an increased role for Anchor Institutions in the development of place may be of benefit, the key question is whether the contribution that can be made by these local actors going 'beyond corporate social responsibly' can meet the scale or the consequences of the impacts of public spending cuts on places affected by austerity?

Austerity as inevitability: 'The Peak State'

The term 'Peak State' as a concept in government and public services in terms has been identified as originating with the blogger Adnan Abrar in 2010 (Abrar, 2010).

Parker (2015) describes the Peak State concept as one which

“... represents the zenith of government’s role in British national life. The idea is based on that of peak oil, which is not the point we run out of fossil fuels, but the point at which we pass our maximum ability to extract them from the ground. The fuel the government runs on is taxation. This is a renewable resource, but, even so, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the state that the state will increasingly struggle to raise very high levels of it. Even if it could, the money would be quickly soaked up by ever-rising demand for health and social care services, leaving everything else in a state a crisis.” (Parker 2015, p 124)

Applying the Peak State concept to English local government is explicitly tied to the continuing national policy of public spending austerity brought in by the Coalition government in 2010. This austerity (especially in terms of revenue budgets) shows no signs of abating. Lowndes and Gardner (2016) note that:

“after 5 years of spending cuts, which reduced English local authority budgets by more than one-third, the UK government has announced a further 56% reduction in central grant funding to local authorities over the next parliament.” (Lowndes and Gardner, 2016)

The localisation of business rates due to be enacted in 2020 is only likely to exacerbate this issue in poorer areas, as well as continue the increased emphasis on local economic growth as a core function of local government in England.

Budgets and duties

The range of statutory duties and responsibilities on the English local state remains significant. Upper tier English local authorities still have over 3,000 statutory duties to deliver (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2011). Although Sandford (2016a) argues that English local government is moving to the end of the period when funding primarily followed statutory duties imposed by Whitehall, these duties continue to expand; this includes the return of public health to local authorities from the NHS in 2013 (Marks et al, 2015) and new central government legislative requirements. New legislation in particular continues to significantly impact on local authorities and their resources and internal capacity. For example, between 2013 and 2016 the Local Government Association identified 27 individual pieces of UK parliamentary legislation with significant budgetary and service delivery implications for local authorities (Local Government Association, 2016). These included new areas such as Human Trafficking and Female Genital Mutilation, as well as wider responsibilities in terms of areas of child safeguarding and changes to welfare and housing responsibilities.

Financing the delivery of statutory duties has become increasingly difficult for most local authorities, particularly after the deep cuts to non-statutory services delivered post 2010. A scenario planning exercise, ‘Gaming the Cuts’, delivered by the New Local Government Network with council Chief Executives identified that rising demand and falling budgets means that even radical reforms, such as pooling budgets with the NHS, will not be enough to meet rising costs and that some councils may even need to contemplate more radical actions such as “start paying ordinary householders to look after elderly neighbours” (Manning 2013).

The energies and internal capacity of local authorities are also increasingly becoming directed into economic growth through city deals and sub-regional devolution (O’Brien and Pike, 2015).

The Heseltine Review (Heseltine, 2012) proposed that delivering economic growth should be a core statutory function of all local authority services, and although this recommendation has not been enacted, local authorities increasingly see economic development as not only a core role, but integral to the future survival of their revenue base. Deas (2013) also contends that the English local state has become increasing 'post political' and technocratic, with a strong focus on economic growth as a core driver and purpose.

Continuing financial restrictions and stretched internal capacity is increasing the level of failure risk within English local government. Although the legal obligation on English councils to under the local Government Act 1972 to set a balanced annual budget remains, the local government finance professional body, the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy's (CIPFA) confidence monitor survey for 2016-17 showed more than 56% of finance directors in councils are less confident that they will reach a balanced budget and be able to continue to deliver services for the next financial year (CIPFA, 2016).

Peak State' or 'Peak Care'?

The 'Peak State' concept in terms of the local state may be more properly termed as 'Peak Care'. Around 70% of all upper tier local authority spending in England is on adult care and children's services, with less than 30% being spent on all other services. Hastings et al's (2015) analysis of spending reductions by English local authorities' post 2010 found that spending reductions within councils were also not evenly distributed. Spending reductions overall for local government were around 20% in real terms, however reduced spending on housing by councils was around 45%, with 40% reductions in culture, environmental and planning spend and 30% in central services. Social care reductions in spend were less than 2% in real terms.

Increasingly, it is the demands of social care that are perceived as being the major future strain on local authority budgets and the driver of future service failure.

Graphs of Doom

Although the term 'Peak State' has not come into generic usage across English local authorities, the concept is recognised and implications around service demand widely understood.

Bach and Stroleny (2014) note the emergence and spread of 'Graphs of Doom' across English local authorities. These graphs, first developed by Barnet Council in 2012 (Game, 2012) are forecast financial scenarios mapping local demands for, and costs of, adult social care and children's services against total estimated future spending available to local authorities.

For Barnet Council in 2012, the model identified that without fundamental changes in the way local services were to be provided and/or changes in the councils' funding, that by 2023 the Council would have to spend 100% of its entire budget on care services, there being no money left for any other services, whether statutory or non-statutory.

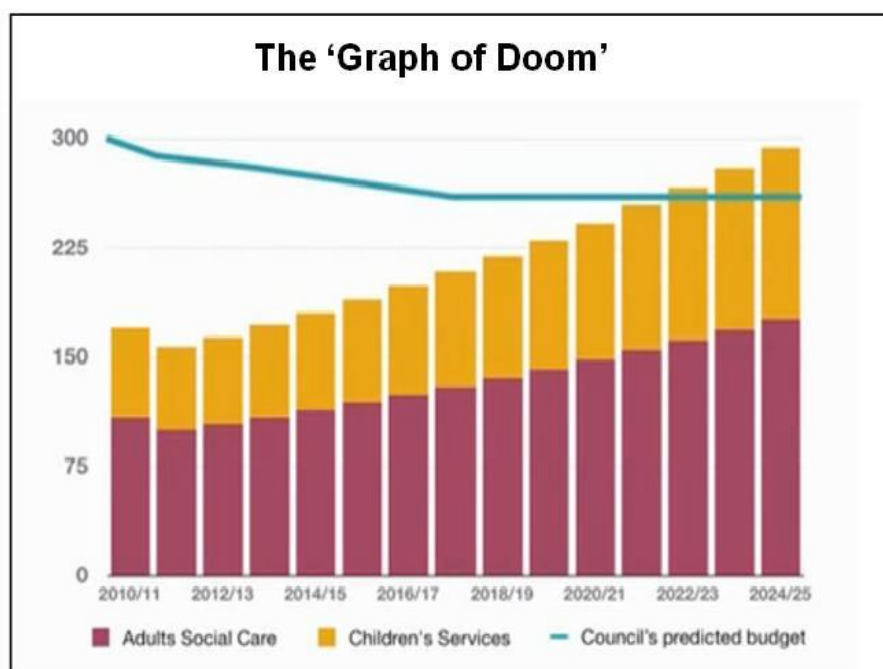


Figure 1. The Barnet 'Graph of Doom' 2012 (<https://www.gmcvo.org.uk/graph-doom-and-changing-role-local-government>)

Deconstructing the Peak State narrative

That Neoliberalism is the dominant discourse in English local public administration has been argued by a number of authors, including Deas (2013) and Meegan, et al (2014). Both the Peak State and Graph of Doom narratives arguably have strong and deterministic Neoliberal biases in practice.

Both narratives appear to 'prove' that demands for social care will continue to inexorably rise and that simply, there will not be enough taxable revenue available to meet demands. The inevitable end will be a crisis of service delivery in one or more service areas (depending locally on how councils allocate their ever diminishing resources) for the English local state, with the only options available to change (i.e. reduce) citizen expectations of what local councils can provide or seek to continue to reduce costs through increasing privatisation and/or the reduction of employee related costs.

The notion of crisis and inability to meet needs is also implicit in the Peak State concept. Kelman (2005) identifies the increasing use of 'Burning Platform Theory' as a driver for change within Government. This approach welcomes crisis as an attempt to engage what it perceives as inert political and managerial leaderships in government to make radical change through induced crisis – primarily through the withdrawal of funding and other resources.

Responding to the Peak State

Newman (2013) argues that English local government responses to austerity have been through "mediating processes of neoliberalisation at a local level". Local councils can be seen under austerity as "seeking to extend their own reach through new governmentalities and forms of

expertise while seeking to displace the contradictions they face—including those of austerity politics—onto their ‘partners’ as well as onto local citizens.”

These responses include: seeking to increase shared services with other councils, ‘public-private partnerships’ (Andrews and Entwistle, 2015) and the increased use of the 3rd sector (from both local and national charities) as a local delivery contractor (Hardhill and Dwyer, 2011). Increasingly however, local Councils are looking to other large local organisations, both public and private, to reduce burdens through stimulating local employment and local business through the engagement of anchor institutions in the city-region.

Anchor Institutions: Concept and Opportunities

The concept of Anchor Institutions has emerged as a local leadership response to multiple urban challenges of economic decline, poverty, inequality and deprivation in cities in the United States (US) over the last twenty years. In the US, de-industrialisation of urban industries and the closure of large industrial employment bases has intensified the reliance on local community based organisations. In particular, public services and not for profit organisations, such as: Universities, hospitals, cultural organisations, public service providers, local authorities, emergency services and community organisations, are being recognised as local civic leadership organisations in the US (Mallach et al., 2008; Penn Institute for Urban Research, 2010; Taylor and Luter, 2013; Friedman, Perry and Menendez, 2014; CLES, 2015a), Canada (Dragicevic 2015) and more recently in the United Kingdom (The Work Foundation, 2010; University Alliance, 2011; CLES, 2015b; Smallbone, Kitching and Blackburn, 2015; Goddard and Kempton, 2016; Mc Inroy et al., 2016, pp 17-18) as significant assets to be harnessed for the sustainable development of a place over time.

Anchor institutions can be defined in different ways, as solely public or not for profit institutions, community or voluntary institutions or whether these can embrace private sector organisations (Maurasse, 2007, p2; Netter Center for Community Partnerships, 2008; Mosavi, 2015). Anchors are frequently seen as large scale organisations, with significant impact in the locality due to the scale of their employment and procurement (Maurasse, 2007, p5). However, the anchor concept can stretch to smaller scale institutions with a significant impact in a place, through a particular role or service provision within a smaller locality, such as faith institutions or schools, as part of a supply chain network or as a significant co-ordinator or facilitator of access to services or networks. Thus anchor institutions are understood in diverse ways but all have a longevity or stickiness in and a significant impact on the development of the place in which they are located.

Developing, engaging with and promoting the use of anchor institutions can be seen as being one of the responses that local government has to the Peak State. For example, the adoption of local collaborative and community engagement has been a national and local government policy response to support previous local economic transitions. On the one hand Bailey (2003) sees this growth in local and city-region level partnerships for regeneration as due to “ad hoc and piecemeal approaches...for policy delivery” (Bailey, 2003, p443).

Alternatively, Thake (2001) recognises the value and potential of “*neighbourhood-based regeneration organisations*” to transform places, build community wealth and address social inequality as anchors in their locality and as co-ordinators or facilitators to other networks (Thake, 2001, pp 23-48). Anchor institution engagement strategies in the US have parallels with

this latter approach, harnessing place-based assets for community wealth building and more inclusive urban economic development (Kelly, McKinley, and Duncan, 2016). Community wealth building in this context is considered as:

“a systems approach to economic development that creates an inclusive, sustainable economy built on locally rooted and broadly held ownership. This framework for development calls for developing place-based assets of many kinds, working collaboratively, tapping large sources of demand, and fostering economic institutions and ecosystems of support for enterprises rooted in community. The aim is to create a new system that enables inclusive enterprises and communities to thrive and helps families increase economic security.” (Kelly, McKinley and Duncan, 2016, p 56).

In contrast, the UK national government response to increasing localism and governance reform appears more focused on increasing and rebalancing the economic growth potential of cities and to realise greater efficiency in public services delivery through austerity measures, devolution, social welfare and public services reforms (HM Treasury, Department for Business Enterprise & Regulatory Reform and Communities and Local Government, 2007, pp 7-10; Mc Inroy et al., 2016, pp 4-6). The resulting implications for the functioning of place is the need for a rebalancing of respective roles, responsibilities and expectations of public, private, social and community actors and institutions which are not yet fully scoped, understood nor fully resolved (McInroy et al., 2016, pp 2-6). In examining this question, the potential for a more fundamental role for Anchor Institutions arises and whether their role in the sustainable and inclusive development of city-regions might be enhanced.

Anchor Institutions: Potential to Rebalance Governance Mechanisms

The Conservative Government’s devolution policies create an increasing transfer of responsibility and accountability for local decision-making to city-regions (Sandford, 2016b), presenting opportunities and a necessity to rebalance roles, responsibilities and expectations of institutions and actors within city-regions. This is not simply a re-balancing between local and national government decision-making or of funding which has been significantly affected by continuing state led austerity measures as mentioned above; nor is this a balanced approach to investment and power which remains rooted in the national state. Rather this represents a re-balancing of relationships between actors and institutions, between the national, local, sub-regional or regional, between private, public, third or community institutions and voluntary sectors and of the expectations and responsibilities of the individual citizen.

In parallel, national government policies which increase private sector growth through Local Enterprise Partnerships and in private sector delivery of public services or the creation of markets in public services provision, open up different but related challenges and complexity in ensuring sufficiency of social welfare systems. This new dynamic of markets creates new dimensions of risks of private sector provided ‘public service’ market failure, affordability, market regulation and quality of service (for example in health and social care, prisons, school-based education) evident also in the public sector. Furthermore, continuing reductions in social welfare support, through use of charging policies for some welfare services, erosion of welfare protection has created contested inequality and potentially unsustainable impacts – such as reductions in affordable housing stock, increased incidence of child poverty and increasing inequality (Lupton et al, 2015). This has the potential to be reflected in urban challenges at a local city-regional level and to contribute to city-regional challenges or pressures which through

devolution are likely to be the concern if not always the responsibility of local policy and leadership.

The lessons from this are clear in that, as Rhodes (2007) identifies, centralised government initiatives can fail due to relative power, policy relevance or impact in complex interconnected and interdependent networks of actors and institutions (Rhodes, 2007, p 1258). Similar failure can arise with over-centralised initiatives led by city-regional or local government actors.

This risk of failure is the particular place-based challenge for local authorities or other devolved models of local state governance and one which may benefit from Anchor Institution models of engagement. Different models for local governance of city-regions together with new policy mechanisms and solutions are required to transform economic, social and environmental development. Moreover, urban challenges of economic decline, poverty, inequality and environmental degradation are global phenomena, not simply local issues and require new policy agendas and actions to lead to city-regional transformation (UN-Habitat 2016, p163). The apparent “hollowing out of the state” (Rhodes, 2007, p1248) requires different approaches in practice which foster ‘steerage’ of complex networks and engagement with relevant actors, institutions and stakeholders (Rhodes, 2007, pp 1254-1257).

The US experience highlights considerable value in engaging in collaborative city-regional policy making and the benefits that can emerge through discourse of pooling ideas, assets and opportunities to maximise place-based shared value (Porter and Kramer 2011; ICIC 2011) or community wealth (Howard, 2012a; CLES 2015a; 2015b). This collaborative and voluntary bottom up approach, through the proactive engagement of anchor institutions, is considered to enable a discourse on vital social welfare dimensions of city-regional policy, such as education, skills, employment, inclusion, health, housing, security and federal services. Creating this shared arena for dialogue can support a richer understanding of the challenges, relationships and interdependencies in the city-region and the potential policy options or solutions from multiple perspectives of diverse anchor institutions.

However, some would contest concepts of ‘creating shared value’ (Crane, Palazzo, Spence and Matten, 2014) or the extent to which anchor engagement will lead to a sufficient scale of impact, greater equality and inclusion (Iuviene, Stitely and Hoyt, 2010, pp 13-17; Grevatt, 2013).

Whilst this approach provides opportunity for shared or common purpose, focused action and solutions for the benefit of the city-region, it relies on the way it is enacted by actors within the networks and the values they share. Aligning common interests and shared purposes through anchor engagement could make a contribution through the potential to build a city-regional network, shared values, foster trust and exchange. In relation to steerage of complex networks, this approach has the potential to foster dialogue and debate across multiple actors and institutions. It builds an engagement with real issues for the city-region, grounded in place and local belief and value systems. Furthermore, it has the potential to provide challenge towards a shared interest or purpose (the improvement of the city-region upon which the anchor institution is reliant) through the necessity to engage through participation with different perspectives.

Paradoxically, reducing directive steerage and increasing collaborative discourse with networks of multiple anchor institutions has the potential to strengthen steerage and action for the

benefit of the city and community. Moreover, parallels are evident with mechanisms important for stimulating economic growth in city-regions identified by the OECD (2012):

“Formal and informal institutions that facilitate negotiation and dialogue among key actors in order to mobilize and integrate them into the development process are vital, as are those that enhance policy continuity ... the challenge is to create institutions that strengthen the region’s ‘voice’ in dealing with other regions and countries and those that foster linkages among the private, public and education sectors.” (OECD, 2012: 25 in Tomaney 2014).

Anchor institutions’ strategies have the potential to contribute in a similar way to facilitate negotiation and dialogue, to mobilise and integrate them into city-regional development processes, thereby supporting policy continuity, linkages between sectors and action on shared priorities for the city-region.

Anchor Institutions: Potential for Transformation

Anchor Institutions strategies provide a new approach to enhancing city-regional governance and development with potential to contribute to greater social inclusion, tackle poverty and inequality. The potential for Anchor Institution strategies to facilitate a more inclusive development of city-regions in England merits further exploration as a response to the ‘peak state’ challenge. The US and recent UK experience offers a rich framework or toolkit for action to inform the application to city-regions and is explored next with reference to Leeds City Region as a case study and lens.

The US and recent UK approaches to Anchor Institution engagement highlights the diversity of Anchors within city-regions. Analysis of the literature indicates that key Anchors are typically Universities and Colleges, Health providers and Arts, cultural and community organisations along with some large private sector businesses with headquarters or a significant physical presence in place (Colledge 2015, pp 5-6). These types of Anchor institutions have an interdependence with place being rooted in, contributing to and benefiting from the city-region in which they are located.

In the US in cities like Cleveland or Pennsylvania, the focus has been on the central role of ‘Eds and Meds’, with Universities and primary Healthcare Institutions playing a leading role working with local state institutions (ICIC, 2011, p2). This foundational role of Universities in enabling economic and social development features prominently in the US and UK discourse and literature (see for example Holden, 2012; Birch, Perry and Taylor, 2013; Taylor and Luter, 2013; Elhenz, Birch and Agness, 2014; Smallbone, Kitching, and Blackburn 2015; Goddard and Kempton 2016).

Whereas community engagement, regeneration through estates developments and focused collaborative development projects appear to be the main areas of University anchor activity in the US. In the UK, the RSA City Growth Commission (2014) has called for incentives and policies to maximise the contribution and benefits of higher education institutions to cities and their regions (RSA City Growth Commission, 2014, pp 11-13) in three main areas: optimising research and teaching for metro growth, promoting graduate retention and utilisation, and enterprising students, graduates and faculty (RSA City Growth Commission, 2014, pp 14-31). In practice, University anchor institution engagement in the UK is diverse and embraces all these dimensions.

An analysis of the diversity of anchor institution engagement in the US and UK informs the framework developed in Table 1, adapted from the original framework developed by the Initiative for Inner City Competitiveness (ICIC, 2011). This provides examples from current practice and proposes ways in which these anchor engagement dimensions or roles might enable new ways of responding to the Peak State Challenge.

As this highlights, there is potential to strengthen and enhance connectivity and collaborative working between and with Anchor Institutions to build and benefit specific city priorities. Pike et al (2016) recommend specific actions for supporting growth in core and freestanding cities to foster better coordination and cooperation with Anchor Institutions to support more inclusive growth (Pike et al, 2016, pp 44-45). Critical to enhance this for cities in relative decline is targeted and integrated action which focuses on inclusive growth and poverty reduction (Pike et al, 2016, p42).

This requires strong and clear leadership, with closely co-ordinated policy to support this through engagement of key anchor institutions (Pike et al, 2016, p42 citing Katz and Wagner, 2014). Furthermore, it requires increasing emphasis on the growth of better jobs and better pay and conditions together with enhanced community engagement to tackle deep rooted and long term challenges with the involvement of those most affected (Pike et al, 2016, p43).

Anchor institutions are important contributors to this agenda, with larger anchors usually offering better pay and conditions and with multiple anchor institution collaborations and coordination providing a more holistic understanding and the potential for more integrated solutions. Community engagement and involvement of local neighbourhood community anchors as partners in this process can enhance support and trust in this context.

Local procurement strategies to foster greater social value can build the means for employment and better jobs through shared values and commitments via the supply chain supporting greater connectivity between jobs growth and citizens. Similar Anchor Institution and community wealth building approaches from Cleveland in the US have been influential in informing recent local initiatives by Preston City Council to harness anchor institution's assets and commitment through a collaborative Preston Community Wealth Creation Initiative to foster local procurement, fair pay and opportunities for formation of local co-operatives (CLEES 2015b; Brown 2015).

Anchor Institutions in Practice: Responding to Peak State in Leeds City Region.

The analysis of anchor institution frameworks and engagement has identified potential responses to Peak State challenges through enhanced anchor institution strategies within city-regions. The potential relevance of these responses is explored further using Leeds City Region as a case study.

Leeds City region provides a significant geography within the north of England, with a core and key cities and towns (Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Craven, Harrogate, Kirklees, Leeds, Selby, Wakefield and York within the Leeds City Region Enterprise Partnership) forming a diverse economic output of £62.4bn GVA in 2014 (Local Leeds City Region Local Enterprise Partnership 2016, p52), 3,026,700 resident population (nomis 2015) and 17% of neighbourhoods in the

deprived 10% in England in 2015 (Local Leeds City Region Local Enterprise Partnership 2016, p 46).

The diversity of Local Authority geographies highlights considerable variances in economies and scale masked by the average figures for the city-region. This is illustrated by deprived neighbourhood statistics with Bradford (33%), Leeds and Barnsley (22%) with the highest level of deprived neighbourhoods above the Leeds City region average of 17% (Local Leeds City Region Local Enterprise Partnership 2016, p 46). Addressing poverty and good growth are priorities for the city-region.

The scale of Anchor Institutions within the city-region is significant, with nine higher education institutions, fourteen further education colleges and a strong health service sector. Employment in the Administration, Education and Health service sector (O-Q) in 2014 in the city region stands at 28% of those employee jobs, above the national average (nomis 2014). This places this anchor institution related employment at a higher level than other service and employment sectors. Further analysis of some key anchors is provided in Table 2 highlighting the sizeable number of typical anchors which, with the inclusion of further education colleges, cultural institutions, housing associations and key third sector organisations, would easily exceed 100 institutions and over 300,000 jobs.

The concentration of anchors will be higher in larger University cities such as Leeds, with the location of a third of the city-region's employment in the Administration, Education and Health service sector. This scale of presence of anchor institutions affords an opportunity to strengthen connections and collaborative governance to maximise the potential value and harness assets these provide. This would be best focused as a coordinated, linked initiative through separate engagements within each local authority administrative boundary to support diverse localities, as well as benefit the wider city-region.

This could enable focused action on local and wider city-region priorities and local development challenges. Innovation in the design and delivery of services, local procurement initiatives, fostering cooperatives, development of community engagement and targeted employment could be fostered through this shared agenda, local customisation, and sharing of practice across the city-region. These integrated anchor engagement strategies and transdisciplinary partnerships have the potential to contribute solutions and responses to the Peak State Challenge across all dimensions identified in Table 1, whilst at the same time consider ways to address the urban challenges that exist.

The US Cleveland experience highlights that progress in addressing deep rooted social inequality is slow to effect, particularly at scale. However, this highlights that regeneration of local deprived areas, improvements in job creation, better employment pay and conditions, anchor and citizen engagement and embedded owned shared city-region values and shared priorities can stimulate action and transformation. Through effective collaboration and engagement with neighbourhood and private sector communities, empowerment, trust and responsibility could be fostered through anchor institution engagement to target solutions in a more connected and collaborative model.

In practice however, the scale of the task is significant and typical US models, which omit large sections of the private sector, do not deliver speedy results nor sufficient progress for social

equity. This is a long term cultural and societal change requiring more extensive and deep rooted changes in mind-set and values wider than typical anchor institutions.

Leeds City Region has existing models of engagement, established through local authority mechanisms and groups, the Leeds City Region Enterprise Partnership and Combined Authorities (West Yorkshire and other regional Authorities) including with businesses, local networks and communities. This rich web of pre-existing structures and networks enables engagement and partnerships with anchors and the private sector though not necessarily via coordinated and connected anchor strategies.

Examples of change initiatives in the city-region are evident in the Strategic Economic Plan (Leeds City Region Local Enterprise Partnership 2016) and through local engagement structures and initiatives within specific local authorities. The following examples are illustrative of the potential and how anchor strategies are underway in different forms:

Community Anchor Strategy: development of strategies to utilise community anchors for social development - Wakefield District Council and Calderdale County Council.

Good growth strategies: Leeds City Region strategy and local authority initiatives such as Wakefield's good growth strategy.

Living/fair wage pledges: Fostered through city compact in Leeds and the private sector in Wakefield.

Shared principles: The Wakefield District Compact is a framework agreed between public sector, voluntary and community organisations with shared principles, objectives and for mutual benefit.

Partnership Boards and Groups: The Wakefield Together Partnership and Local Services Board brings together key anchor institutions to work on collaborative solutions to the district's challenges and strategic priorities. The Wakefield Enterprise Partnership brings together business and public agencies to stimulate investment and economic growth.

This goes some way to addressing the wider change issues but does not go far enough in addressing the scale of the challenge. Therein lies an important aspect of anchor engagement, which is the wider effect on soft institutions which may be anchored through individual, organisational and structural belief systems. This is not frequently explored in the anchor institution literature, other than through reference to the ways in which anchor strategies foster shared values and collaborative leadership.

This collaborative development and dialogue, enabled through anchor institution strategies, supports a richer engagement with values, beliefs, customs, traditions and practices, which can have an influence on mind-sets and appreciative or reference systems (Vickers 1965; Silverman 1970) that shape and influence action. This approach contributes to wider culture change across geographies and multiple anchor and city-region institutions. Ultimately, Peak State challenges and longstanding urban challenges will require systems innovation and transformation.

Anchor institution strategies have the potential to provide an effective model for enabling dialogue for cultural change across multiple actors and institutions to support purposeful action,

shared values and shared objectives. It could be seen as a systems approach or learning systems approach to enabling action for improvement (Checkland 2011, p504). Such a model for engagement fosters dialogue and engagement with potentially contested narratives about meanings, purpose and beliefs. This de-centred approach to steering networks changes the governance dynamic and can act as a stimulus for different policies and action to emerge creating a “decentred account of differentiated polity” (Rhodes 2007, p1652) and new tools for addressing the Peak State Challenge.

However anchor institution engagement strategies, like their predecessor strategies for collaborative partnership engagement, have not been able to deliver fully the societal changes required. The US experience is that change is slow to take hold due to the scale of the challenge and multiplicity of pressures including fiscal austerity. Nevertheless, anchor engagement which includes the private sector in a coordinated collaborative strategic approach does have the potential to support innovative solutions.

Multi-level partnership action could provide a more holistic understanding of the problem and pool ideas, talent and resources to address this in a way that other models have not been able to facilitate. This has the potential to transform and deliver more rapid and relevant changes in outcomes as well as to negotiate and challenge mind-sets. It is this latter transformation that is important to address if we are to deliver real and lasting societal transformation for a more inclusive and sustainable society. This is the real Peak Challenge that could be grappled with through strengthened models of anchor institution engagement across city-regions.

Conclusion

A growing social and economic role for Anchors Institutions aligns well with the Peak State narrative. If both national and subnational government in the UK cannot deliver against the demands of ever increasing and complex needs, then engaging key local stakeholders as regional and local partners in addressing economic and social issues appears to be a valuable tool in the state’s range of responses to austerity. The question however, is one of both the scale of the challenge and the options and tools available to Anchor Institutions to positively intervene in communities.

On current analysis, the primary areas of intervention for Anchor Institutions appear to be targeted recruitment and business support through localised procurement, as well as acting as partners in strategy development and place shaping. These are likely to bring both economic and social benefits to areas. The question that remains however, is one of scale and the nature of the challenges facing local areas, particularly those more deprived, including health, community safety and cohesion.

If Anchor Institutions are to significantly contribute to facing the challenges in some local communities then exploring, with public partners, new and wider areas for interventions and effort will be required, with lessons learnt from these new interventions both captured and disseminated.

Table 1: Framework for Anchor Institution Engagement (Role of Anchors adapted by Colledge 2016 from ICIC 2011 pp 3-9)

Role of Anchor Institutions	Examples of US or UK experience	Response to Peak State Challenge
Civic Leadership	US Universities as anchors providing civic leadership (Elhenz, Birch and Agness, 2014 pp1-2) “Strategic leadership is critical” to engage “key actors and institutions” around shared vision and strategy for city (Pike et al, 2016, p 40)	Provides coordinated civic leadership from critical civic functions and builds on interdependencies of anchors to align interests and develop shared vision, agendas, values and priorities. Provides powerful leadership across city and beyond to foster wider city commitment and reputation from actors, institutions and communities.
City-region magnet/identity	Anchor institutions are seen as “magnets for economic development’ in the US (Elhenz, Birch and Agness, 2014 p 1);	Provides strong city-regional identity and purpose which has potential to support city reputation and brand identity. This effective civic leadership and governance can attract investment and businesses. City-regional development fuels further growth and attracts/retains actors and institutions.
Cluster Anchor or Coordinator	See US example of Pratt Institute and SUNY Downstate Medical Center (Mansion and Porter 2011, pp 18; 20; 23)	Contributes to coordination of projects or networks. Facilitates engagement with wider networks in specific sectors, across projects, or to
Community Capacity Builder	US health institutions engaging in quality of life activities or community development projects (Kauper-Brown and Seifer, 2006, p11; Mansion and Porter 2011, pp 18-24)	Focused development of community skills, leadership, values and enterprise capacity together with project specific capacity development.
Employer	US: Cleveland Cooperative model and community wealth building (Howard, 2012a); UK: Preston Cooperative Initiative (Manley & Froggett 2016); A Framework to Advance a Cooperative Capital 2012/17 (Edinburgh Borough Council nd)	Fostering ‘good employment’ models can improve pay and conditions and target trickle down in supply chain. Development of cooperative models of ownership and community initiatives.

Role of Anchor Institutions	Examples of US or UK experience	Response to Peak State Challenge
Governance	Partnership and collaborative forms of governance require sustained effort and leadership. The University of Pennsylvania example illustrates approaches to governance, mission and values. Sustaining longstanding community engagement and partnership Harkavy, Hartley, Hodges, Sorrentino, and Weeks 2014).	Provides potential for diverse contribution reflecting diverse vital civic functions. Where private sector is also involved this creates a more holistic perspective and builds shared agendas and values.
Investor	Establishment of a University of Lincoln campus (Pike et al, 2016, p31)	Provides focused strategic investment for city priorities and enables pooling of scarce resources.
Strategic Partner	Edinburgh Compact 2015-2020, Partnership Framework and Action Plan (Edinburgh Borough Council 2016)	Strategic partnerships support alignment of interests and focused support for mutually beneficial developments maximising return on investment and shared value.
Provider of Core Service/Product	US examples of Health institutions impact in core service delivery (Kauper-Brown and Seifer, 2006, pp 2-5) and new School provision (Mansion and Porter 2011, pp 18-24). See also core role of Universities as central to economic and social development.	Core services delivered by Anchors contribute to the sustainable development of the city. These typically align with models of sustainable communities covering vital dimensions such as education, health and social care, housing, aspects of employment and skills, culture, research and innovation and governance. Inclusion of private sector Anchor representatives has potential to integrate
Purchaser	Preston City Council: Preston Community Wealth Creation Initiative; engagement of Anchors with focus on procurement local spend (CLES 2015b; Brown 2015). See also Howard (2012b).	Increased local procurement has potential to grow local jobs, foster shared values and community benefit through social value procurement approaches (see Macfarlane, with Anthony Collins Solicitors LLP 2014). Capacity building supports local enterprise growth.
Estate Developer	University of Chicago –integrated campus and community engagement (Elhenz, Birch and Agness, 2014 pp 21-27)	Investment in renewal and development of built environment contributes to civic amenities and city attractiveness (particularly where good design and integration into city spatial planning is fostered).

Role of Anchor Institutions	Examples of US or UK experience	Response to Peak State Challenge
Research and Innovation	Regeneration through creation of Innovation Districts in the US involving anchor institutions or locations in close proximity (Katz & Wagner 2014)	Collaboration with diverse institutions and actors supports research, innovation and evaluation for new models of service delivery, city-regional development and systems transformation.
Workforce Developer	US example of La Guardia Community College (Mansion and Porter 2011, pp 18; 21)	Supports capacity building for community, employment and regional development; anchor employer role can support this and promote shared values. Education offer can support economic growth.

Table 2: Leeds City Region Analysis by Anchor Institution Type

Anchor Type	No. Anchors	Spend £M	Notes	Anchor Institution Jobs	Students HESA 2013/14	Population (75 Local Authority Areas) NOMIS 2014	Local Employee Jobs Head count NOMIS 2014	AI jobs as % of total employee jobs
Local Authorities	10	2351.43	1a-c	105,175				
Higher Education Institutions	9	1409.78	2	24,175	115,120			
Fire and Rescue	2	107.43	3	2505				
Police and Crime Commissioner	2	594.35	4	10290				
NHS - Yorks & Humber	51	6680.33	5	146,759				
LCR TOTAL	74	11143.32		288,904	115120	3,005,000	1,303,500	22.16

Notes

1a. Spend: 2014-15 £M Revenue Spending power tables 2014/15 in 2015/16 Supporting Information Final 9; Barnsley; Bradford; Calderdale; Craven; Harrogate; Kirklees; Leeds; Selby; Wakefield; York

1b. Jobs: Employment 2014-15 Total Headcount QPSES 2014 Q1

1c. Population, local employee jobs, Local Authority NOMIS data 2014

2. HESA Staffing 13/14; HESA Institution HE students 2013/14; Universities - Bradford; Huddersfield; Law; Leeds; Leeds College of Art; Leeds Beckett; Leeds Trinity; York; York St John

3. DCLG Fire Statistics 2013-14 p 5; National Statistics release data by Local Authority; Employment Appendix 1-13, 31 March 2014 (North and West Yorkshire)

4. Police and Crime Commissioner 31 March 2014; Guardian police staff FTE 2014 (North and West Yorkshire)

5. NHS Workforce at 30 Sept 2014 health and social care information centre ccg financial allocations 2013/14; health providers Dec 2014 NHS role count

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