Transforming communities? Exploring the roles of community anchor organisations in public service reform, local democracy, community resilience and social change

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What Works Scotland (WWS) aims to improve the way local areas in Scotland use evidence to make decisions about public service development and reform.

We are working with Community Planning Partnerships involved in the design and delivery of public services (Aberdeenshire, Fife, Glasgow and West Dunbartonshire) to:

- learn what is and what isn't working in their local area
- encourage collaborative learning with a range of local authority, business, public sector and community partners
- better understand what effective policy interventions and effective services look like
- promote the use of evidence in planning and service delivery
- help organisations get the skills and knowledge they need to use and interpret evidence
- create case studies for wider sharing and sustainability

A further nine areas are working with us to enhance learning, comparison and sharing. We will also link with international partners to effectively compare how public services are delivered here in Scotland and elsewhere. During the programme, we will scale up and share more widely with all local authority areas across Scotland.

WWS brings together the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, other academics across Scotland, with partners from a range of local authorities and:

- Glasgow Centre for Population Health
- Improvement Service
- Inspiring Scotland
- IRISS (Institution for Research and Innovation in Social Services)
- NHS Education for Scotland
- NHS Health Scotland
- NHS Health Improvement for Scotland
- Scottish Community Development Centre
- SCVO (Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations)

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- Glenboig Neighbourhood House
- Govanhill Housing Association and Community Development Trust
- Greener Kirkcaldy
- Huntly District and Development Trust
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1.1: Introduction

> *"We have […] received evidence on the value and strength of independent community action, and have been particularly impressed with the recent expansion of community development trusts, which are enabling communities to make their own plans and aspirations a reality. These organisations are about local people deciding what is important to them, and then taking action."*
>
> (Christie Commission, 2011: 34)

This research report explores the developing role of key independent community sector organisations known as **community anchors.** As the Christie Commission observes above, the community sector is taking on an increasing importance because of its potential for community-led, local democratic action. This report therefore seeks to support and inform the developing discussions between the community sector, public services and policymakers as to how they can work together. Community anchors, as one key ingredient in the community sector mix, therefore provide a valuable focus for what the sector is already doing and could also do in the future.

The community sector includes a wide range of local not-for-profit organisations and groups – the local third sector. Community anchor organisations are of particular importance because they seek to be community-led, multi-purpose and responsive to local context. This enables them to lead and/or facilitate complex local activities focused on local community-led place-making, which includes:

- local economic and social development e.g. community enterprise, local sustainable development (community resilience), asset ownership, building social capital
- design, development and provision of local public and community services, and
- developing community leadership and advocating for community interests – strengthening a community's voice and power to create change.

At the heart of an **effective community anchor** is a **community-led or -controlled governance** that develops and sustains a community-led focus and vision. It invariably seeks the development of **community ownership of assets** as part of an enterprising approach which contributes to the organisation's financial resilience – and likewise that of other locally-led organisations. It is these combined strengths of seeking an independent governance and a commitment to develop a strong finance model that enable community anchors to work for long-term community interests. And, it is these strengths that support

community anchors in leading and/or facilitating complex, multi-purpose activities relevant to the local context. Taken as a whole across Scotland, community anchors therefore provide crucial ingredients for any vision of change to public services and society.

In this report, we therefore use the Christie Commission's vision as the starting point and space for dialogue on Scottish public service reform – a 'Scottish Approach'. The Commission draws on a rich language often summarised as 'partnership, participation, prevention and performance' – the well-established '4 Ps'.[1] In this report, we understand these not as a route map for public service but as spaces that can support complex dialogue and deliberations about the development of local and wider policy and practice.

The Commission puts particular emphasis on 'the local' – 'local partnerships and participation and local communities of place and interest' – and to the role of public service reform in creating a 'more equitable society'. Thus, we pay particular attention to the notion of *community-led place-making* and its wider implications. In order to support such a focus, we draw on three particular recurring 'Christie' concerns that give further shape and depth to this notion:

- renewing local democracy and the accountability of local public services;
- strengthening community resilience and local sustainability; and
- social change – a fairer society and 'balanced' (inclusive) economy.

In using this understanding of the Christie Commission's work, and the space that it creates for wider discussions of public service reform, we have sought to create a report that brings the distinctive contributions of community anchors and the community sector into this forum.

In **Section 1,** we therefore:

- outline our research process and methodology (1.2)
- outline further an understanding of the community anchor 'model' (1.3)
- connect further to key themes for and developments in public service reform in Scotland (1.4)
- summarise this focus (1.5)

In **Section 2**, we provide profiles of six exemplars of community anchor organisations from across Scotland to illustrate: the ways that they are community-led/-controlled; their multi-purpose and holistic potential; and their development through, and responsiveness to, local context. These deepen understanding of what community anchors can mean in actual practice – their potential.

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[1] The Christie Commission (2011) report in fact presents these as: building services around people and communities; effective working together (integration) of public services to improve social and economic well-being; prioritising prevention, reducing inequalities, promoting equalities; and improving performance, reducing costs and increasing accountability. The Scottish Government (2011b) *broadly-speaking* recognised these narratives in its response.

In **Section 3**, we consider what can be learned from these exemplars about the potential of community anchors to contribute in complex ways – engaging, leading, challenging – to public service reform and the Christie Commission agenda: broadly understood as local partnerships, participation, preventing inequalities and improving performance.

In **Section 4**, we consider how what we are learning through the research process supports a developing understanding of the types of 'infrastructure' that can support the development of the community anchor roles – policy, resources and culture change.

In **Section 5**, we conclude with discussions that build from what has been learnt about community anchors to reflect on their potential to support wider aspirations for local democracy, community resilience (as locally-led sustainable development) and wider social change – as part of the need for ongoing informed, reflective dialogue between the community sector and public services on policy and practice.

1.2: Our research process and methodology

The research team is seeking to work within the tradition of critical policy studies (e.g. Wagenaar, 2011; Yanow 2000) and related participatory and action research methodologies with an emphasis on a participatory worldview (Reason & Bradbury, 2006). Our approach has been focused on research activities that engage actively in ongoing dialogue with those involved in policy and practice and, in so doing, has aimed to foster shared critical reflection.

We have therefore pursued two types of broad, related research strategy – one influenced by appreciative inquiry (Sections 2 and 3), the other building towards more critical dialogue (Sections 4 and 5):

Sections 2 and 3 are built around our research team discussions with six community anchor organisations. These were selected by the researchers in discussion with the Advisory Group as likely examples of strong and diverse community anchor practices across urban, rural and remote Scotland – so not a representative sample, rather illustrations or 'exemplars' of what community anchors can achieve given a constructive context. The research process in each case has involved:

- desk-research and a site visit(s) and interview with a lead person(s)[2]
- sense-checking, triangulation and interpretation of the draft exemplar 'data' through discussion of draft material with the interviewees, a public sector partner for each exemplar and the Advisory Group.

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[2] The exception to this was Huntly and District Development Trust. Here the interview was carried out by phone rather than on-site, but in this case two of the researchers were able to provide further relevant knowledge and experience: Philip Revell through earlier research with the Trust; James Henderson through action research with Aberdeenshire Community Planning Partnership and knowledge of the Aberdeenshire context. Govanhill Housing Association and Community Development Trust's profile also drew on earlier, extensive research by James Henderson (2014).

The applied knowledge of the three researchers – see Acknowledgements page – has been crucial to this interpretative research process as has further feedback through the consultation process. A depth of triangulation has been achieved in relation to policy and practice through seeking this participative-style of data analysis.

It is also important to recognise that this part of the process has been influenced by an 'appreciative' approach to discussion (data collection), analysis and interpretation with organisations and individuals – see, for instance, discussions of an 'appreciative inquiry' (Ludema et al. 2006). We have been looking to establish a constructive and optimistic view of what can be achieved or aspired to; although one that remains firmly 'grounded' in experiences of actual practice. Our approach has therefore sought to explore the potential of community anchor organisations: illustrating strong examples of current practice, and their further aspirations, in relation both to public service reform and local economic and social development.

*This is **not**, however, to claim that all community anchors are currently able to illustrate the full range of 'promising areas of practice' being shown by different exemplars featured in this report.* We return, therefore, in **Section 4** to consider the policy and practice context and how it would need to change significantly in order to support the wider development of effective community anchors.

In **Sections 4 and 5** we build on our interpretation and analysis of the exemplars through further ongoing dialogue with the Advisory Group as well as the anchor exemplars themselves and the other consultation participants (see Acknowledgements). We also, crucially, draw on the ongoing experience and participation of the three researchers in related community sector activity and shared learning.[3]

Following through from our growing evidence base on the potential contributions that community anchors can make to public service reform, we consider and reflect on: (a) the infrastructure that would support the wider development of community anchors and the community sector; and (b), the role of anchors in three key policy and practice themes:

1. local democratic practice – participatory, deliberative and representative
2. community resilience and local sustainability, and
3. social change: a more equitable society and sustainable future.

We use these **three key policy and practice themes** across the different sections of the report (1.4; 2.8; 3.6; 4.3 and Section 5) to sustain a focus on key areas of community anchor practice – and related partnership working between anchors and public services. These provide *spaces* in the report for ongoing reflective work on policy and practice that seeks to

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[3] For instance, the researchers have recently participated in: conferences organised by Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations; Highlands and Islands Enterprise; and Senscot (Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland); events organised by Scottish Communities Climate Action Network, Scottish Community Alliance and Nourish Scotland; and workshops within the Community Planning Network, the European Smart Urban Intermediaries project, and the Citizen Participation Network.

be both **action-orientated and more 'critical'** – the latter understood as 'challenging' in a constructive sense. *These spaces can valuably be used to sustain further dialogue, deliberation and research on policy and practice that continues beyond this research project.*

1.3: Understanding the community anchor 'model' and a diverse community sector

The notion of a community anchor organisation or similarly community-led body concerned to lead and facilitate local community-led regeneration and related partnership-working emerges in UK policymaking from the early 1990s within the Scottish Office and UK-wide, and in response to growing urban deprivation and inequality (Pearce, 1993; Thake: 2001, 2006). Research advocates also relate the model to aspirations for local community ownership and control, drawing from earlier local democratic and economic movements – particularly the local cooperative movement that develops in working class communities during the 19th century (Pearce: 1993, 2003; Wyler, 2009). This makes the use of the term 'community anchor organisations' or 'community anchors' in the UK distinct from that in the USA where it can include more generally any local organisation, whether public, private or non-profit (third) sector, that seeks to be concerned for local regeneration and place-making, and development of social capital and/or local employment and training.

Community anchors formally enter UK policy narratives under New Labour in 2004 (Firm Foundations) and in Scotland under the SNP Government in 2009 (Community Empowerment Action Plan; Scottish Government & COSLA, 2009). However, it is the ongoing advocacy by, and relevance to, some of the *community sector member networks* that has given the term both credibility and longevity – in Scotland, the Scottish Community Alliance (SCA)[4], Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS)[5] and Glasgow & West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA)[6]; in England, Locality[7]; and in Wales, the Development Trust Association Wales[8]. This also means these networks continue to have a fundamental role in defining, refining and sustaining the 'model', and with policymakers and researchers therefore playing supporting roles in this process.

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[4] http://www.scottishcommunityalliance.org.uk
[5] http://www.dtascot.org.uk
[6] http://gwsf.org.uk
[7] http://locality.org.uk
[8] http://www.dtawales.org.uk

The community anchor 'model' – the starting point

Local People Leading (2008) – now the Scottish Community Alliance (SCA) – advocated an initial community anchor definition around aspirations for six key features that individual organisations could aspire towards – rather than immediately achieve. Other bodies, Development Trust Association Scotland and Glasgow West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations, have worked with similar understandings. The Scottish Government and COSLA's Community Empowerment Action Plan (2009: 10) drew heavily from this initial broad definition.

Initial definition of the community anchor 'model' in Scotland (LPL, 2008)

- Under community control – accountable to the communities they serve
- Taking an holistic approach leading to multi-purpose functions and delivery of a wide range of activities
- [Often] providing a physical hub – as a focal point for the community, and an engine house for local community sector development
- Providing leadership – through support for community groups including marginalised groups and representing the views of the community more widely
- Focal point for community services – supporting communities in assessing and planning services, providing services through community enterprises and acting as a gateway
- Own and manage local assets – in order to achieve economic stability.

In this publication we use the term **community anchor** to point to community organisations holding these three broad aspirations:
- **community-led or controlled:** with robust local community governance and community networks/connections; and financial self-sufficiency for core work sustained through community ownership.
- **holistic, multi-purpose or 'inherently complex':** concerned for local economy and social capital; local services and partnerships; local environment and sustainable development; community sector development; local leadership and advocacy.
- **responsive and committed to local community and context:** responding to that context whether urban, rural, remote and experiences of poverty, deprivation and inequality, and committed for the long-term – a credible local brand.

This is not, then, a one-size-fits-all definition but a broad 'model' that supports on-going dialogue within the community sector itself about the role of community anchors and their development in ways relevant to local contexts.

Key debates for community anchor policy and practice

This understanding of the community anchor 'model', grounded in community sector experience, supports ongoing dialogue on key elements and issues for community anchors. These include:

Independent community anchors: financial self-sufficiency, at least of core functions, and strong community governance – through a board, membership and local associational roots – are key to sustaining the long-term commitment of an anchor to local community interests; sometimes described as a local mission or vision. This can create an independence from local government and other powerful local bodies, e.g. private land-owners, other public bodies, and so a strong local 'voice' or 'voices' capable of committing to local community interests for the long-term. This is sometimes called 'sustainable independence' and could offer communities a sustained local advocacy on key local issues including inequalities (Weaver, 2009; Hutchison & Cairns, 2010, McKee, 2012, Henderson, 2015).

'Inherent complexity' and 'economies of scope': community anchors are able to draw from a range of resources including trading activity and local economic activity, local social capital and local political leadership as well as state resources to address the 'inherent complexity' of their field of practice. They can then play a holistic, multi-purpose local role: one that builds from local commitment and avoids chasing economies of scale, emphasising instead 'economies of scope'[9] and/or their 'inherent complexity'. The emphasis here, however, is on 'efficiencies' that a complex local coordination of activity can offer rather than market-driven cost savings. Indeed profit-seeking business would likely be shocked at the 'inherent inefficiency' of an anchor's long-term commitment to its people and community over development of economies of scale. Whilst anchors may be able to generate savings through the complexity of their roles and local commitment, the aim is to use these 'saved' resources to further invest in the local community infrastructure (Weaver, 2009; Henderson, 2015).

Long-term partnership and relational working: given the leadership role of community anchors, then, they are likely to be seeking to *initiate* local development and partnership working, rather than be responding to partnership offers from the public sector (or larger third sector bodies and private sector). Indeed, community organisations often find themselves being offered funding for short-term partnership working, when what they need is a commitment to long-term relational working that provides the opportunities for local organisations to build their strength and capacity. Achieving partnerships that work for purposes relevant to all partners, and not just the more powerful, is crucial to the longevity of community anchors and the social benefits they can offer, but is also deeply challenging (Weaver, 2009; Headlam & Rowe, 2014).

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[9] 'Economies of scope' is a term used in economics to point to the potential efficiencies of the production of multiple goods – so an alternative to economies of scale. Here, we use it as a metaphor for the complexity of social activity (rather than goods) that community anchors can achieve – and so an alternative to organisations working across larger scales but without therefore a local community commitment and/or holistic approach.

What types of organisation seek to be a community anchor?

The Scottish Government's 2011 Regeneration Policy (Scottish Government, 2011a) commits to community-led regeneration via community anchor organisations, recognising the following are well placed for the role:

- community development trusts (CDTs); and
- community-controlled housing associations (CCHAs).

However, not all CDTs or CCHAs will necessarily aspire to this particular role. Crucially, there are a wider range of possible types of community sector organisations and many are not aiming to be community anchors. The Regeneration Policy, for instance, also recognises the *potential* for other sources of organisations that *might* aspire to become community anchors including: community councils, community social enterprises, community food groups and community-led health projects. Some of these might in fact be, or connect to, a CDT or CCHA. Further, there is potential for a number of local community organisations to work to fulfil the community anchor role together – an 'eco-system' perhaps.

What is important here is whether a community organisation:

- has, *either*, an aspiration and growing capacity for this complex, community-led anchor role … not the initial background and focus of the community organisation;
- *or*, in fact, has other equally-valid aspirations and seeks to be a different type of community organisation – see below.

Community sector diversity and local community sector infrastructure

There is then a variety of community sector organisations and groups, all not-for-profit and part of a larger, diverse third sector, and each playing different roles – although inevitably overlapping. Some are focused on particular types of community-based and -led activity – e.g. community transport, community-led health and wellbeing, community climate action, community food growing and local food economies, community energy, community social enterprise, community arts, credit unions and community finance, and so on– see the Scottish Community Alliance numerous member bodies (http://www.scottishcommunityalliance.org.uk/about/). Each seeks to be accountable in some form or other to its membership and/or a wider body of local people. This will include organisations accountable to local communities of interest and identity, such to race, class gender and sexuality, race, disability and health, faith and belief and so on.

Many of these organisations may start with a single focus, but because of their community roots take on a number of other roles e.g. getting involved with local decision-making processes; making connections to other local bodies; supporting social capital; working with services and so on. A community-based social enterprise, for instance, concerned for

improving local health and wellbeing, will become active on a number of fronts – see, for instance, [social enterprise profiles](#)[10] – and so an 'anchor' in a broader sense of the word.

Community councils have certain statutory roles, e.g. in relation to planning, but also can provide a forum for community discussions and manage certain community resources; potentially working with a local community anchor organisation.

Some community organisations might have a wider role in supporting development across a number of inter-relating communities e.g. perhaps a community-led local development 'agency' or a local community organisation of identity such as gender or race. Smaller community or neighbourhood groups and networks may be formally constituted and relatively well-resourced or very informal and run on volunteer time alone.

Community anchors then have distinct roles in building, facilitating and providing local community sector infrastructure, and are part of a wider and diverse community sector.

Finally, it is important to recognise that a range of wider third sector and public sector bodies, if not community sector organisations themselves, will have supportive and enabling roles in relation to the community sector – particularly as those concerned for community development (community learning and development) with community groups and those concerned for local economic development and regeneration.

Other useful terms

Community sector: not-for-profit, locally-led and organised community organisations, groups and networks – local communities of place and interest (Thake, 2006).

Community-led regeneration: led by the local community sector with a community anchor likely to play a key leading role, and an increasing focus on community ownership; in partnership with, not driven by, external public and third sector bodies (Hardie, 2012).

Anchor institutions: Originally a term generated in the USA, but now an increasingly used term in the UK, these are larger public, third and, perhaps, private sector bodies with a local commitment and working across a number of communities e.g. universities, hospitals, councils, and housing associations. Although not community sector organisations, they can be well-placed to provide local employment and local procurement and support development of community organisations, coops and the community sector (Jackson & McInroy, 2017).

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[10] https://senscot.net/resources/social-enterprise-profiles/

1.4: Public service reform in Scotland: new spaces for community sector action?

The 2011 Christie Commission continues to provide an ongoing narrative for Scottish public service reform – a 'Scottish Approach'. As we highlighted in the Introduction (1.1), we will use the '4 Ps' as an easy and useful summary of its 'solutions' to the challenges of public service reform – one that supports discussions in Section 3 of the exemplars developed in Section 2.

Christie Commission and the 4 'Ps'

Partnership: public service providers must be required to work much more closely in partnership, to integrate service provision and thus improve the outcomes they achieve. (p.vi)

Participation: recognising that effective services must be designed with and for people and communities – not delivered 'top down' for administrative convenience … working closely with individuals and communities to understand their needs, maximise talents and resources, support self-reliance, and build resilience. (p.ix)

Prevention: that public service organisations prioritise prevention, reducing inequalities and promoting equality (p.54) … [and further] All public services need to reduce demand in the system through prevention and early intervention to tackle the root causes of problems and negative outcomes. (p.23)

Performance: the adoption of preventative approaches, in particular approaches which build on the active participation of service users and communities, will contribute significantly to making the best possible use of money and other assets. They will help to eradicate duplication and waste and, critically, take demand out of the system over the longer term (p.55)…all public services constantly seek to improve performance and reduce costs, and are open, transparent and accountable' (p.72).

However, as we also have recognised in 1.1, the Commission's work is a much richer space for supporting discussions, and draws on many inter-linking narratives and ideas. Three further key narratives are:

- its concern for *localism*: local communities of place and interest, local partnerships and participation, community-led solutions and place-based approaches;
- emphasis on *empowerment* of a diversity of people and groups: communities of place, service-users, families and carers, citizens, communities of identity and interest … and public service staff;

- its linking of public service reform and a shared public-sector ethos *and* aspirations for balanced (inclusive) economic development (p.9) – a recognition of the relationship between the state and the economy.

The work of community anchors, and their activists, volunteers and staff, very much begins with their local commitment to and role in *community-led place-making*. As we illustrate in Sections 2 and 3, they are likely to be working in the gaps where the state (withdrawal) and the market (market failure) currently do not venture, and to start by focusing on making a difference in their community or place. This, then, is a highly-challenging context within which to work.

In recognising such community-led place-making as a key focus, we therefore give an emphasis in our discussions across the report, and particularly in Section 4, on key elements of the Christie Commission's narrative on empowerment, particularly as:

- **local democracy**: and the local accountability of services to communities;
- **community resilience**: and autonomy – which we seek to connect to local sustainable development.

The Christie Commission and community-led place-making

In considering the future delivery of public services, we have focussed on the importance of the 'community'. By this, we mean the myriad of overlapping ways in which people come together through a common set of needs and aspirations, both as communities of place and communities of interest. Place-based communities could be a street, neighbourhood, housing estate, village or small town – in fact, any geographically-defined area with which people identify. There are also multiple and overlapping communities within any one area, which will emerge through a focus on outcomes. (p30)

This means (p22):

- *That public service organisations engage with people and communities directly, acknowledging their ultimate authority in the interests of fairness and legitimacy.*
- *That they work more closely with individuals and communities to understand their circumstances, needs and aspirations and enhance self reliance and community resilience.*

It follows from our analysis throughout this report that action on community-led regeneration should be a priority for the Scottish Government, local government and their partners. This is also an acute example of the need for integrated service provision in that action must address the highly localised nature of multiple deprivation. (p59)

We recognise, too, that in working for **local change**, community anchors will inevitably need to engage with wider policy issues and social systems and seek **social change.** In Sections 3, 4 and 5 we also draw on the Christie Commission's wider societal narratives of 'more equitable society', more balanced (inclusive) economic development and the prevention of inequalities – and its emphasis on a positive future for all. Crucially, we seek to recognise that these aspirations for change through public service reform are taking place in a highly challenging context of public spending constraint or 'austerity' – see Hastings et al. (2013) which points to local authorities with higher levels of deprivation being hit harder by public spending cuts than other local authorities.

As outlined in 1.2, we continue to return to these three reflective themes – local democracy, community resilience, social change – in particular in 2.8, 3.6, 4.3 and Section 5.

A dynamic, developing policy context

The policy context is, of course, dynamic and since the Commission reported, policy and practice has continued to develop. Legislation has followed including *the Public Bodies (Joint Working) Scotland Act 2014*, for health and social care service integration, and *the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015,* in relation to community planning partnerships. Both emphasise locality planning, and the latter takes forward aspects of the Commission's approach and gives particular emphasis to the roles of **community bodies**[11] working with Community Planning Partnerships (CPPs). New 'spaces' include:

- **preventing inequalities** via Locality Plans and Local Outcome Improvement Plans – to which CPPs should secure the participation of community bodies and communities;
- **'community rights'** including participation requests (designing and providing local services), asset transfers and community-right-to-buy.[12]

The extent to which the 2015 Act and CPPs are able to follow a trajectory towards the localism of partnership and participation, that Christie argues for and from which community anchors could also actively contribute, remains to be seen; particularly given the public spending context.

It is crucial to recognise, too, that community anchors are not simply a driver of public service reform. They have a wider commitment to local economic and social development, local leadership and local community interests, and pursue wider local democratic activity – participatory activities and their own local governance.

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[11] Community bodies are varied, and the definition can shift according to which Part of the Act is being considered but Part 2, for instance, includes terms relevant to community anchors such as social enterprises, mutuals and local organisations representing the interests of those facing inequalities (inc. socio-economic).
[12] Other key areas in relation to community bodies and the community sector include: provision of allotments, use of Common Good funds, and community/public involvement in forestry and football clubs.

1.5: In conclusion

Across this report we will use the following broad definition of community anchors as focused on or aspiring to be:

- **community-led or controlled:** with robust local community governance and community networks/connections; and financial self-sufficiency for core work sustained through community ownership.
- **holistic, multi-purpose or 'inherently complex':** concerned for local economy and social capital; local services and partnerships; local environment and sustainable development; community sector development; local leadership and advocacy.
- **responsive and committed to local community and context***:* responding to that context whether urban, rural, remote and experiences of poverty, deprivation and inequality, and committed for 'the long-term' – a credible local brand.

We position them as a key part of a wider local community sector infrastructure and community sector diversity. Together they can make a distinctive and unique contribution to not only public service reform but more generally locally-led economic and social development. We illustrate this potential through the exemplars in Section 2.

In Sections 3 and 4, we explore their role in relation to the aspirations for Scottish public service reform generated through the Christie Commission (2011) and the '4 Ps' – partnership, participation, prevention and performance. In doing so, we emphasise community-led place-making as a key starting point for community anchors, and in the process, to sustain a focus on **local democracy**, **community resilience** and **social change**.

2. Community anchor organisations in action: six exemplars

2.1 Introduction

In this section, we present profiles of six community sector organisations as exemplars of strong community anchors – as per the 'model' outlined in 1.3 and in relation to the three characteristics of community governance, multi-purpose roles, local responsiveness.

We worked with the Advisory Group (see Acknowledgements) to establish a useful spread of such organisations: across urban, rural and remote contexts and the social geography of Scotland; and, in relation to both areas of high deprivation and other areas where disadvantage may be less visible, but very real e.g. rural, remote, mixed communities – so uneven development across Scotland.

We have included two community-controlled housing associations (CCHAs) from the West of Scotland to do justice to the long-standing history and varieties of the organisations there. These highlight both a very long-standing organisation from the 1970s, now with its own community development trust (CDT), in an old ethnically-diverse residential area; and a newer organisation working in a peripheral housing estate of Glasgow since the 1990s. We have included four CDTs working more widely across the country, which are newer in origin, and cover urban, rural and remote contexts

The six exemplars cannot cover the full diversity of community organisations or communities across all of Scotland – they should not be understood as a representative sample. As we highlighted in our methodology section (1.2), our focus on exemplars that illustrate good practice is an appreciative approach that builds understanding of the potential of community anchors and understanding of their practices. In line with the understanding of the community anchor 'model' outlined (1.3), each exemplar provides an understanding of the context in which they work; their governance, asset-based and income generation; and then their complex, multi-purpose (holistic) activity.

Here then is a *rich picture* of what is possible that supports the later discussions that follow in Sections 3 (anchors and the Christie Commission agenda) and 4 (infrastructure for anchors and wider reflections).

The anchors profiled here are present in alphabetical order:

- Ardenglen Housing Association, East Castlemilk, Glasgow
- Glenboig Neighbourhood House, Glenboig, North Lanarkshire
- Govanhill Housing Association and Community Development Trust, Glasgow
- Greener Kirkcaldy, Kirkcaldy, Fife
- Huntly and District Development Trust, Aberdeenshire
- Stòras Uibhist (South Uist), Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles)
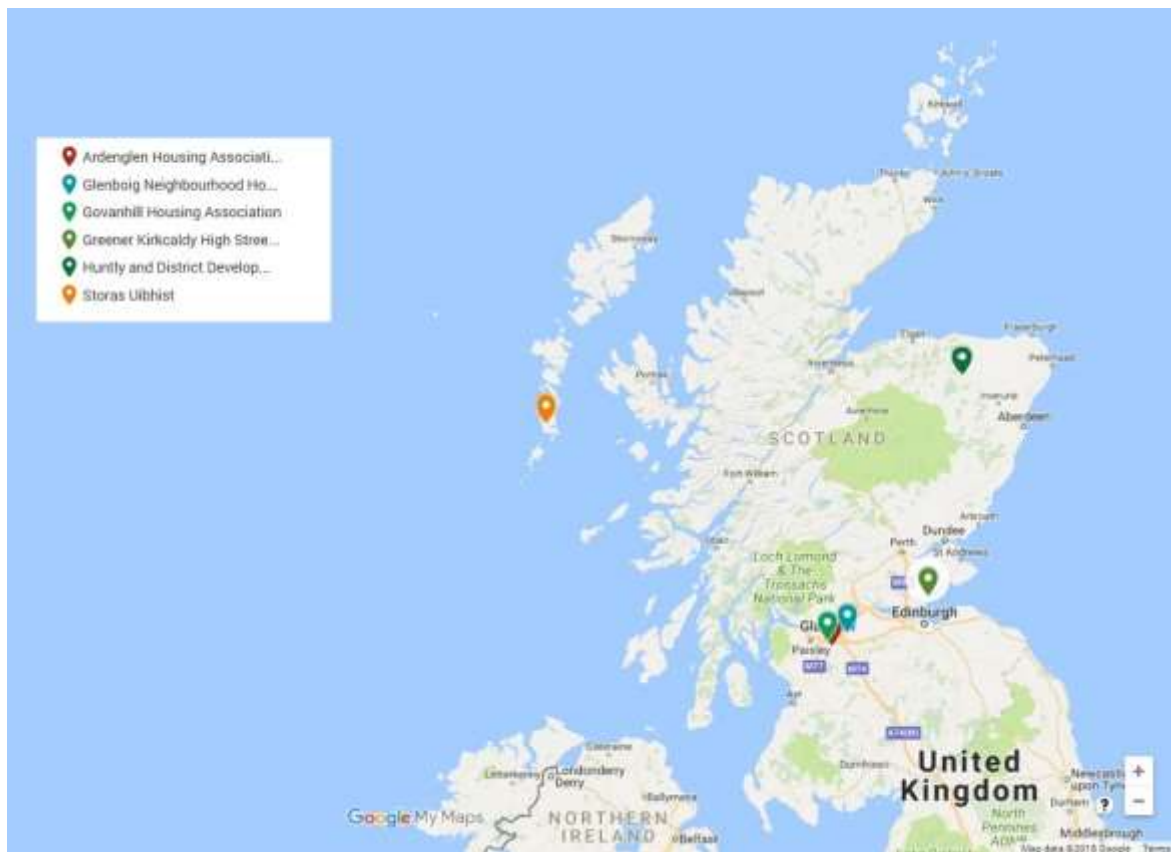
Locations of the exemplars

2.2 Ardenglen Housing Association (AHA)

AHA as a community anchor illustrates:

- a *highly participatory approach* to the development and running of wide-ranging community learning and regeneration activities that community ownership and control can bring.
- how a *multi-purpose, locally-committed body* can support the building of strong, trusting relationships, which can empower local people – helping to mitigate some of the impacts of welfare reform, sustain tenancies and embed community cohesion.

Background and context

Ardenglen Housing Association (AHA) is a community-controlled housing association which owns almost one thousand homes in the east of Castlemilk in Glasgow. It was formed in 1990 thanks to the efforts of local tenants who were determined to bring change to their area and to be involved with the improvement and management of their homes. It merged with Castlebrae Cooperative in 1996. Whereas AHA had followed a demolition and new-build route, Castlebrae had chosen to refurbish most of its tenement properties and they report that anti-social behaviour is still more prevalent in that part of their stock compared with their new-build two-storey, 'front and back door' housing, for which there is high demand. AHA now holds assets worth approx. £22M with an annual turnover of £3.8M (2016).

Castlemilk is one of the four large peripheral housing schemes developed by Glasgow Corporation in the 1950s to tackle a severe housing shortage and relocate people from the overcrowded inner city slum areas such as the Gorbals. The 34,000 people moved to Castlemilk on the south-east edge of the city were provided with open spaces, a clean environment and indoor toilets and bathrooms. But they experienced, too, the dislocation of communities, lack of local facilities or employment opportunities, and limited and expensive public transport which, combined with the poor quality of much of the new tenement style housing, led to numerous and complex social problems (Pacione 1990).

The population of the area has now dropped to around 15,000 and a major regeneration strategy implemented in the 1980s has focused on improving the housing stock and developing local facilities including a swimming pool, sports centre, shopping arcade and community centres. Community groups and cooperative housing associations have played a major role in regenerating housing and improving amenities for local people.

Castlemilk[13] is still ranked in the top 5% most deprived in Scotland (SIMD 2016) with low household income, poor health, high unemployment and low educational attainment.

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[13] See
http://www.understandingglasgow.com/profiles/neighbourhood_profiles/2_south_sector/53_castlemilk and

> Low aspirations, arising through decades of deprivation, were highlighted as a challenge by AHA:
>
> *"It's the community mind-set which takes longer ... the negative perception of things that comes through a fourth generation, lacking skills and confidence and self-worth in some cases."*
>
> (AHA interviewee)

Governance, assets and sustainability

Governance of the Housing Association is through a 12-strong volunteer Management Board (10 women; two men). Several of these volunteers have come through their 'The Only Way is Up' (TOWiU) – see below – community development/regeneration programme which has helped to give them the new skills and confidence to think that they are 'good enough to get involved'.

There is some overlap with their 10-strong Community Committee. Originally formed in 2010, so as to take on the management of tenants' social events and activities, this committee is now responsible for managing and running the Maureen Cope Community Hall. There is also a separately constituted, nine-member, 'Teen Zone', Youth Committee that takes responsibility for overseeing all AHA's youth activities. Ongoing training of volunteers is provided across AHA's governance structure and is supported by their membership of Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations.

Whilst its large asset-base of housing stock undoubtedly gives AHA a solid underpinning, it is still totally dependent on grant funding for its wider 'regeneration' activities as Scottish Housing Regulator rules preclude any cross-subsidy of regeneration activities from housing income. To seek to generate ongoing income, AHA partnered with Castlemilk & Carmunnock Community Windpark Trust to plan for a community-owned wind turbine, securing a site just across the city boundary in South Lanarkshire. The Scottish Government's Community and Renewable Energy Schemes (CARES) – see Appendix 1 – funding was used for a feasibility study but, unfortunately, planning approval was refused because of concern over possible interference with air traffic control radar systems. Whilst technology to mitigate this concern will shortly be available, the financial viability of the project has since been undermined by changes to the Feed-in-Tariff – a UK Government subsidy to support renewable energy.

view SIMD datazone (eg.S01009983 – Glenwood North) at:
http://simd.scot/2016/#/simd2016_5pc/BTTTTTT/14/-4.2216/55.8053/

Multi-purpose role and activities

Our mission: To invest in your home and our community and deliver what matters most to our customers.

Over the past 20 years, AHA has channelled almost £50m of public money into transforming the housing, local environment and living conditions of their community in East Castlemilk. They pride themselves on providing high quality social housing combined with a responsive and efficient management and maintenance service.

They also see themselves as community builders rather than simply builders in the community and aspire to make East Castlemilk a safer, better place to live. They therefore work with many partners to deliver a wide range of community-based activities aimed at filling gaps in services and address issues identified by their community including: money and welfare rights advice; energy advice; community learning and development activities – literacy and numeracy, employability and practical skills training, IT skills training and English language lessons; youth activities; positive parenting and intergenerational activities.

Their community venue, the Maureen Cope Community Hall, is run by their volunteer Community Committee. The hall is a vibrant venue, open from early morning to late evening across the week and regularly achieves in excess of 1000 visits per month. Formerly the hall of the now redundant St Martin's Church, the Community Committee jumped at the chance to support AHA staff to take on the lease of this as a base from which to develop and deliver community regeneration services in early 2011.

AHA employs 20 staff, 2.5FTE of which are dedicated to supporting these wider, community development and 'regeneration' activities. Ardenglen had previously been involved in Scottish Government's 'Wider Role' Funding Programme[14]. Their current programme started in 2011 as a direct response to Government changes around the welfare agenda, and the AHA Board's desire to support local people through the challenges of welfare reform.

Initially they were very nervous about offering anything labelled as 'employment' training because of the lack of local employment opportunities and concerns about raising false

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[14] The Wider Role Funding Programme was replaced following the Regeneration Policy Review (Scottish Government, 2011a) by the People and Communities Fund, see: https://beta.gov.scot/policies/community-empowerment/empowering-communities-fund/

expectations. However, AHA now highlights these community learning and development activities, operating under the umbrella name of 'The Only Way is Up' (TOWiU), as a key part of their role in the Castlemilk community. Participation is open to anyone in the Castlemilk area and around 45% of participants are not AHA tenants.
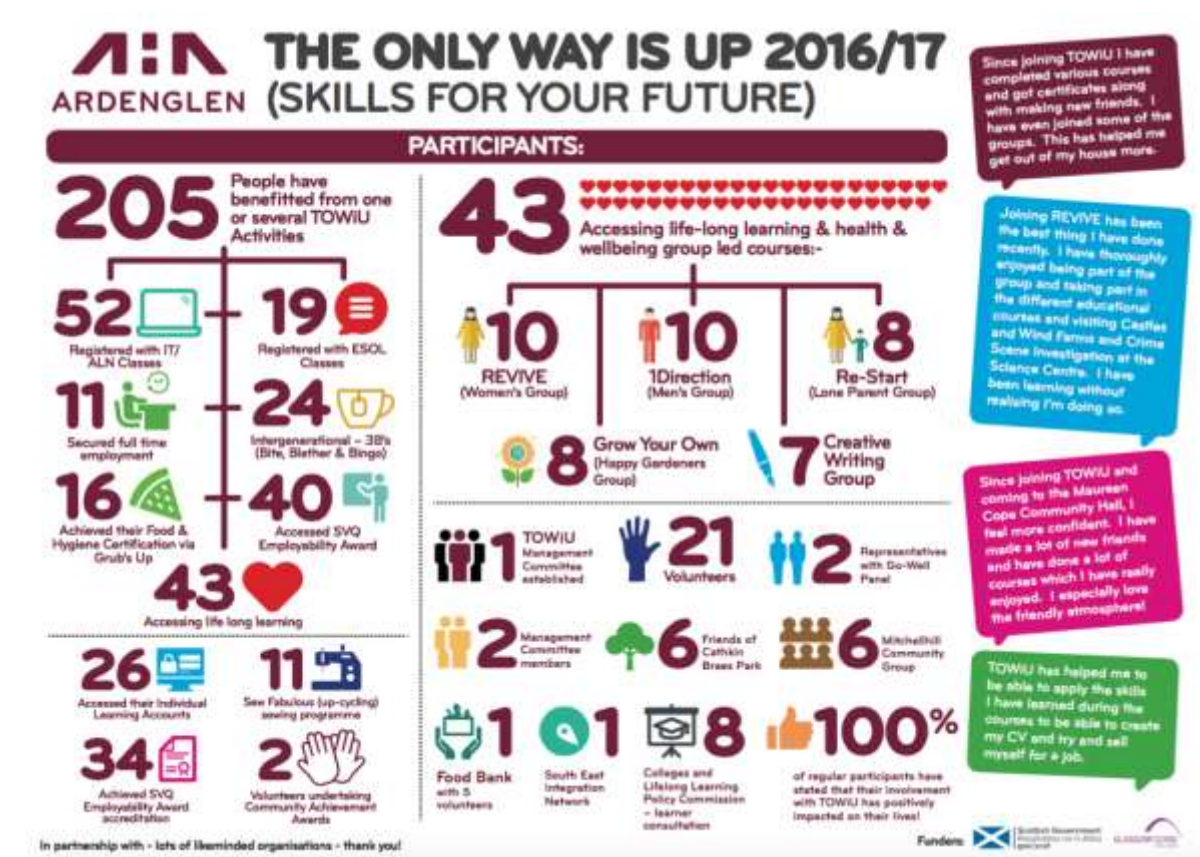
Over 35 partner organisations are involved in delivering their whole programme of TOWiU activities. This partnership-based approach successfully stretches their resources. They report that partners frequently like to use TOWiU to pilot and refine new programmes because of their engaged and responsive participants who are prepared to *"ask questions, and to give partners a bit of a hard time."*

> *"Ardenglen HA and the community they serve have taken a highly participatory approach to the development and running of their regeneration activities. They have taken the time to build trusting relationships with local residents and empower them to engage via the Housing Association with other partners and agencies to develop and deliver real and targeted support for those most in need in their community."*

(CPP partner)

Thanks to a highly personalised and relational approach by the staff, around 10% of new participants go on to become volunteers, playing an active role in the planning and running of activities. This all helps to develop self-confidence and personal capacity, fusing personal development with ongoing community benefit. Many others successfully move on into employment (5%) or further education and training (20%).

2.3 Glenboig Neighbourhood House (GNH), Glenboig, North Lanarkshire

GNH as a community anchor illustrates:

- the role of a *community-controlled hub* as a focus for complex, locally-tailored social care and other community services;
- *long-term community commitment:* the dedication and perseverance of key staff and board members, combined with strong community support and engagement, can enable significant achievements and remarkable performance despite challenging circumstances and inadequate facilities.

Background and context

Three miles north of the town of Coatbridge in semi-rural North Lanarkshire, and 15 miles east of Glasgow, Glenboig was a thriving industrial village for just over one hundred years.

Closure of its renowned fireclay works, coal mines and then the nearby Gartcosh steel works in the late 1980s, led to significant unemployment and an increase in social problems. Most of the village still scores high in the SIMD rankings for unemployment and low education and skills.[15] However, as one of North Lanarkshire's *community growth areas,* the population is set to double to over 4000 over the next few years.

To date, the new housing and influx of newcomers have reportedly not changed the friendly character of the community which retains its "*unique village kind of mentality*" and strong sense of solidarity. There are a number of small businesses based in the village but limited facilities apart from a pub, a part-time convenience store and a number of takeaways.

In 1999, some residents came together to discuss how to address local environmental issues including the regeneration of Garnqueen Loch and the surrounding derelict, former brickworks land, and seeking to create a village park. Shortly after this, North Lanarkshire Council Social Work Department threatened to close GNH – two former police cottages that were used for a

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[15] See: http://simd.scot/2016/#/simd2016/BTTTTTT/13/-4.0536/55.8905/ accessed 4/12/17

few activities such as a pensioners' afternoon lunch club, pipe band and a parent and toddler group. The community fought to keep the House open, and local residents formed a Steering Group to take over the property as a base to deliver services, predominantly for young people.

Since that time, Glenboig Neighbourhood House (GNH) has gone from delivering small-scale services with two sessional workers to being a *community hub* for the whole village, engaging with residents of all ages and delivering a wide range of services that aim:

> *"… to make the lives of residents of Glenboig and surrounding areas healthier, wealthier and fairer, safer and stronger, greener and smarter"*

… so reflecting the Scottish Government's strategic objectives.

About 20 (FTE) staff are now employed and over 120 volunteers are involved, around 30 on a weekly basis and another 80-90 or so with organising one of their four main annual community events (Easter, Christmas, Halloween, Gala Day). They have recently vacated the original 'Neighbourhood House' premises because of its poor state of repair and now operate solely from Glenboig Community Centre. They have leased this from North Lanarkshire Council on a month-by-month basis for over three years whilst they seek to negotiate an asset transfer.

Governance, assets and sustainability

For historic reasons, the organisation has two separate and parallel legal structures that they are in the process of rationalising under the umbrella of the new Glenboig Development Trust. A board of 12 local volunteer trustees is drawn from the five historic village neighbourhoods, the newer housing developments and include a young person's representative. The trustees have a range of skills and backgrounds including teaching, engineering, finance, business, property and IT. Many have been on the board since the start and the current Chair is their former MSP. Total turnover is currently about £520k, around 25% of which is earned income from sales of goods and services, including services contracted by North Lanarkshire Council. The balance is made up of a dozen or more grants from a range of sources including Big Lottery, Scottish Government and charitable trusts.

For many years, they have sought to develop a community-owned, purpose built 'Life Centre' facility but have felt frustrated in their efforts to work with the Council to secure

suitable land. They have had a similar experience of being "*passed from pillar to post constantly*" in efforts to secure any community benefit from the new housing developments: "*it's not that the individuals aren't supportive… it's the structure, it's trying to communicate with all the different departments".* More recently, their focus has been on securing a community asset transfer of ownership of the Community Centre building, although this is far from ideal for their needs. Whilst this has proved to be a long and drawn out process North Lanarkshire Council have now agreed a significantly discounted price and the transfer is progressing through the legal process. They have also recently secured ownership of 1/3 acre of land bequeathed to the senior citizens of Glenboig and are developing this as a community growing garden.

In more positive public sector engagement, GNH are closely involved in local health and social care integration through leading the Coatbridge locality Health and Social Care Consortium and are embedded in the local community planning partnership as active members of the Coatbridge Community Learning and Development (CLD) Partnership including membership of the Youth Provision and Employability sub-groups. Staff from the CLD Coatbridge Locality also offer Community Capacity Building support to the board members, as appropriate.

GNH is a member of Development Trust Association Scotland and the Community Transport Association Scotland.

Multi-purpose role and activities

Community hub: GNH run a wide range of 'community learning and development' activities from Glenboig Community Centre. Apart from a community café, which also provides employment and skills training, the centre houses a community shop, which sells "*high quality, fresh fruit and veg each week direct from the fruit market which we then sell on at cost price"*, and a post office.

It also provides a venue for adult learning activities and courses such as computing for beginners, sign language, First Aid, REHIS,[16] Healthy Eating, Art classes etc. as well as for Citizen's Advice Bureau, Councillor Surgeries, Carers Group, 'Tea and a Blether' dementia group, Routes to Work surgeries and Work Club (support into employment). The café is open daily and provides home deliveries for pensioners, carers and anyone unable to get to the café for health or any other reason. Services for children and young people and a Senior Care Project for older people operate six days per week.

Senior care project*:* Their support for older people includes a garden/handyman service, weekly activities, organising and supporting respite breaks and a unique telephone wellbeing/ befriending service; a regular phone call to ensure older people remain well connected with their community and are informed of social or recreational activity which

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[16] Royal Environmental Health Institute of Scotland courses in food safety and health, see: http://www.rehis.com/community-training

may be of interest to them. This service can also reduce feelings of isolation and promote independent living by providing a regular human contact and the reassurance of an early alert system when calls go unanswered; 135 older people have accessed this service in the past year.

Community transport: GNH has two minibuses serving nursery age children, young people, older people, disabled people and isolated groups and individuals in Glenboig and the surrounding villages who have limited transport options. The transport enables a door-to-door service for children and older people to attend activities at the Community Centre. These include a Jelly Bean Club for school aged children, bowling, Arts & Crafts, and Tea Dances for older people. Transport for older people is supported by both staff and volunteers, trained as 'Passenger Assistants'.

Community-led local planning: As part of the Coalfields Community Futures Programme they have recently completed a cross-community engagement and planning process involving local community groups, schools and churches, as well as businesses and local residents, to produce a five-year community vision and action plan. This project was supported by a Coalfields Participatory Budget that has enabled some early actions identified by the plan to be implemented.

2.4 Govanhill Housing Association and Community Development Trust, Glasgow

The Housing Association (GHHA) and its Community Development Trust (GCDT) illustrate the community anchor role through:

- *a complex matrix of community-led governance and connectedness across a diverse community*, combined with a Service Hub (with public services) and local Community Sector Forum
- committed, *long-term term community leadership and advocacy* in response to crucial private rental housing issues and the need for significant investment in local housing – that has also influenced national policymaking.

Background and context

GHHA was one of the first community-controlled housing associations in Glasgow, established in 1974 in response to an earlier housing crisis in relation to the repair and refurbishment of tenement flats. This was resolved by the then Glasgow Corporation and the District Council, and the Housing Corporation, using asset transfer, significant investment and community housing associations with their local committees. GHHA, now forty-odd years later, remains active in the wider Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Association (GWSFHA).[17]

The Housing Association currently owns over 2500 properties in Govanhill – almost all of the social housing. It has wider housing roles through provision of factoring services to 1100 private residential and commercial properties and Govanhill Service Hub (see below). It has 60+ staff and is a Registered Social Landlord with charitable status.

In 1992, it formed Govanhill Community Development Trust (GCDT) as a trading subsidiary, wholly-owned by GHHA. This currently has eight staff and is a member of the Development Trust Association Scotland. GCDT extends GHHA's work further as a community anchor, managing a range of:

- **local offices/workspaces:** for small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), including some for local initiatives, which generate (unrestricted) income for community activity and some local employment; and
- **local community development:** family support work, language and literacy programme, employability, volunteering, environmental work, integration activities.

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[17] GWSFHA has 66 members, 41 in Glasgow, who provide affordable housing for 80,000 households in the west of Scotland. It is a member of the Scottish Community Alliance.

Govanhill is a densely-populated, multi-ethnic working class urban community of some 14,500 people within Glasgow's Southside – where over 50 languages are spoken (Bynner, 2010). There's a mix of social housing, private rental and owner-occupied homes; a rich community life with a diversity of community networks. Many, however, live with high levels of economic, social and health inequalities – and associated poverty and discrimination.[18]

Govanhill was born of the growing industrialisation in Glasgow during the 19th century and has continued to act as a first port of call for many newly-arriving migrants and families: Irish, Italian and East European Jewish communities at first; later in the 1960s and 1970s, Pakistani/South Asian families; from the 2000s, East European peoples – in particular Slovak and Romanian Roma communities fleeing discrimination; and currently significant numbers of refugees and asylum seekers.

The community remains vulnerable to the changing economic and social policy dynamics within the UK, EU and global economy. More particularly, it has been plagued since the mid-2000s by a private rental *slum housing crisis* with its roots in the UK state's 'right-to-buy' housing policies of the 1980s. Many private sector landlords have failed to invest in the maintenance of ageing tenement properties and blocks, whilst continuing to rent them out in poor states of repair and in over-crowded conditions to vulnerable (im)migrant workers/families. The resulting housing crisis has also been generating social tensions across the community's ethnic diversity.

Governance, assets and sustainability

Community-led governance: GHHA is registered as a Co-operative and Community Benefit Society with a 15-strong management committee of *both* tenants and residents elected via its 400+ members at its AGM – and which seeks to reflect the diversity of the community. Committee members oversee a range of functions through sub-committees – training for Board members is provided by Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations[19] and other housing groups including Share[20] and EVH[21]. GCDT has nine directors, five of whom are directly appointed from the Housing Association committee; and four external directors bring additional knowledge and experience.

The local democratic and accountable nature of this cooperative and community-controlled structure is enhanced by the extensive *community connectedness* that the Housing Association and the Trust generate through the diversity of their work commitments – as

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[18] View Glasgow Centre for Population Health's Community Profile of Govanhill published in 2014, which makes comparisons to Glasgow averages, highlighting higher levels of overcrowding and income deprivation: http://www.understandingglasgow.com/profiles/neighbourhood_profiles/2_south_sector/49_govanhill
[19] http://gwsf.org.uk/
[20] https://www.share.org.uk/
[21] https://www.evh.org.uk/

below. The strong asset-base of GHHA/GCDT as housing and office/workspaces, and related staffing and administrative structures, give greater financial resilience and strengthens governance resilience – a significant 'sustainable independence' (see 1.3).

Multiple role and activities

Local economic and related social development activities: together GHHA and GCDT through employment, provision of workspaces, training programmes and support for the wider local community sector supports local economic development and activity. GCDT's Backcourts Improvement programme – funded by the Scottish Government and the local authority – saw 170 local people given paid training opportunities as part of a wider regeneration programme of shared backcourts. This has meant that GHHA/CDT have provided employability training in horticulture and grounds maintenance and supported the

majority of participants, including many local Roma residents, into work. Roma residents have also been offered additional support to improve their English and participate in the Backcourts scheme. This has had the additional effect of securing the right to benefits, following additional eligibility criteria subsequently introduced for members of the A8 and A2 accession states.[22]

GCDT has also been working towards establishing a social enterprise hub. This builds on the development of a short-term support hub in 2012–13 and its participation in a trans-European social enterprise project. GCDT has also encouraged and supported the formation of new social enterprises through a social enterprise Dragon's Den; funding from the local authority has also supported this work. Its experience in developing community enterprises for environmental employability training and community food has shown the challenge of sustaining trading organisations in the longer-term in communities with a low economic base. Each has supported social capital but not generated the necessary levels of trading income. GCDT is now to employ a specialist social enterprise worker for further development and is looking to explore social enterprises involved in cleaning and childcare.

Local social development, community-building and 'locally-focused' public services: beyond the key social welfare provision of high quality housing and related services, GHHA

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[22] In 2004, eight Central and Eastern European countries – Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia – known as the 'A8 states', joined the EU; Romania and Bulgaria, the 'A2 states', joined in 2007. However, A8 state citizens only gained full access in May 2011 to UK welfare and employment benefits; and A2 citizens, not until the end of December 2013.

and GCDT undertake a complex array of activities that support community participation, social capital and local welfare provision. This includes:

Community development and tenant/resident participation activity:

- Backcourts programme and related training and employability – and the subsequent delivery of a Backcourts Warden scheme;
- Resident and Tenant Groups – including MERGE Welfare, a Black and Minority Ethnic resident group;
- Supporting other local community groups such as the local community council, Integration Network and a female multicultural cookery group;
- Community information shop and community information website;
- Community development programmes: Language & Literacy, Volunteering, Employability, Family Support and Integration;
- Work to support Sistema Scotland's development of *Big Noise Govanhill* (see 3.4).

Community sector development – support for other community organisations through:

- workspaces for community-based organisations e.g. Govanhill Law Centre;
- Govanhill Community Action (GoCA) – local community sector forum.

Welfare Hub:

- Welfare services for tenants and some residents – in response to welfare reform;
- Inclusive welfare support for BME tenants.

Govanhill Multi-Agency Service Hub:

- Brings together public services – health, community safety, fire and rescue, police, regeneration, property, environmental – with GHHA and Govanhill Law Centre, and based in GHHA's offices;
- It works with GoCA to coordinate public service and community sector activity.

Local leadership and advocacy: GHHA, given its community governance and connectedness, is well-placed to understand local community concerns and work with local community sector partners to advocate for community interests. For instance, in order to generate the necessary recognition of the scale of the private rental 'slum housing crisis' – see textbox above, GHHA and community partners petitioned the Scottish Parliament in 2008. The Petition ran to 2011, influencing

legislation aimed at empowering local authorities to deal with private rental housing problems – Housing (Scotland) Act 2010; Private Rented Housing (Scotland) Act 2011 (see Harkins, Egan & Craig 2011; Harkins & Egan, 2012).

In the process, GHHA established an active working relationship on this crisis with the local and central state: firstly as Govanhill Regeneration Working Group, then as ongoing work between GHHA, Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government to finally establish the necessary scale of funding and Enhanced Enforcement Area[23] power to support significant action. A pilot from 2015–17, through £9 million of Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council funding has enabled GHHA to 'acquire and repair' 184 tenement flats in four blocks in South West Govanhill; a four-year programme covering a wider range of 18 tenement blocks has now been approved with funding package of ~£35 million. The scale of ongoing investment needed in older, private housing in Govanhill and other areas of Glasgow remains a wider public policy concern

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[23] via the Housing (Scotland) Act 2014 in order to regulate private landlords in 'exceptional cases'.

2.5 Greener Kirkcaldy (GK), Fife

GK as a community anchor illustrates:

- facilitative, *multi-purpose community leadership* to build creative, *cross-sector partnerships* across both public and third sectors.
- commitment to active support, advocacy and solidarity to mitigate the impacts of *fuel, food and financial poverty.*
- the enabling of *local participation* and discussion on creating a greener, fairer future.

Background and context

Kirkcaldy is a large town (population approx. 50,000) on the south coast of Fife (total population about 370,000). From early days as a 16th century trading port, it developed into a centre for coal mining and industry, particularly manufacture of linoleum. Rapid, post-war expansion included poor quality housing and town-centre interventions before industrial decline and closure of coal mines in the 1980s. It is now a major service centre for the central Fife area with local employment dominated by a call centre, Fife Council (area offices), NHS Fife, Forbo-flooring (floor coverings), Fife College and R. Hutchison Ltd (flour mill).

Concentrations of deprivation in Linktown, Templehall and Gallatown are interspersed with more affluent residential areas in the older part of town and by new peripheral housing developments.

Greener Kirkcaldy emerged from the Fife Friends of the Earth Scotland local group in 2009, catalysed by the launch of the Climate Challenge Fund providing new opportunities to start practical, community-led, climate action projects. They envision a future where everyone is able to heat their home affordably, eat well, and tread more lightly on our planet. The organisation has grown rapidly since then into a well-respected development trust with an annual turnover of about £700k, 19 (15 FTE) staff, 50 regular volunteers, 1900 informal members ('friends') and 400 formal (voting) members.

Governance, assets and sustainability

A strong, seven-member (four men, three women) volunteer board brings a wide network of community contacts as well as professional skills and experience. With GK's rising local profile and reputation it has become easier to headhunt board members with specific skills.

They have recently secured community ownership of the former Fife Central Area Library HQ (asset value ~£215k), which they plan to develop as a community food hub that will offer a range of training, employment, work experience and volunteering opportunities around food production and preparation. The Food Hub has its own Steering Group, including board members and staff plus representatives from NHS Fife's Food and Health team and Kirkcaldy Community Gardens & Allotments. This will be expanded to include volunteer representatives and other project partners and community groups who use the Hub.

At a strategic level GK have a well-defined process for engaging and supporting the participation of the board, staff, volunteers, external partners and stakeholders, members, and the wider community in reviewing and updating their vision, mission and values, setting their priorities and generating project ideas for inclusion in their 5-year organisational Business Plan. This includes externally facilitated workshop sessions as well as consultation with their members and volunteers at their annual gathering and other events

25% of the Trust's income is currently earned – mostly from a service level agreement with Fife Council for delivery of energy advice services to Fife Council tenants. Current grant funders include: Big Lottery, Climate Challenge Fund, Energy Action Scotland, British Gas Energy Trust, Scottish Power Energy People Trust, Scottish Government and Fife Council. Development of the community food hub will help to secure this side of their activity and will bring some savings in office rental but will not generate any income towards core costs. Despite continuing reliance on short-term project funding, GK have recently taken the 'calculated risk' of giving all staff permanent contracts in order to overcome staff turnover and loss of expertise. Particular attention is paid to staff development, including quarterly away days, and to good staff/board links. Regular joint staff/board activities, study visits and training ensure development of strong links and trust: *"I think this is an area that a lot of small third sector, voluntary organisations really neglect."*

GK is an active member of Development Trust Association Scotland and Scottish Communities Climate Action Network.

Multi-purpose role and activities

Greener Kirkcaldy's focus is on delivering projects to meet the needs of local people: tackling fuel and food poverty, improving health and wellbeing, and bringing the community together "*to make Kirkcaldy a greener and fairer place to live*". Their activities, delivered with a wide range of local partners, currently fit within four key themes: food and growing; energy advice; waste reduction; and community engagement and development.

Food and growing: The 'Living well on a budget' cookery and home economics programme supports vulnerable people and families on low incomes (around 30 participants per year at present, many more when their own community food hub is ready) to make the most of their money by planning and preparing healthy low-cost meals and avoiding wasting food. Their community gardening projects provide good-quality volunteer opportunities to around

40 people each year, tackling social isolation encouraging cross-generational skills and knowledge sharing, strengthening community cohesion and giving employability support through a mixture of informal training, experience and access to accredited courses and qualifications. Family-friendly events also engage people with nature, the outdoors, growing their own food and cooking from scratch with more local, seasonal food. Biodiversity is being enhanced at a public park whilst another community garden is transforming an area of derelict land in a deprived neighbourhood.

The High Street Hub, sells local and fair-trade foods and offers a regular vegetable-box scheme, where customers can pre-order fresh produce from local farms.

Energy advice: The Fife-wide, 'Cosy Kingdom' energy advice service supports households to save energy and money, maximise their income and tackle fuel debt. A handyperson service fits draught-proofing and other energy-saving measures for low-income families and vulnerable older people. The service engages about 2000 households per year, many in fuel poverty, supporting energy saving, maximising their income and tackling fuel debt. The service is highly inclusive and includes regular outreach work, street-by-street campaigns, talks and workshops to community groups to ensure reaching people most at risk of fuel poverty, including older people and households in rural areas – all aiming to complement and fill gaps in the Scottish Government's energy-efficiency programmes.

Waste reduction: Through drop-in sessions, classes and workshop, the 'Too Good To Waste' project gives people the skills and the inspiration to reduce waste and to fix and repair, rather than replace, laptops, bikes, clothes, tools etc.

Community engagement and development: In total, GK run around 150 community events and activities each year, engaging over 1000 people. Volunteers play a key role, contributing around 195 hours per week of in-kind labour, including writing a blog, running social media, acting as first point of contact for the wider community in GK's High Street Hub, cooking for others at events as well as working in the community gardens. Volunteers are a cross-section of the community – they include business owners, unemployed people, people with disabilities and health issues, retired people, college and high school students and range in age from teens to mid-70s.

We have learned that partnership working and pulling on the strengths of each organisation is more beneficial in the long run. Our relationship is based on a mutual trust: we communicate and meet regularly, are open and provide information or reports which are mutually beneficial to one another.

Greener Kirkcaldy is a well-respected organisation and is striving to fill the gaps within communities where local authorities either don't have the skills, knowledge, and [have] limited budgets/priorities or are sometimes just unable to cut through the amount of red tape to expedite worthwhile projects.

(Local CPP respondent)

2.6 Huntly and District Development Trust (HDDT)

HDDT as a community anchor illustrates:

- *building towards a sustainable independence* through development of income-generating assets e.g. community-owned farm and wind turbine; and committed local board members
- commitment to *sustainable local economic and social development* e.g. supporting town centre regeneration initiative; work with Networks of Wellbeing to support local mental health and wellbeing; and exploring a Green Travel Hub.

Background and context

The Trust (HDDT) started in 2009, building on the work of the Aberdeenshire Towns Partnership, a local authority-led initiative. It currently employs the equivalent (FTE) of 2.7 full-time members of staff: Director and administrator as almost full-time; and two part-time development workers for the Farm and Green Travel Hub – see below. It has an office-base in Huntly's central square. Find out more on the HDDT website[24].

Context: HDDT works within the small rural town of Huntly (about 4,300 people) in north-west Aberdeenshire and the wider surrounding district (about 11,000 people). The town itself is on the A96 and train line from Aberdeen to Inverness so has reasonable connectivity across North-East Scotland. However for those living in the wider district travel is considerably more challenging. Similarly, broadband access in Huntly itself is good, with superfast provision since 2016. In the surrounding rural areas access is patchy and in some cases very poor.

Local economy: the area has a relatively diverse economy. Alongside a traditionally strong service and retail sector, which is increasingly under pressure, there is a significant public sector presence through NHS Grampian, Aberdeenshire Council, Forestry Commission Scotland, Police Scotland and Scottish Fire and Rescue Service. Agriculture and tourism also provide local employment – although in the case of tourism not anywhere near the levels of other parts of the North East, e.g. Banffshire coast, Royal Deeside. Aberdeen's oil industry remains another factor in the local economy too.

Inequalities: in national terms, by SIMD 2016 datazones, it is not deeply deprived; although it does register in the most deprived 20% in terms of education and training[25] – and is markedly more deprived than many parts of Aberdeenshire. Further, as with many rural communities, there is considerable 'invisible poverty' (Hirsch et al., 2013) through fuel poverty, e.g. poor insulation, fuel costs, and high cost of food – the town has a food bank.

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[24] http://www.huntlydevelopmenttrust.org/
[25] See Aberdeenshire CPP material (p10) summary from the SIMD 2016 analysis:
http://www.aberdeenshire.gov.uk/media/18621/simd16-aberdeenshire-interim-report.pdf

Governance, assets and sustainability

Board: The organisation is a Limited Company with charitable status. The Board has up to 12 directors elected by the organisation's 450+ members – or sometimes co-opted for the year. It seeks, too, to be representative of the wider community, for example: a young business person has joined the Board; likewise, directors from the surrounding communities outside of the town. The balance is currently towards older people – but not unreflective of the area. HDDT uses a skills audit approach to support the right mix of knowledge on the Board.

Members and the wider residents are kept up to date and actively engaged with through:

- consultations on HDDT's developing project plans;
- open meetings, newsletters, a column in the local newspaper (the *Huntly Express*);
- social media – HDDT manages community Facebook and Twitter accounts.

Through its full name, Board membership and increasingly diverse activities, the Trust expresses its commitment to both the town and wider surrounding communities. HDDT is a member of DTAS and through that the Scottish Community Alliance. The Trust is also a member of, and represented at Board level, Community Energy Scotland as well as being members of the Scottish Community Climate Action Network.

Sustainable income and assets: income in 2016/17 was £235k[26] and its income and asset-base is *further* developing.

- Greenmyres Farm: 63 acres of grazing land and farm building(s) 4 miles from Huntly and a potential resource for education and leisure.
- A community-owned turbine at the Farm – owned by HDDT's trading subsidiary.
- Enhanced community benefit (revenue ownership/profit-share) relating to two other local wind turbine developments.

Income generation from the community-owned turbine is 'backloaded': reflecting the need to pay off the loans involved over the first ten years of generation, but there's potential for £300k+ p.a. income for the second decade.

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[26] View: http://www.oscr.org.uk/charities/search-scottish-charity-register/charity-details?number=SC043353#results

Of the income streams attached to the other two local turbine developments, 25% is reserved for the local parishes in which the turbines have been established. The rest accrues to HDDT for investment in the organisation and its projects in Huntly and the wider district.

Taken together, the income from these three schemes is currently expected to generate about £7m over the next 20 years. Through strategic leverage, HDDT aims to secure at least £2 for every £1 of HDDT funds; so potentially up to £20m being available for local economic and social development in the next 20 years. This leverage will come from a mix of public, private and community funds.

Multi-purpose role and activities

Local economic and related social development

The community wind turbine and enhanced benefit described above will play a crucial role in the development of both the organisation and the levering in of further investment for local economic and social development. Two programmes illustrate this developing work:

Town Centre Regeneration Group: a declining town centre, with local shopping impacted by internet shopping and two supermarkets on the edge of town, is bringing together a number of key partners who are beginning to develop a response and plans. This includes the council, health, community planning and different community sector projects and groups. The town centre architecture is rich and interesting and so is a definite asset – and potential for asset transfer – and there is a need to sustain local employment, services and footfall. Early work includes a consultation by local arts organisation, Deveron Projects, on greening the town square and reducing traffic. The Community Planning Partnership has been facilitating this work and is creating a Town Team to take it forward – and is now looking more widely across the whole town.

Greenmyres Farm: potentially a hub for local educational, training, leisure and tourist activity, including: a café, workshop and educational spaces, and support for walking, cycling and skiing e.g. bike repair facility. The Trust is approaching this through bottom-up developments – 'a 1,000 flowers bloom' – rather than as grand masterplan; particularly given the A96 is to be 'dualled' by 2030 and may therefore reduce the potential for passing trade.

Social and community development and services

Supporting the local community sector: HDDT, given its core staff team, can provide support to other smaller organisations and groups, for instance:

- it provided initial administrative support for local community grants through Creative Places funding;
- training, financial and administrative support for community groups e.g. the Community Kitchen project, and the community minibus group.

The 'Room to Roam' Green Travel Hub: is developing a range of active travel and more sustainable travel projects – with related links to improved community health – including:

- **Cycling:** in partnership with Networks for Well-being (formerly Huntly Mental Health) they have developed a 'bike shack' where volunteers refurbish old bikes and find common purpose. HDDT is working on an electric bikes project with them.
- **Eco-driving scheme:** to train local people in fuel-efficient driving.
- **Community Car Club:** using Scottish Government Climate Challenge funding to establish a community vehicles scheme – currently an electric van, hybrid car, and high-efficiency petrol car. The Club supports local access to employment, social activity and services and acts as a joint pilot with the Council to explore rural travel options e.g. Road Safety Officers use cars on week-days when local demand is low.
- **Sports hub:** the Trust is working to compile an overview of the needs and aspirations of the various sports and wellbeing groups in the area and build a plan for securing joint training, and eventually a physical sports and wellbeing hub.

Local leadership and advocacy

Through development of asset ownership to build investment in the area, and the sustaining of ongoing consultation work on activities despite the challenge of consultation fatigue. Its own governance, membership and community connectedness supports and gives credibility to this leadership role. It seeks to build good working relationships with the community councils and other organisations across its patch – this can be complex working and needs shared commitment.

Further, its local leadership role is extending into partnership-working with public services and community planning:

- as a source of information and understanding for public services, and/or guide to other local sources of knowledge and expertise;
- the Town Regeneration Group and its links through the Local Community Planning Officer to Aberdeenshire CPP – as part of Marr Local Community Planning Group.

2.7 Stòras Uibhist (South Uist/SU) in Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles)

SU as a community anchor illustrates:

- how *community ownership* is fundamental to an extensive and diverse *community-led regeneration* that can re-build the morale of local communities.
- acting as a *community-led local economic development agency*, delivering crucial infrastructure to secure a sustainable future for a remote community.

Background and context

Building on earlier work by groups such as Uist2000, the £4.5m community buy-out of the South Uist estate in December 2006 was catalysed by the 2003 Land Reform act. It was driven by a few key local visionaries who saw the opportunity for local people to take control of the estate and develop it in a way that would be beneficial to the community. A negotiated sale was completed in 2006 and Stòras Uibhist, the umbrella name used for the community-controlled company and its various subsidiaries, is now landlord to over 850 tenant crofters and to numerous businesses across: aquaculture, agriculture, fishing, food processing, construction, tourism and services. It also owns various smaller islands as well as sporting rights, fishing rights, various commercial and residential buildings and commercial land including quarries, fishfarms. Additionally, SU manages, on behalf of the MoD, the croft land that forms the MoD range.

Context: Situated 20 miles west of the Isle of Skye, in the Western Isles, the islands of South Uist, Benbecula and Eriskay are home to a resident population of approximately 3,000 people. 93,000 acres of land covering almost the whole of these islands has been in Stòras Uibhist's ownership since December 2006. Prior to that, the fragile crofting economy was threatened by possible closure of the biggest employer by far (the Benbecula MoD range). After years of neglect by absentee landlords, the island was on a negative trajectory with few opportunities for young people and families, a declining population and very high rates of fuel poverty.

Crofting is a marginal occupation and many people need to combine this with two or three other part-time jobs to make ends meet, making for a busy and at times stressful life. As a geographically remote community, it is very dependent on communication links that are subject to disruption in bad weather. Whilst unemployment is not particularly high, historically, there have been issues with under employment and a lack of opportunities to use or develop skills, encouraging people to leave and seek better opportunities on the mainland or to not return after completing higher education.

Multi-purpose role and activities

Stòras Uibhist's aim is to pro-actively manage and improve the estate, enhance biodiversity and agricultural productivity, and regenerate the local economy and reverse population decline – the latter by providing high quality employment and housing and by supporting essential community services and economic development projects.

The support of Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) through the complex negotiated sale was crucial in providing the legal support and due diligence report that ensured that the rights for developing a windfarm at Loch Carnan were included. The subsequent development of this windfarm, which started operation in March 2013, and the reliable income stream that it is now providing has been crucial in meeting core staff costs. This has also allowed SU to pursue other projects and to build up a community investment fund which opened for grant applications in 2015.

The development funding that was provided as part of the Scottish Land Fund monies for the community buy-out covered initial staff costs and was vital in enabling SU to become established. And then, with the support of Community Energy Scotland, to doggedly take the windfarm development forward, overcoming grid connection issues and potentially deal-breaking objections by the MoD over fears of radar interference.

SU now employs 24 people (18FTE) across its estate management and development activities. As a young organisation, they are still working on the challenging task of making the estate management financially self-sustaining; and to make up for years of under-investment, not least in essential drain maintenance works. At the same time, it is seeking to support the development of a more diverse local food economy which adds value locally, creates opportunities and training for 'high value crofting', and encourages development of a higher quality tourism offering. Plans are being developed for a community food hub with facilities for local processing, for example of local venison, beef and lamb. The potential for seaweed as a resource and the development of a local distillery are being investigated, as is the potential for reintroducing weaving of Harris tweed. They are seeking to start addressing local housing need in partnership with Western Isles Council and Hebridean Housing Partnership.

As an island community, the harbour facilities are crucial. SU believes that their £10M investment in the new Lochboisdale Harbour has the potential to be transformational – as crucial infrastructure to secure future economic development. Acting as a development agency, it has been able to gain commitment from Western Isles Council and HIE to leverage funding from ERDF to progress a project that had been stalled for years.

With a new fishery pier, pontoon berths and commercial facilities, the harbour development is projected to support the creation of over 90 jobs over the next ten years. At the same time, Stòras Uibhist supported a successful lobby for re-instatement of a direct ferry link to Mallaig to replace the much longer and frequently disrupted service to Oban via Barra.

Governance, assets and sustainability

With assets worth over £33M and a very diverse portfolio of activities with an annual turnover approaching £4M, Stòras Uibhist is a complex commercial organisation. A major challenge is in recruiting willing volunteers to join the Boards of the community-owned holding company, as well as their various trading subsidiaries; and provide oversight of community fund disbursement. In a rural economy in which many people necessarily have multiple jobs, the issue is often one of time rather than a lack of suitable skills or willingness to help. In a small community there is also much potential for perceived or actual conflicts of interest. They are in the process of rationalising their organisational structure so as to provide a clear separation between operational management and strategic planning functions. They are looking to make more use of volunteer working groups as a stepping stone to board involvement.

Their community fund is currently under review and, whilst it is still early days, there is a concern as to how best to empower a wider range of community members to come forward with community focused project ideas. This is in part about changing mindsets and encouraging people to envision an alternative future:

So I would say that that has been the major challenge for Stòras is because people, you know, have had to alter their way of thinking and…not everybody's necessarily amenable to that.

(Stòras Uibhist)

And, in part, is about accepting that:

Community empowerment can be a slow, gradual process which involves continual learning and the constant building of a community's capacity to take on more - there is no finite end point in the process of community empowerment.[27]

One of the challenges that they have faced is to separate out the facilitation from the doing, and to manage community expectations that Stòras Uibhist can do everything itself, and in the stead of other parties or organisations. Whilst it is open to any local resident to join SU as a member, finding ways to enable local people to feel involved with SU activities and engaged with deciding future priorities remains an ongoing challenge.

Early on, there was some local suspicion about the motives of volunteer directors and a lack of understanding of the time required to progress major projects. Despite SU's best efforts to engage at every opportunity, a number of tough, and often personal, conflicts had to be faced. Time, a visible track record of project delivery, combined with improved communication through regular newsletters and newspaper columns has much improved the situation and SU remains committed to improving communication and building up the membership.

Stòras Uibhist is a member of Development Trust Association Scotland, Community Energy Scotland and Community Land Scotland.

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[27] SCDC Briefing Paper, http://www.scdc.org.uk/media/resources/assets-alliance/Community%20Resilience%20and%20Coproduction%20SCDC%20briefing%20paper.pdf accessed 26/10/17

2.8: Concluding thoughts: considering the community anchor 'model'

A distinctive 'model' and approach to public service reform … where 'one size does not fit all'

Table 1 below summarises key details of each of the six community anchors organisations in relation to the community anchor 'model' and its emphasis on:

- Community-led/-controlled governance – built on community asset ownership.
- Multi-purpose approach: local economic and social development; partnership-working with public services; and local leadership and advocacy.
- Responsiveness to local contexts.

Across this small sample there is considerable diversity, as the table illustrates. Community anchors are emerging and developing across Scotland in ways that are particular and enabled or constrained by local context and circumstance; for example, levels of asset ownership ranging from currently an aspiration (about to be realised) up to extensive ownership of housing, land and/or other property (over £30m in some cases).

Clearly, 'one size does not fit all' and yet each organisation can be understood to fit with the aspirations and characteristics of a community anchor:

Each is developing a community-led and -controlled approach: with volunteer boards drawn from a wider local membership and built on a community connectedness, sustained by complex local networks and activities; and, in each case some measure of community ownership.

Each is developing wide-ranging activities and following cross-cutting agendas that seek to work with local needs and priorities:

- All have, are developing or aspire to, one or more hubs that provides a focus for delivering their activities – sometimes social/welfare, sometimes social/economic.
- One way or another, they provide local leadership, convene spaces for dialogue with other local community organisations, and advocate for local interests.
- All take an 'enterprising' approach to delivering local services; they either own, or are in the process of acquiring, local assets as a means of providing some measure of economic stability; and are seeking to develop or support social enterprise.

Each responds in diverse ways to context: whether welfare reform in Castlemilk; social isolation and industrial decline in North Lanarkshire; a housing crisis in Govanhill; local sustainability and deprivation in Fife; economic fragility and depopulation in South Uist, fears of economic decline in rural Aberdeenshire. Each community anchor can be understood as building from an initial crisis and/or having the community governance in place that 'demands' that the organisation responds to emerging crises – drawing on local, wider and national resources to meet the challenge.

It is these shared 'anchor' characteristics, along with their particular commitment to local community-led place-making, that mark these organisations and their approach as distinct from both the public sector and wider third sector. The community anchor 'model' thus offers a distinctive approach and response to the challenges of public service reform and 'putting Christie into action'. In Section 3, we consider further this relationship with the key Christie Commission themes and aspirations for public service reform.

Challenges for anchor practice – local democracy, community resilience, social change

As we highlighted in the outline of our research methodology in 1.2, in considering these organisations 'appreciatively' as exemplars of diverse and valuable practices, we need also to recognise the challenges for them and for their public service partners. In relation to the three key themes of local democracy, community resilience and social change, highlighted in 1.2, emerging challenges for reflective dialogue and development include:

Sustaining complex local participatory democratic practices in communities with diverse populations and interests: a highly-diverse, multi-ethnic community of place in Govanhill; differences between rural town and surrounding villages in Huntly; tensions for local leadership in South Uist; socio-economic diversity across Kirkcaldy; long-standing residents and newly-arriving residents in Glenboig. In each case, sustaining suitable representation within a Board and membership across gender, ethnicity, class and so on, therefore, will remain challenging. Likewise in being able to work across and with diverse groups in their communities with actual or perceived conflicting interests.

Community resilience for local sustainable development: commitment and concern for this area of working is illustrated by these anchor exemplars in multiple ways – improving the energy efficiency of the housing stock, reconnecting with healthy local food, community renewables, green travel, building local economic, social and cultural resilience. What is also suggested is the complex ongoing challenge of resourcing such work and coordinating a strategic and integrated local approach across many partners some of which may lack commitment to such local sustainable development.

Social change – wider policy and system changes: again, the challenge of working, when your resources are local and limited, in a rapidly changing and not always supportive policy landscape becomes visible, and includes: UK welfare reform; losing subsidies for community renewables; long-term under investment in social housing; community planning structures working across larger areas than those covered by the organisation itself; and, discrimination against minorities in the UK and Europe. Smaller organisations may struggle to sustain focus and make a credible difference in a dynamic, turbulent policy context and amongst larger players.

We continue to highlight these challenges for community anchor practice – and for public services and others – in Sections 3 and 4

Community anchor orgs.	Context	Governance, assets & capacity	Multi-purpose, 'inherently complex' approach
Ardenglen Housing Association East Castlemilk, Glasgow	1950s peripheral urban estate in SE Glasgow Regeneration strategy implemented 1980s to improve housing stock & local facilities – working class, multiple deprivation, complex social problems	*Legal:* Industrial and Provident Society (Cooperative) Volunteer Management Committee (12 members) *Assets:* 1000 (approx.) properties/office *Turnover:* £3.8m (approx.) *Staff:* 20 with 2.5 (FTE) on community development	*Social development and partnerships:* range of community development activity: volunteer community and youth committees oversee courses and activities in their community hall/hub including IT skills, literacy, employment skills, lifelong learning, upcycling, gardening, welfare rights, intergenerational activities *Local economy and local leadership:* have sought to pursue local income-generating projects e.g. community-ownership; supporting the development of local leadership through various volunteer committees (housing association, community centre, youth).
Glenboig Neighbourhood House Glenboig, North Lanarkshire	Post-industrial, semi-rural village/environs. High unemployment & low education/skills. Population set to double to 4000+ as part of North Lanarkshire 'community growth' area for new housing	*Legal:* SCIO (Glenboig Development Trust) Volunteer board (12 members) *Assets:* transfer of ownership of community centre in process *Turnover:* £520k (approx.) *Staff:* 20 (FTE)	*Social development:* Community Hub for wide ranging adult learning activities and training, young people and children's activities, community café, community shop, senior care and befriending service, community transport service. 120+ volunteers *Partnerships:* community engagement and action planning, leadership and leadership and advocacy in health/social care. *Local economy and leadership*: local employment and leading development of a community plan.

Govanhill Housing Association & Community Development Trust	Multi-ethnic, largely working class and deprived community in urban (southside) Glasgow.	Legal: Industrial and Provident Society (Cooperative)	*Social development:* volunteering, employability, lifelong learning, tenants' and residents' groups: extensive social housing and services
Govanhill, Glasgow	Private-rented tenements flats/block in desperate need of renovation (slum housing crisis) – state funding now taking this forward	HA Management Committee (MC): 15 members tenants/residents; membership 400+; CDT board includes 5 MC members	*Partnerships:* Govanhill Services Hub and related welfare services for tenants with public services; Govanhill Community Action – community sector forum
		Assets: 2500 properties (HA) + office/workspaces (CDT)	*Local economy*: work-spaces; social enterprise support.
		Turnover: £14.5m (approx.)	*Leadership:* local housing regeneration in face of private rental crisis
		Staff: 55 (FTE) for HA; and 5 for CDT	
Greener Kirkcaldy	Large, post-industrial town (pop. 50,000) now a major service centre for central Fife	Legal: Charitable Company Limited by Guarantee	*Social development:* projects tackling fuel and food poverty and improving health and wellbeing. Activities relate to four key themes: food and growing; energy advice; waste reduction; and community engagement and development. 50+ volunteers.
Kirkcaldy, Fife	Concentrations of deprivation interspersed with more affluent residential areas incl. new peripheral housing developments	Board: 7 directors and 400+ members	*Partnerships:* with public sector and local third sector
		Assets: former Fife Central Area Library HQ will become a community food hub	*Local economy:* local wealth retention through energy efficiency and local food economy.
		Turnover: £700k (approx.)	*Leadership:* catalysed formation of Fife Community Climate Action Network and leading local discussion on creating a greener, fairer future.
		Staff: 15 (FTE)	

Huntly & District Development Trust Aberdeenshire	Rural town (pop. 4000) and wider district (pop. 10,000). Additional financial costs and stresses of being rural. The town's datazone ranks within SIMD 2016's bottom 20% in terms of education attainment	*Legal:* Charitable Company Limited by Guarantee with trading subsidiary *Board:* up to 12 directors (5 currently); 450+ members Assets: 63 acre farm; 500kW wind turbine Turnover: currently £250k (approx.) Staff: 3 (FTE)	*Social development and partnerships:* with local third sector and public sector – green travel hub; mental health; town centre regeneration *Local economy:* wind turbine ownership to provide local income and leverage in income; town centre regeneration *Leadership:* local economy and leveraging investment
Stòras Uibhist South Uist, Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles)	Fragile, geographically remote island economy (pop. 3000). Historic issues of underemployment and depopulation. High rates of fuel poverty	Legal: Company Limited by Guarantee with trading subsidiaries Board: 9 directors; 850+ members Assets: 93,000 acres incl. 850 crofts plus sporting & fishing rights, commercial & residential buildings, quarries & fishfarms. 6.9MW windfarm Turnover: £4m (approx.) Staff: 18 (FTE)	*Social development:* disbursement of windfarm community fund. *Local economy:* estate management and economic development incl. £10m redevelopment of Lochboisdale Harbour, tourism, planning of 'high value crofting' opportunities and addressing local housing needs *Partnerships:* with public sector and local third sector *Leadership:* local economic regeneration to reverse population decline

3. Community anchors and 'putting Christie into action': partnership, participation, prevention and performance

3.1 Introduction

In 1.4 we outlined the broad 'space' that the Christie Commission has opened up and continues to sustain for public service reform. Here we return to the community anchor exemplars developed in Section 2 to explore how they can be understood to be supporting 'policy and practice' relevant to pursuing the Christie Commission's broad agenda of partnership, participation, prevention, performance (3.2–3.5). We draw into these discussions (analysis) further research evidence and thinking, in particularly in 3.4 in relation to 'preventing' inequalities and seeking to present a realistic picture here of what community anchors can contribute to this challenging agenda (Craig, 2014; Crisp et al., 2016). Further, we have also been aided by the Advisory Group and consultation work in sense-checking this learning.

In the process, we seek to illustrate further the 'inherently complex' combinations of local development, service provision and local leadership and advocacy that community anchors can achieve through their *community-led place-making*. And use the learning from across the section to highlight in the concluding discussion (3.6), the ways in which community anchors can be understood as generating a distinctive, even unique, approach or 'model'. We also return to briefly consider our three reflective themes of local democratic practice, community resilience-building, and social change for a more equitable society and future.

3.2: Partnership working

Key learning

We illustrate community anchors as well-placed to facilitate a complex collaborative approach, drawing from detailed on-the-ground knowledge, in order to:

- *initiate and work across complex webs of relationships at multiple levels with public services, policy and decision-makers, and neighbourhoods and citizens.*
- *assert themselves at the 'public sector table' and build trusting cross-sector relationships – where suitably resourced.*
- *help cultivate and support rich and diverse local community sector activity – including through varieties of local community and service hubs.*

The Christie Commission puts great emphasis on local and collaborative partnership-working across public sector and third/community sector partners that seeks to:

- pooling resources and commitments;
- local accountability across local stakeholders;
- focused on prevention and improving social and economic outcomes (inequalities);
- developing a public service ethos across partners and empowerment of staff.

Increasingly, notions of local service hubs and/or community hubs are being considered (for instance Watson, 2017) that can build and co-locate local partnership working.

1. Initiating and working across complex webs of relationships and networks

The community anchor case study organisations maintain a complex web of relationships at multiple levels. This includes relationships with an often confusing array of public and third sector bodies – and private sector, too e.g. when developing a wind turbine. This networking activity can help to build respect and trust between organisations, working across formal institutional boundaries and divides of geography or interest. This may develop into more formal partnership-working or remain an informal collaboration; with the community anchors bringing detailed, local, on-the-ground knowledge and understanding into the relationship. At an area-wide, public sector level, each of our case studies has a close working relationship with one or more departments of their 'local' authority – including housing, welfare rights, community learning and development, economic development, social work and parks departments.

"I can honestly say that our relationship has moved on from pushing individual agendas at the start to a deeper understanding and respect for each other's organisations.

Through work with them we have managed to reach and engage with a large number of our vulnerable tenants who previously would have mistrusted Local Authority intervention.

Through these projects we have learned that partnership working and pulling in the strengths of each organisation is more beneficial in the long run. Our relationship is based on a mutual trust, we communicate and meet regularly, are open and provide information or reports which are mutually beneficial to one another".

(CPP respondent)

Glenboig Neighbourhood House (GNH), for example, is the lead for the Health and Social Care Consortium in the Coatbridge locality. This consists of a host of key partners from statutory and third sector organisations working within health and social care integration.

As part of North Lanarkshire's Locality Partnership Development Programme, the role of GNH as locality lead is to implement the key priorities in relation to the Community Capacity Building and Carer Support Strategy.

> *"we've got representatives from Community learning & Development, social work, the NHS, carers' groups, Alzheimers Scotland, Scottish Association for Mental Health (SAMH), North Lanarkshire leisure and local third sector organisations all sitting round the table".*

> (GNH)

This includes responsibility for a local activity grant through which they have supported a number of local third sector organisations to deliver services that contribute to this agenda.

Another key partner is North Lanarkshire Coatbridge Community Learning and Development. Working in partnership, with North Lanarkshire Social Work, a service level agreement is in place to enable the organisation to deliver key services within the community to older people.

Greener Kirkcaldy delivers a Fife-wide energy advice service in partnership with Fife Council and other, third sector, partners. Huntly District Development Trust (DDT) also works with both public and third/community sector partners on a Green Travel Hub. It is now also on the developing Town Team, led by the CPP, which is concerned with the regeneration of the town centre and the town more widely.

Govanhill Housing Association and Community Development Trust (HA/CDT) host and participate in the Govanhill Service Hub, which facilitates joined-up working across public services – including NHS, Police, Fire and Rescue and Glasgow City Council departments.

Ardenglen Housing Association (AHA) works widely across public and third sector:

> *"at the last count we had 35+ partners involved in the whole programme, so it's all partnership-based, it's making our resources and their resources stretch."*

Stòras Uibhist is in almost daily contact with Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles Council) at various levels; the council's economic development officer meets regularly with Stòras Uibhist to discuss matters such as regeneration, housing and projects. The Lochboisdale Harbour development project was an example of successful partnership-working where Stòras Uibhist took the initiative to bring together Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) and the Council to progress a complex, technical (£10m) project that had been stalled for over twenty years.

Our exemplar anchors also work closely with the NHS, further education colleges, 'arms-length external organisations' (ALEOs) such as Glasgow Life, and a range of public agencies and bodies such as Department for Work and Pensions, Jobs and Business Glasgow, HIE, Home Energy Scotland and so on; as well as locally with schools and community development workers.

2. A place at the public sector table

Officially it would be the relevant *third sector interface* organisation that represents the voice of the third sector in CPPs, at least at Board level. In practice, this is a challenging task, especially where large, complex community anchor organisations are concerned. Certainly, all our exemplar community anchors engage directly with their CPP at some level although only Greener Kirkcaldy emphasised the high priority and value they place on this.

As pointed to above, Huntly DDT is working with the CPP's Local Community Planning Group (Marr) as part of the Town Team initiative. Govanhill HA/CDT works with the local Govanhill Partnership (management) group and its operational team, the Service Hub. Ardenglen HA's vice-chair represents Castlemilk on the Linn Area Partnership; one of eight partnership areas in the south of Glasgow whilst Stòras Uibhist connects into the Outer Hebrides Partnership through the Uist Economic Taskforce.

"We have built really good relationships with councillors and the key officers as well … I think engaging with Community Planning would be one piece of advice. It is difficult, it takes up time – there are some really boring meetings – but it's been really valuable for us."

(Greener Kirckcaldy)

Complex matrix of partnerships and networks

Greener Kirkcaldy links to Fife (Community Planning) Partnership through the Kirkcaldy Area Welfare Reform and Anti-Poverty steering group, which they chair, as well as being part of the Local Housing Strategy Implementation Group, and Fife Health and Wellbeing Alliance's Food and Health Strategy Group. They are also represented on the Fife Environmental Partnership through being part of the Fife Community Climate Action Network – a regional community led support network that they did much to establish.

Networking and collaborative working, and building social capital, are key skills in the toolbox of any community anchors. Yet developing and maintaining this diversity of

…we had very, very difficult times in the relationship, and it took us a few years to bed in. But ultimately, the three partners [Council, HIE, anchor] worked well together, at that critical stage.

(Stòras Uibhist)

relationships takes considerable time and resources and can be hugely challenging for small community organisations that lack core-funding. However, such working was highlighted as being important both in terms of networking and keeping in the loop; as well as having a 'seat at the table' and keeping visible. Building trust, and a reputation for being able to 'get things done', supports anchors to build on these relationships to access funding and deliver projects in partnership. Frustrations can arise when key public sector officers leave or public sector structures change and a whole new set of relationships has to be built from scratch. As has been the experience for Glenboig Neighbourhood House when the village of Glenboig was

recently transferred from Coatbridge Local Area Partnership into the one covered by Gartcosh and Moodiesburn.

3. Nurturing rich and diverse local community sector networks

As well as building relationships with the public sector, collaboration and networking with other community and third sector organisations is seen as equally vital. This provides mutual support, inspiration and better practical project and service delivery. Glenboig Neighbourhood House's link with neighbouring community organisation Getting Better Together Shotts, for example, has been crucial in developing their community transport service. Ardenglen HA collaborates closely with many third sector organisations to deliver wide-ranging activities, including: Jeely Piece Club (children and family activities), Rags to Riches (upcycling and skills development) and Urban Roots (cooking and community gardening).

Greener Kirkcaldy partners Citizen's Advice & Rights Fife and St Andrews Environmental Network, as well as local housing associations and many voluntary and community groups to deliver the Fife-wide, 'Cosy Kingdom' energy advice service. Together, they make referrals to the social enterprise Citrus Energy[28] for impartial energy switching advice. They also collaborate with groups such as Fife Gingerbread, local residents' associations and Kirkcaldy Community Gardens & Allotments CIC.

Huntly DDT links with local organisation Networks of Wellbeing to deliver a Green Travel Hub as well as with other local organisations on a range of activities – including the community council, local community transport and Deveron Projects. Govanhill HA/CDT facilitates Govanhill Community Action which brings together a range of local community/third sector groups – including Govanhill Law Centre, the environmental organisation South Seeds, and local equalities groups – to input into Govanhill Service Hub and to work on shared community projects e.g. Community History project. They also provide office and community spaces for other community organisations.

Stòras Uibhist have close working relationships with other local third sector organisations such as Cothrom, a training and learning social enterprise; Ceolas, who organise a music festival; and Tagsa, a third sector community care organisation. It provides support through grants from its windfarm community investment fund to local organisations and groups. At the same time, they are considering how they can best support development of proposals for community projects where these are not being brought forward by existing groups.

As well as such, often informal, local community sector networking, the role of wider community sector support networks including Community Energy Scotland, Development Trust Association Scotland, Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations and the Scottish Community Alliance is crucial. They can provide specialist expertise and enable peer-to-peer support and learning between anchors.

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[28] Citrus Energy is a trading subsidiary of Cunninghame Housing Association.

3.3: Participation

Key learning

A participative approach is embedded – part of their ethos – in the way that community anchors seek to work in communities, making them well-placed, where suitably resourced, to take the lead in seeking to:

- *bridge divides and bring diverse communities together*
- *support and enable participation by all across their communities*
- *connect to local knowledge to support local service development and place planning.*

Participation can be understood as partnership-working at the micro-level. It is what community-led organisations are 'all about' and what builds the trust and social capital that keep community groups working together. The Christie Commission 2011 highlights the diversity of options for this participation and empowerment: with service-users and carers; through engagement, consultation and co-production; and independent community sector and third sector bodies. For anchor organisations, this is embedded in their structure and functions: in their governance through volunteer boards of directors – local people elected from their membership; and, by the rich diversity of community networks and connections that have to be made and sustained in order to 'do the job'.

1) Working with and celebrating community diversity

Communities of place are composed from a myriad interlinked social groups, which can bring connections but can also bring divisions, if sometimes in an invisible way, of class/wealth, culture, education, gender, history and race/ethnicity (for instance). Building resilient communities of place requires both the strengthening of the individual social capital crucial for individual wellbeing and the bringing together of disparate groups – to create shared understanding and respect.

> *"We also try and bring people together and celebrate different festivals and cultural days, so that people can learn about different cultures and meet others."*
>
> (Govanhill) HA/CDT

Greener Kirkcaldy's volunteer opportunities, for example, bring together a cross-section of the community. They include business owners, unemployed people, people with disabilities and health issues, retired people, college and high school students … so ranging in age from teens to mid-70s.

Govanhill HA/CDT's work with other community sector organisations on a community history project has brought together Romanian, Slovakian, Urdu and Punjabi speakers; together going out and developing skills, interviewing and note-taking. It also supports and

facilitates a range of community, tenants and residents groups – including the Black and Minority Ethnic Residents Group, MERGE Welfare; peer learning with the Roma community.

Huntly DDT seeks to work across rural diversity with the differing needs of both town and surrounding villages and district, and through its work with Networks of Wellbeing to support local inclusive activities with people experiencing mental ill-health.

Creative use of differing perspectives and potentially conflicting viewpoints can generate new ideas and initiatives. Glenboig NH's senior care (telephone befriending) service, for example, arose out of a local history project that brought local people together from across religious divides. Ardenglen HA's 'Bite, Blether and Bingo' sessions provide a monthly intergenerational sharing opportunity with older people being served a welcoming light meal by young people from Castlemilk High School Inclusion Unit.

> *"…within the older people, what we identified was… that people from different religious backgrounds didn't mix socially. So we looked at a local history group… that had people coming from, all denominations, breaking down barriers, which was really good. And it runs, today, as the village Autumn Group, it's got a membership of over 70 people… from that group, we have now developed our Senior Care Project."*
>
> (Glenboig Neighbourhood House)

2) Overcoming barriers to participation

Whilst membership is open to all, successfully engaging across any community so that all local people feel involved and engaged with deciding future priorities remains an ongoing challenge that demands skills and resources.

Some of the challenges, misunderstandings and personal conflicts that arose early on in Stòras Uibhist were alluded to in Section 2 above. The situation is now much improved and Stòras Uibhist remains committed to enhancing engagement and building up membership numbers and participation. For instance, they are seeking to do this by making more use of volunteer working groups to give members a clear role and structure through which to become involved and, potentially, act as a stepping stone to board involvement.

Volunteering and peer support – an empowering environment

In Castlemilk, **Ardenglen HA's** (AHA) experience is that low self-esteem is a crucial barrier to participation. They have worked to build people's sense of control over decisions that affect them and a sense of belonging and self-worth, and this can be hugely empowering.

> *"We have found the focus on volunteering to be really useful in building personal capacity. People respond positively to not simply being a group "member," almost having things done around you. As a volunteer, you are choosing to be there and participate, you're involved in the direction and development of something for the benefit of everyone."*

With the ongoing support of AHA's regeneration staff, volunteer Community Committee members undertake extensive and ongoing training to operate their community hall and adopt the highly successful role, and much appreciated by the local community, of AHA ambassadors during evening and weekend activities and events. Many participants credit the role of AHA's volunteers and staff for developing a warm, supportive environment which keeps people coming back in a way other that programmes they have been on do not.

> *"Progression at Ardenglen is of the upmost importance. Monthly Community Committee meetings also include quarterly sessions with Ardenglen's EXEC and Senior Staff. Regular 1:1s identify members' training needs and develop aspirations which are formed into Personal Development Plans. The PDPs focus on opportunities for progression which has included membership of Ardenglen's Board, the GOWell panel and the South East Integration Network[29]. A peer mentoring system is also embedded across the programme and last year two members mentored 10 volunteers through their Community Achievement Awards and our Bright Sparks group organised and led a TOWiU educational visit to New Lanark. Similarly the TOWiU Management Group is made up of participants who meet quarterly with staff to review, develop and manage the whole programme."*

An example, then, of the value of participatory democracy and the need for skilled facilitation and leadership to support such empowerment.

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[29] Gowell is a longitudinal research study investigation housing and regeneration in Glasgow, view : http://www.gowellonline.com. The South East Integration Network is an active, member-led organisation working to promote integration and cultural diversity in the south east of Glasgow. Through our member organisations, we provide local residents, including asylum seekers, refugees and migrant workers, access to a variety of information, training, services, and activities to fulfil our vision for an integrated community in the south east of Glasgow. View here: https://en-gb.facebook.com/seinglasgow/

3) Using local knowledge and participatory planning

Such participatory work and informal day-to-day activities and interaction with volunteers, participants, residents and customers build detailed local knowledge. This then supports organic development of activities over time as gaps in local provision are identified and addressed, as well as the flexibility to adapt activity programmes to fit with individual interests and needs and local cultures. Combining this with multi-skilled and committed staff allows for 'agile' and responsive approaches, which contributes to the distinctiveness of the anchor role.

Creative participation

At **Greener Kirkcaldy**, volunteers contribute *in-kind labour* equivalent to over five full-time staff. Apart from the Board, volunteers write the blog and run social media; act as first point of contact in the High Street Hub; cook at events; and maintain and develop local green spaces. It seeks to ensure that participants:

> *"… are shaping activities wherever possible. So, for example, the media volunteers will have regular meetings, a team meeting once a month to decide… [on] the blog … what might be the big picture and what will be the individual contributions that are going to create that… Community garden volunteers will always have their daily planning sessions, quarterly planning sessions and annual planning sessions … the different level of detail for the growing year."*

At a strategic level, Greener Kirkcaldy also has well-defined processes for engaging and supporting the participation of board, staff, volunteers, external partners and stakeholders, members and wider community in updating their vision, mission and values; and setting priorities and generating project ideas for the five-year Business Plan. For example, involving them in externally facilitated workshops as well as consultation with their members and volunteers at their annual gathering and other events.

Their Living Well programme emerged from a need identified through conversations with existing partners and frequent referrals to Citizens Advice and Rights Fife. Other projects have been developed from ideas or particular interests of staff, for example in running outdoor leadership activities with primary school children; or have emerged to meet a clear local need – such as support with fitting basic energy efficiency measures.

GNH has recently completed a whole community engagement and planning process involving local community groups, schools and churches as well as businesses and local residents to produce a five-year [community vision and action plan](http://glenboignh.com/glenboig-community-action-plan-2016-2021)[30].

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[30] http://glenboignh.com/glenboig-community-action-plan-2016-2021

GHHA/CDT has been developing the role of young people in supporting the work of its Board:

> *"We've been doing a youth leadership programme for a couple of years with an organisation called Space Unlimited, and that's been very much about getting people's views in the community about what needs to change. We'd like to take that on and create a separate youth board."*

3.4: Preventing inequalities and negative outcomes – and reducing pressures on services

Key learning

Community anchors are well-placed to work locally to mitigate (limit) the worst excesses of inequalities locally, and as resources allow, through working:

- *for income maximisation: employment, training, access to benefits and welfare.*
- *with groups at risk of significant harm through inequality including supporting access to public services – this includes work re. poverty, social and ethnic diversity, social isolation, mental ill-health, children and young people.*
- *for sustainable, community-led place-making: improving the local environment and developing the local economy.*

Further, there are examples of anchors leading wider advocacy work and engaging with policymaking structures to create local change – in the face of inequalities, state constraints and market failure. There is potential for community anchors to work together and with others to advocate for wider social change.

The Christie Commission argues for preventative approaches that reduce 'unnecessary' demand ('failure demand') on public services by focusing on early intervention and promoting equality. It points to employability, community-led regeneration and placed-based approaches, and the potential for generating a virtuous circle between public services and economic development that generates a fairer, healthier and more equitable society.

We deepen the understanding of 'prevention' here by using NHS Health Scotland's (Craig, 2014) evidence review on the best approaches to preventative spending; to be understood as focused on reducing failure demand, improving population health and reducing health inequalities – see Appendix 3. The emphasis is on upstream, whole population, strategies which prioritise access to employment and benefits; targeted support to improve equity of access to universal services; childhood early interventions; environmental improvements including local actions; and regulation and legislation.

We also highlight that local preventative work *alone* is currently more likely to be concerned to *mitigate* or limit the worst impacts of inequalities and related poverty rather than

significantly impact on reducing or tackling them; in effect, downstream mitigation rather than upstream prevention. This does not mean valuable work is not or cannot be undertaken locally where strategically targeted (see, for instance, McKendrick, 2016).[31] Nor, that community anchors individually or collectively cannot advocate for or build towards social changes that require certain wider systems (structural) change – and examples of such work by community anchors begin to emerge here.

1) Maximising incomes: employment, benefits and other related support:

Employment and training: each of the anchor organisations is seeking to support local employment, whilst Ardenglen HA, Glenboig Neighbourhood House, Govanhill HA/CDT and Greener Kirkcaldy are all providing employment-related training and volunteering. Stòras Uibhist is leading extensive community-led economic regeneration activities – see (3) below.

> *"We have found that 'The Only Way is UP' approach affects a fundamental change in most participants. They almost always move onwards towards a more positive destination such as employment, further education or volunteering [often in or around the operation of the Maureen Cope Hall], thereby fusing personal development with ongoing community benefit."*

> (Ardenglen HA)

Benefits and debt advice and other finance-related support: Ardenglen HA, Govanhill HA/CDT and Greener Kirkcaldy are all providing welfare advice and support for people struggling with the impacts of welfare reform, and signposting to other services e.g. debt advice. Ardenglen HA works with tenants to mitigate the impact of welfare reform and the knock-on effects of rent arrears. Greener Kirkcaldy also provides advice and support (mitigation) for those at risk of fuel and food poverty, so maximising incomes in multiple ways:

> *"We provide a joined-up energy-efficiency, debt and budgeting advice service across Fife. Our advisors support people to gain the knowledge and confidence to get and keep their energy use under control.… from a prevention point of view there is financial capability that comes from taking control of your energy bills as a first step…. our surveys show a lot of success in helping people to become more confident in managing their household budgets and bills……One of the reasons we do that work is to give people the capacity and resilience so that they can eat well, or eat better, on a very low budget – without having to access food-banks and things like that.…"*

> (Greener Kirkcaldy)

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[31] McKendrick (2016) argues that in relation to poverty reduction that local interventions can be carefully targeted given the resource limitations at this level – these can make a certain difference for some people in poverty if not actually prevent local poverty wholesale.

2) Supporting access to services and improving life chances for people most at risk through inequalities

Each of the anchors is working with groups of people at particular risk through inequality. They are seeking to mitigate the worst impacts of such inequalities and can support wider policy strategies to improve equitable access to public services for all. For instance, for:

- people on low incomes and/or unemployed: Ardenglen HA, Glenboig NH, Govanhill HA, Greener Kirkcaldy – as (1) above;
- minority ethnic groups in a highly-diverse community: Govanhill HA/CDT;
- older people at risk of social isolation: Glenboig NH;
- people experiencing mental ill-health: Huntly DDT in partnership with Networks of Wellbeing[32]; Ardenglen HA and Glenboig NH too;
- children and young people: Govanhill HA/CDT; Glenboig NH; Greener Kirkcaldy;
- young people and families – creating life chances in fragile communities: Stòras Uibhist.

Mental health:

Improved wellbeing – Ardenglen HA

> *"We invite impact statements as part of our monitoring systems and regularly receive first hand testimony from people who say things like 'I was at my GP all the time… I was on medication… and now I've come off or reduced my medication.'"*

'Room to Roam' Green Travel Hub – Huntly DDT:

> *"… in partnership with Networks for Well-being, they have developed a 'bike shack' where volunteers refurbish old bikes and improve their physical and mental wellbeing. HDDT is now working towards an electric bikes project with them."*

Peer education with the Roma community:

> *"We have two workers who support Slovakian and Romanian individuals in families. … in a year we'll work for 250 families or individuals; our wider reach is probably about 1,000 people. We support people in terms of education, employment, housing, health, language, literacy, social connections, rights and responsibilities – and in partnership with the NHS. We're doing peer education where we train up people in the Roma community on health provision; issues in the community; rights and entitlements. They then deliver what they've learned in their mother tongue to groups of Roma who otherwise couldn't participate."*

Govanhill HA/CDT

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[32] Promotes and supports people in improving their mental health and well-being in the Huntly area, see: http://www.networksofwellbeing.org/

Social isolation and older people – Glenboig Neighbourhood House:

Their support for older people includes a garden/handyman service, organising respite breaks and a unique telephone wellbeing/ befriending service – a regular call to ensure older people remain well connected with their community and are informed of social or recreational activity which may be of interest to them. This service can also reduce feelings of isolation and promote independent living by providing a regular human contact and the reassurance of an early alert system when calls go unanswered. GNH has two minibuses serving nursery age children, young people, older people, disabled people and isolated groups and individuals in Glenboig and the surrounding villages who have limited transport options.

Children and young people:

Sistema Scotland and Govanhill Big Noise – Govanhill HA/CDT:

"They're (Sistema Scotland) working with about 1,200 kids a year at the moment, and they do all of the in-school music tuition, after school programme and a summer programme. When they first opened people (couldn't) really get their heads round what the programme is all about, but now people have begun to realise that this isn't just about music: it's about helping families with after school care, kids are being fed; it's breaking down territorial, cultural, religious barriers that otherwise are often entrenched by kids' circumstances.

We've supported the set up by giving them free premises for about two and a half years, then subsidised rent. When we looked at our bottom line, it would make a very big difference … this is a generational kind of investment in Govanhill and we want to do everything we can to support it. We've secured Scottish Government money for them for about five or six years."[33]

Outdoor activities – Greener Kirkcaldy and Glenboig Neighbourhood House:

Outdoor leadership activity with schools in the most deprived areas:

"Teaches young people how to use big scary tools and gives them a lot of trust and a lot of responsibility and I think is building a lot of good outcomes for those kids for the future – but hard to measure."

(Greener Kirkcaldy)

Connecting children to their environment:

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[33] Note: see Glasgow Centre for Population Health, Education Scotland and Glasgow Caledonian University's evaluation of Sistema Scotland's work in Raploch, Stirling and Govanhill, Glasgow at: http://www.gcph.co.uk/work_themes/theme_2_urban_health/young_people_urban_environment/sistema_scotland_evaluation.

"Giving children an opportunity to play, you know, there's a lot of kids don't get out to play. We're taking them back to basic play here, and back to Forest School."

<div align="right">(Glenboig NH)</div>

Community Anchors are working within a complex policy landscape here. Equity of access to services, in support of equity of outcomes and a more equitable society provides one key perspective. Another concerns the universality of public and welfare services, and their relationship to the community sector and social capital. This complexity is beyond the early discussion we provide here, but we suggest that community anchors can offer one key route to enabling those who are missing access to services to do so – as a way of mitigating some effects of inequality.

3) Sustainable community-led place-making – mitigation and advocacy

Each anchor is illustrating the potential of community leadership and ownership to generate local change:

- Ardenglen HA: via ownership of housing and other assets to support regeneration;
- Glenboig NH: via a local community plan and community centre acquisition;
- Govanhill HA/CDT: ownership of housing and other assets to support regeneration;
- Greener Kirkcaldy: ownership of community food hub, commitment to ecological sustainability and resilience;
- Huntly DDT: ownership of land, farm renewables and support for local regeneration;
- Stòras Uibhist: extensive ownership of land, renewables, properties and business.

Increasingly what is at the heart of such change is a community ownership of assets which can provide organisations and communities with long-term stability, and offers alternatives to limited market-led approaches or top-down, state planning.

The wind turbine income will now change the organisation. We're at a cusp where we'll be able to maybe lift the horizon a wee bit and say, right, okay, we are secure as an organisation, as secure as you can ever be, where...where do we need to go now.

<div align="right">Huntly DDT</div>

This is one of the most distinctive aspects of community anchors and a foundation for their potential to strengthen local democracy. Where the extent of local community ownership of assets is reaching a certain scale, opportunities for community leadership and advocacy likewise extend, and can begin to influence and impact more widely on national policy and practices.

Community-led regeneration – Stòras Uibhist: as illustrated in the profile (2.7), the organisation is leading a complex regeneration process. It is landlord to local businesses and crofters, and owns various land and related rights e.g. fishing. It has developed a community windfarm and through this is building up a community investment fund. A new harbour and

related infrastructure – pier and commercial facilities – is expected to generate over 90 jobs over a ten-year period. This project is a partnership with Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (Western Isles Council) and Highlands and Islands Enterprise. The organisation supported lobbying for the re-instatement of a direct Calmac ferry link … now they are thinking further ahead …

> *"I think the challenges, still, are around our need to diversify the economy, sufficiently. And I think the next set of projects will achieve that, and they'll come through quite quickly. If the distillery project goes ahead, if the food hub … housing is one of the areas where we haven't yet made an impact, and again, there's an opportunity, currently, to try and do something about that."*

Private rental 'slum housing crisis' and Govanhill HA: as illustrated in the exemplar profile (2.4) the organisation's ongoing 'insider advocacy' has sustained a focus on the appalling conditions in the privately rented tenement blocks in south-west Govanhill since 2008; petitioning the Scottish Parliament (2008–11) and influencing housing legislation (Harkins, Egan & Craig, 2011); and then active within the Govanhill Regeneration Working Group (2010–12). Ongoing negotiations with Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government have finally begun to establish the necessary scale of funding to make a difference: a pilot led by GHHA from 2015–17 using £9m of Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council funding and now a further four-year programme of about £35 million.

What is emerging here is that, as the roles of community anchors and their community sector partners begin to grow, then their potential to influence policy, legislation and investment in new and creative ways likewise extends. Stòras Uibhist in relation to uneven development and depopulation, and Govanhill HA in relation to housing investment, policy and legislation, suggest the potential for the community sector in the future to play an increasing role in advocacy on inequalities (social, economic, health) that could begin to move beyond mitigating its worst excesses.

Similarly, the evidence base (Crisp et al., 2016) in the text box below suggests the many ways in which community anchors – and related community ownership, enterprise and leadership – can mitigate certain elements of poverty. But also the potential for generating wider changes by working more widely across the community sector, its partners and allies on key issues and campaigns, and shared local economic and social development – for instance, across neighbouring communities, city-wide and nationally.

The risk highlighted here is that other deprived communities may miss out on such opportunities to create change without the necessary public sector and community sector infrastructures and related investment. This suggests that by investing in community anchors of substance in such communities, there would be potential to build campaigning and local development work across deprived communities that was more strongly anti-poverty focused.

Key elements of their summary of conclusions include:

Neighbourhood enterprise:
- There is some evidence to show that neighbourhood-based forms of enterprise can tackle material forms of poverty through creating jobs for local residents as well as generating income in the local economy. This may have immediate benefits for the *pockets* of those who secure jobs. Volunteering opportunities within neighbourhood enterprises may also improve the employment *prospects* of those outside the labour market. However, jobs created may not always be accessible to, or of sufficient quality to benefit, more marginal groups.
- Building individual/community capacity through neighbourhood enterprise can help to address non-material forms of poverty by reducing social isolation, increasing cohesion, and creating opportunities for residents to have a say in neighbourhood management.
- There are limits to the capacity for neighbourhood-level enterprise to tackle poverty. But it is possible the scale of local economic development and poverty-related outcomes could be enhanced with more substantial, targeted, specialised support for the sector.

Community-led housing:
- Studies suggest community-led housing may have positive short-term impacts on *pockets* by providing affordable housing, lowering fuel costs and, in some cases, offering direct employment. In the longer-term, training and volunteering opportunities accessed through community-led housing projects may also improve *prospects* by providing skills and experience that help individuals move into paid work.
- Benefits of community-led housing that may impact on non-material forms of poverty associated with living in low income areas include higher satisfaction with area and housing, greater social cohesion and empowerment through participation in projects.
- Success factors include sourcing appropriate upfront finance, an appropriately skilled board and effective partnership with local authorities and the third sector.
- There may be more opportunities to achieve scale but the benefits for households in poverty will depend on the extent to which initiatives target households in need, which has not always been a priority of previous programmes.

Community assets:
- Acquiring and managing community assets can improve outcomes related to material poverty by creating employment or supporting enterprise, whilst also enhancing non-material experiences of poverty through better services, enhanced physical environment and improvements to community well-being.

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[34] https://www4.shu.ac.uk/research/cresr/sites/shu.ac.uk/files/community-led-approaches-to-reducing-poverty-in-neighbourhoods.pdf

- Case study evidence suggests community assets deliver a range of benefits in low income communities but quantitative data indicates take up may be higher in more affluent areas.
- Available evidence does not suggest that new 'community rights' in England are being maximised to the benefit of low income neighbourhoods; more resources and greater targeting may help to unlock demand in these areas.

Community organising and social action:
- Government funded programmes to support community organising tend to focus on measuring outputs; there is little direct evidence of poverty-related benefits.
- Grassroots forms of community organising have notched up notable successes including changing the practices of payday lenders and ensuring low paid workers receive the living wage. Both outcomes may have immediate benefits on the *pockets* of low income households.
- Key drivers of effective community organising and social action include individuals with the right skills to lead campaigns, strong social networks, and appropriate levels of local voluntary and community sector (VCS) support infrastructure; community organising may work less well in low income communities with the least developed VCS infrastructure.
- *Community organising and social action approaches have significant potential to scale up and achieve wider change where linked into city-wide and national campaigns.*

3.5: Performance – improvement, accountability and social and economic outcomes

Key learning

Community anchors provide crucial opportunities for developing:

- *community-led local plans and visions e.g. 'Local Place Plans' – that can focus service development and consider outcomes.*
- *complex inter-connected and co-located community hubs and services.*
- *local learning cultures – open to exploring creative approaches and social change.*

The Christie Commission suggests turning existing notions of performance management on their head through emphasising local stakeholder democratic accountability – via partnership and participation. Further, its concern to reduce demand in the system through prevention and early intervention to tackle the root causes so as to reduce pressure (demand) on public service systems and create a more equitable society, points beyond performance improvement and cost efficiencies to impacting on social and economic outcomes through bold political action – so tackling inequality at source.

The anchor exemplars in this publication are illustrating how anchors can support such a complex integration of partnership-working and participatory democracy to pursue prevention and performance. They point towards a wider development of both public and community sector infrastructures concerned for valued local services, well-supported local social capital and relevant local economic development. And they point towards dialogue, participation, learning and local accountability to achieve this.

1) Facilitating and leading on local community action plans

GNH, as noted above, has worked with the community there to generate a local community action plan. Huntly DDT is now working alongside the CPP and third/community sector partners on regeneration plans for the town. Other examples in Scotland include Neilston Development Trust's development of a 20-year town charter and vision[35] in partnership with East Dunbartonshire Council, and Sustaining Dunbar's Local Resilience Action Plan[36].

Suitably resourced community anchors are well-placed to act as 'community bodies' leading and/or facilitating deliberation on 'Local Place Plans' – as is being currently considered via spatial planning reform and the Scottish Government's Planning (Scotland) Bill introduced into the Scottish Parliament in Dec 2017. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that a significant change in public service culture is needed here if genuinely community-led and

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[35] http://www.dtascommunityownership.org.uk/resources/case-studies/neilston-development-trust-town-charter
[36] https://sustainingdunbar.org/project/local-resilience-action-plan/

'owned' Local Place Plans that have a real and meaningful role in local planning decisions are to emerge.

2) Local hubs that support complex collaborative working

As mentioned in 3.3, Glenboig NH is illustrating the potential for delivering a range of services through a small-scale and integrated, flexible approach *"to make all sorts of connections"* and efficient use of limited resources and staff.

> *"…it's just unbelievable, what's being delivered out of this Centre, for the space that we've got, basically."*

One key to their success is their emphasis on multiskilling and transferable skills for their staff. For example, their administrator not only looks after financial management but also runs the post office – supported by other (trained) staff and volunteers. It does not pay for itself and is considered more as a service to local people but:

> *"… the confectionery side of it [in shop], and the grocery side, are now bringing us in money. So, it's enabling us to pay another two members of staff."*

Whoever is staffing the shop also acts as the caretaker for the centre and multiple staff are trained to drive their community minibuses.

> *"What that means is that within that Senior Care project, we've got people who are multi-skilled as carers and mini bus drivers. … So again, it's using people's skills, and their skills are transferable*."

Govanhill HA/CDT, too, is illustrating this potential for complex hub-based coordination through:

- the work of Govanhill Service Hub with public service partners and some community sector partners;
- the work of Govanhill Community Action as a *local community (and third) sector forum*; and
- the dialogue between the two bodies – Service Hub and Forum – deepening the potential for coordinating both services and community-led action.

3) Shared learning that builds from community knowledge

These community anchors are also illustrating development of a culture concerned for sharing their learning.

Huntly DDT has worked with Education Scotland to undertake an in-depth, week-long consideration of the organisation's activities and partnership-working; see the full report on the [Education Scotland website](#)[37].

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[37] https://education.gov.scot/Documents/HuntlyandDistrictDevelopmentTrustReview310516.pdf

Whilst Govanhill HA/CDT was a key and crucial element in the Scottish Government's Equally Well initiative in Govanhill and the extensive evaluation across the process undertaken by Glasgow Centre for Public Health.[38]

Community anchors and the wider local community sector offer a distinctive approach to performance that brings together learning, dialogue and planning through a local presence. They can offer creativity and flexibility, and have the agility to respond to local context and need through the richness of their networks, roles and local knowledge. Further, they generate opportunities for rapid small-scale prototyping and refinement of new ideas and practices – in advance of a wider spreading of any innovation. The readiness of community organisations to share their learning with their peers is illustrated by the success of the Scottish Government funded Community Learning Exchange[39] administered by the Scottish Community Alliance.

3.6 Concluding thoughts on community anchors and the Christie Commission agenda

A distinctive and unique approach

The Christie Commission's focus is on comprehensively changing how we think about the design and delivery of public services through 'local partnerships and participation' that are focused on improving performance – understood as preventing inequalities and negative outcomes. By positioning local communities as key building blocks in making this change, the Christie Commission provides spaces for considering the distinctive roles of community anchors – and their ability to facilitate community-led place-making, in all its economic, social and physical complexity.

Across Section 3, we have sought to illustrate that, where sufficiently established and resourced, community anchors offer an inherently complex approach – offering 'economies of scope' – that can work with the complexity of such community-led place-making, building suitable partnerships and participation. In so doing, we suggest that the distinctiveness of the community anchor role can be further understood and discussed through the following strengths and potential capacities:

Local leadership and governance:

- *Community advocacy:* strengthening the community's voice (participation) within partnership processes and starting to change the power dynamic.
- *Partnership initiators:* increasingly acting as initiators and leaders of partnerships that start with local actions – rather than as strategic public service planning.

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[38] View Glasgow Centre for Population Health's final evaluation report (Harkins & Egan, 2012b) at: http://www.gcph.co.uk/publications/342_final_evaluation_report_from_the_govanhill_equally_well_test_site (see also Harkins, Egan & Craig, 2011; Harkins & Egan, 2012a).
[39] View: http://www.scottishcommunityalliance.org.uk/community-learning-exchange/ .

- *Community ownership of assets:* that build a community's sense of itself, can generate longer-term income, and challenge market failure and state constraints.
- *Local hubs:* in various forms that provide spaces for complex local connectivity, activity and services – and add to the local 'brand' of community development.

Knowledge, flexibility and local commitment:

- *Local knowledge:* being able to offer detailed local knowledge and understanding and develop complex and subtle actions because of this
Flexibility and local scale: providing creative, agile approaches that can pilot local innovations and prototypes to explore meeting local needs
- *Sharing learning:* openly across their community sector and public service networks
- *Multi-skilled, committed staff and volunteers:* who can support the inherent complexity of anchors, and are there for the long term.

Working with local diversity:

- *Depth of local connectivity:* reaching parts of often diverse communities with whom services and other sectors might struggle to build relationships.
- *Working with difference*: seeking to work across the complexity of communities and their different organisations and groups, bringing people together in creative ways.
- *Connecting with social capital:* supporting and developing local social capital and volunteering – as suitable to context.

These exemplars help us to understand the potential for community anchors to play distinctive, unique local roles through their community governance, inherent (multi-purpose) complexity and local commitment.

Reflective anchor practice – local democracy, community resilience and social change

The discussions across Section 3 are also helping to bring into focus areas for further reflection and development for community anchors and for public services partners.

Local democratic working: communities are 'messy' and complex places in which serious local conflict and misunderstanding can arise. This can be challenging for community anchors – and their directors, staff, activists and volunteers – to deal with, given their limited resources and in the absence of functioning, local, representative, democratic spaces. Whilst this can happen to leaders in any sector, it can be especially difficult when it is happening in your own neighbourhood or community. This is a crucial area of practice highlighted by the exemplars and (although beyond this report,) it would be valuable to deepen understanding of how to support and resource community sector leaders playing these complex roles. And, likewise, supporting public services partners in understanding the complexity and dilemmas of such roles and the need for suitable resourcing and recognition.

Community resilience: each of our exemplars is contributing to the resilience of their communities, for instance, through building social capital, local sustainable development

activity and seeking to provide leadership for community-led place-making. However, the need to address short-term local priorities/crises, and the reality of insecure finances can often pull community anchors away from a long-term, strategic approach. Longer-term strategies from state and public service partners in supporting community anchors to realise stable core finances will be needed if they are to pursue such locally-led place-making.

Further, as we highlighted in 1.3, community anchors are not the only relevant, distinctive or unique community sector organisations and/or networks at work here: others include community social enterprises, community councils, other community groups and informal networks. This suggests the need for a more fluid, flexible strategic and investment approach to the community sector more generally from public services and the state, if local community resilience and sustainable development relevant to local contexts is to be genuinely fostered.

Social change – fairer society and sustainable future: some of the myriad ways in which community anchors are seeking to support or could support preventative approaches and early intervention are illustrated through the exemplars. However, much of what they are able to do is simply to mitigate local symptoms of upstream structural (wider policy/systems) issues, particularly in connection with wealth/income inequalities – potentially limiting the worst effects of poverty, for instance. With their knowledge and understanding of the local impacts of these structural issues, anchors offer a rich source of learning for policymakers and public services seeking to address root causes.

We have also highlighted in the cases of Stòras Uibhist – in relation to population decline and local economic development – and Govanhill Housing Association – in relation to the private rental housing crisis – that they have been able to engage with the state on these issues. And, in so doing, to advocate for suitable levels of state investment (to match the scale of the crisis) and influence policymaking locally and nationally. There is, we suggest, the potential for community anchors and the community sector, locally and nationally, to be crucial resources and advocates for broader social change but this would require suitable investment in capacity-building for the community sector and for public service partners and policymakers.

In Section 4, we move on to consider how the potential offered in relation to public service reform by community anchors can be more fully realised and, in Section 5, how community anchors can be understood in relation to wider aspirations and strategies for change.

4. Community anchors: supportive infrastructure

4.1: Introduction

In this section we draw together the learning from: across the six exemplars (section 2) and their relevance to the Christie Commission agenda (section 3); our (the researchers) wider discussions with the Advisory Group and those involved in the consultation work; and our wider research knowledge as researchers – see Acknowledgements.

In 4.2, we consider the sorts of *infrastructure* that would support the development of community anchors and a vibrant, democratic community sector and community-led place-making. We focus on three broad concerns: (1) policymaking relevant to anchors; (2) resourcing organisations, people and local social capital; and (3) culture change within public services.

We return in 4.3 to conclude by emphasising the need for ongoing reflective, shared dialogue and further relevant research on the relationship between community anchors, public services and policymaking – and in relation to the three key underlying themes of local democracy, community resilience and social change.

4.2: Infrastructure for community anchors: policy, resources, culture change

The exemplars highlight community anchor organisations taking an active lead in designing and delivering activities, services and infrastructure that address local needs and, generally, in developing the resilience of their communities. However, this and previous research (see Henderson, 2015) also illustrate some of the barriers, challenges and frustrations that anchors face. These continue to limit their ability to fulfil their potential for local innovation, action and change.

Here, we explore how such barriers can be tackled and suitable infrastructure put in place to support community sector development by considering:

- the policy landscape in which community anchors are working (1)
- long-term investment in community anchors and supportive infrastructure (2)
- culture change in public services and CPPs (3)

1) Policy and legislation

Key learning

- *State policymaking has huge impacts on the income-generating capacities of community anchor organisations* – and so there is considerable potential for a step-change in the development of locally-relevant anchors across Scotland.
- *The work of multi-purpose community anchors cuts across the full diversity of*

policy and practice – 'community sector proofing' of local (and national) policymaking provides the space for the local state to build productive long-term relationships with the sector.

- *Community anchors can lead and facilitate local participatory and deliberative democratic activity* that supports the development of bottom-up policymaking.

Policymaking that supports complex, multi-purpose community anchors: Scotland is composed of thousands of local communities of place – and likewise local communities of interest/identity cutting across these places. Community anchors have emerged in many of these places to work for the longer-term, and for the diverse, interests and aspirations of their communities; and with neighbouring anchors to support local communities of interest/identity. They are suitably positioned to understand what is needed locally to support the full range of local economic and social development – as we suggest in 3.6, community anchors hold a depth of knowledge of value to policymakers. They have the potential for collective – community sector as a whole – impacts across Scottish and UK policymaking and outcomes. The full breadth of community anchor relevance to policymaking that has emerged during this research is illustrated by figure 1 below yet it also demonstrates the vulnerabilities of community anchors to policy change.

In undertaking this research, we have had discussions with the participants and advisory group on issues relevant to a full breadth of policy development and related legislation including:

Figure 1: Community anchors as cutting across all dimensions of policymaking

Recent policy changes at UK level, for example moving the goal posts on support for renewable energy at short notice, illustrate how a 'done to' rather than co-produced approach can lead to wasted community effort and disempowerment.

The **Feed-in-Tariff for renewable energy** – a state subsidy to support development of such projects across the UK – provided crucial support to community ownership of wind turbines, as illustrated by Stòras Uibhist and Huntly DDT and the related benefits for organisational and community income. Unfortunately, the tariff has now been reduced such that community schemes are no longer viable, with Huntly literally only just making it in time.

> *"When there was the first discussion about the Feed-in Tariff incentives being removed, a number of organisations including Community Energy Scotland lobbied hard to make sure there was some sort of concession for communities. There was talk at one stage of having a designated community Feed-in-Tariff which would have been great. What came out in the end was that we got an extra six months to what they call pre-accredit your Feed-in-Tariff rate. For us it was the difference between our project being viable and non-viable. We got six months extra to deliver a project after we'd managed to secure a Tariff. Without it we wouldn't have been able to complete the project and the Trust would have been gone … and the loans we'd taken out. It was a really important, seemingly small, concession on behalf of the government."*

<div align="right">(Huntly DDT)</div>

What was a crucial 'game-changer' for community organisations has for now been lost along with the opportunity for wider community and social benefits.

Similarly, community organisations have been left to attempt to pick up the pieces following UK welfare reform. This is putting community anchors in complex positions in attempting to mitigate impacts and the damage to the lives of tenants and residents of these state policy changes[40] – and putting community housing associations under financial stresses themselves.

> *"These regeneration activities, under the umbrella of 'The Only Way is UP', started around 2011 as a direct response to welfare reform, attempting to support local people whilst also seeking to avoid knock-on issues with rent arrears".*

<div align="right">(Ardenglen HA)</div>

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[40] GWSFHA's member organisations have undertaken considerable preparatory work to support tenants in the face of the shift to Universal Credit and welfare reform – view Conference report 2017: http://gwsf.org.uk/annual-conference-2017/. Further reporting on the impacts for both tenants and the organisation will follow. Likewise, Lochaber Housing Association has run a pilot with Highland Communities Credit Union to support tenants http://www.lochaberhousing.org.uk/partnership.html . DTAS and Scottish Community Alliance members have also been involved in piloting support projects for local people struggling with and being harmed by the impacts of welfare reform.

It is when community anchor organisations have a secure, longer-term core source of income outside of state control – as with community housing associations, with their significant housing stock, and community development trusts who own a significant, income-generating community asset, such as a wind turbine – that the creativity, diversity of activity and strong local voice can emerge; with all its benefits for society. *A constructive approach from the state is then a crucial element to building suitable community asset ownership and 'sustainably independent' community anchors.*

Further, with such core financial sustainability in place, community anchors are able to pursue this productive multi-purpose role in complex ways and to influence policy, practice and social change in similarly productive and complex ways. *This would strongly suggest that at both national levels, CPP levels and local levels that all policy initiatives should actively engage with community sector organisations and knowledge – and 'community sector proofing' of all policymaking would therefore be invaluable.*

In support of local democratic decision-making, participation and deliberation

Recent Scottish policy and legislation around community empowerment, land reform, asset transfer, community regeneration and support for community renewables and 'place-based' approaches all signal an intention to enable more local control. However, it is not clear if there is an appetite to pursue the localism of the Christie Commission narrative and truly explore the potential for bottom-up policymaking. Current agendas around public service reform, (spatial) planning reform and democratic renewal[41] provide an opportunity to build trust in bottom-up processes and resolve the lack of control that communities currently feel over decisions that affect them.

The facilitative, participatory leadership that community anchors offer could support the development of new, local democratic including:

- supporting and leading on the development of (participatory) local community-led action plans – that bring together community planning and spatial planning;
- supporting and leading on the development of other participatory processes e.g. participatory/community budgeting;
- supporting and leading on the development of local deliberative processes e.g. citizens' juries and other 'mini-publics';
- supporting decentralisation of local state structures to ultra-local levels e.g. reform of the community councils[42] and/or similar accountable highly-localised state structures built around participatory budgeting;
- supporting and leading on community-led regeneration and working through local placed-based approaches to partnership-working (Bynner, 2016).

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[41] See the Scottish Governrment's current Local Governance Review: https://beta.gov.scot/policies/improving-public-services/local-governance-review/

[42] See Scottish Community Development Council and What Works Scotland on-going research on the role of community councils: http://whatworksscotland.ac.uk/wws-and-scdc-collaborating-on-review-of-community-councils-in-scotland/

Empowered, communities, self-organising at the very local scale have the local knowledge and flexibility, if suitably resourced, to prototype projects and to learn from their actions more quickly. Whilst a sense of local knowledge and ideas being ignored or undervalued undermines local autonomy, empowerment and resilience (Cinderby et al., 2016). Further exploring and extending local control of public spending (budgets), as per participatory budgeting, and of other local public and community-controlled sources of income, resources and investment, would give greater credibility to such community-led planning initiatives. The Scottish Government is now seeking 1% (£100m) of local authority budgets subject to participatory budgeting by 2021. This is aiming go beyond small grant approaches and to involve mainstream public service budgets and wider public, third and community sector partners (for an overview see Escobar et al., 2018).[43]

2) Resourcing community anchors and the community sector

Key learning

The local and central state have crucial roles in investing in anchors to:

- *build their long-term financial sustainability through community asset ownership, e.g. suitably supported asset transfer, and community enterprise, e.g. procurement.*
- *support the further development of community anchors of substance in all deprived communities.*
- *develop varieties of relevant training to build the resilience of organisations and their staff, activists and volunteers – including community sector-led 'change-agent' programmes.*

support local social capital (activists and volunteers) who are so crucial to our society, e.g. via training, citizen allowances and/or the welfare/benefits system.

Investing in 'sustainable independence' – organisational strength

As we highlight in 3.6, it is difficult to underestimate the crucial importance of a reliable long-term income stream – in particular in relation to core costs, strengthening the organisation as a whole and investing in local developments – if a community anchor is to work to its full multi-purpose potential and develop local community resilience.

A community anchor may need to start with smaller projects to build skills and experience, a track record and further aspirations. Yet if anchors are to be there for the long-term, reliance on unpredictable, short-term project funding will be a huge drag on their activity. It

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[43] See the interim evaluation of participatory budgeting in Scotland (O'Hagan et al, 2017) for Scottish Government: http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0052/00527483.pdf; and COSLA and Scottish Government's Community Choices Framework: http://www.cosla.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/17-10-27_item_05_cc_pb_framework.pdf

leaves them at the mercy of changeable funding priorities that may not align with local priorities; makes it hard to retain hard-won staff expertise; puts unnecessary burdens on volunteer boards; and limits their capacity to build reserves (via unrestricted income).

A number of initiatives involving the community sector and state have shown how building suitable asset ownership and income streams can strengthen an anchor organisation's financial resilience:

Community ownership of housing, land and property: various community and policy initiatives have together led to community ownership as central to financially-secure community organisations:

- The *community housing movement* in Glasgow and the state response through the Housing (Scotland) Act 1974, the Housing Association Grant and the roles of the Housing Corporation (then Scottish Homes) and Glasgow Corporation saw the development of community housing through *asset transfer* (People's Palaces, 1999; McKee, 2010) … now seen widely across Scotland;[44]
- The *community land movement* – and ownership of land, homes and other physical assets through *community land trusts*, in rural and remote Scotland began (again) in the 1990s (Mc Morran et al., 2014; Rennie & Billing, 2015). Highlands & Islands Enterprise, Land Reform in Scotland (Acts in 2003 and 2016) and state funding including the Scottish Land Fund have all played crucial roles in its ongoing development (see Stòras Uibhist profile, 2.7);
- Smaller scale ownership of property and housing are playing a key role too – see for instance the property 'portfolio' of Govanhill CDT (2.4)[45] – but both financial support for purchase and for refurbishment/redevelopment from the state are often crucial if community organisations are going to develop successful income generation activities from this work, rather than a longer-term debt.

There is then a crucial role for the state in supporting transfer or purchase of assets – for instance, at below market value – but also in providing patient (low interest) loans for both purchase and redevelopment.

Community renewables: *w*hile it lasted, the subsidies for renewable energy enabled many community anchors to create a solid base of unrestricted funding – even if build-up of this

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[44] the transfer of housing stock to community housing associations gives their wider regeneration activities a solid underpinning. However, whilst this asset base can help them to leverage other funding, they are not permitted to use surplus housing income for these 'wider role' activities. Instead, they are often reliant on grant funding, save where they can develop further assets and enterprise – see Ardenglen HA (2.2) and Govanhill HA/CDT (2.4) exemplars.

[45] See too: Helmsdale and District Development Trust built the first social housing for 35 years – allowing four families to live in the area http://www.hie.co.uk/community-support/community-projects/helmsdale-and-district-development-trust--community-housing.html

income stream is often considerably delayed[46] by front-loading of loan capital repayments. Getting to that stage was often hugely challenging and needed: Scottish Government support with initial finance to build a credible plan, through the CARES scheme;[47] development funding for staff time, for example via the Strengthening Communities Programme; potentially investment in land via the Scottish Land Fund: and technical support from Community Energy Scotland, for instance:

<div style="border:1px solid #000">

Investing in sustainable community organisations: community renewables

Staff at **Huntly and District Development Trust** committed to developing a community-owned wind turbine, and have been successful in creating a long-term local income source for both organisation and community. They were (then) able to draw on a range of state support to take this project forward:

- Farm and land brought through Scottish Land Fund (covered 90%) + two local loans – the likely potential for a wind turbine was part of the shared strategy.
- CARES Loan scheme covered pre-planning costs.
- Loan for turbine development: 85% via Clydesdale Bank; 15%, Social Investment Scotland.
- 'Feed-in-Tariff': state subsidy for renewable energy production [see 4.2 (1) above].
- Core-funding through the Scottish Government's *Strengthening Communities Programme* of the Trust's development worker; initially funding of a full-time post, tapering to part-time over a 3.5-year period.

These investments were crucial in supporting the Trust in establishing this sustainable source of income – as were the huge commitment of the Trust's development worker, other staff, activists and volunteers, and the wider community.

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Such opportunities are now few and far between and many community anchors have seen their efforts to implement community-owned renewables schemes thwarted, usually after considerable expenditure of money and volunteer time – see for example Anderglen HA's profile.

Other business opportunities: in principle, there is no reason why community organisations and wider community social enterprises and co-ops cannot sustain a wide range of local income-generating businesses – often based around property e.g. community retail (shop),

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[46] Often most of the income from the first 10 years of a community renewables project (wind turbines, micro-hydro scheme, potentially solar, too) is used to pay off the associated loan. In which case only in the second decade will the full income be available to the organisation for its activities and wider community uses.

[47] CARES is a patient loan scheme – favourable terms – to support the early development/preparatory work an organisation needs in order to develop a community renewables project plan (as distinct from implementing the project): https://www.localenergy.scot/funding/ .

local business hub.[48] Indeed, this will often happen in a community where there is 'market failure' and the private sector sees little opportunity, and the strength of community social capital is needed to make it work; arguably this accounts for the higher survivability of cooperatives over private sector businesses (Cooperatives UK, 2015). But as with any business development the right mix of financial support and activity-specific business advice is needed. Acquisition of other assets – e.g. Stòras Uibhist's ownership and development of the local harbour – is also opening up opportunities to generate income through enterprising activities. This too relies on significant long-term investment whether through grant and loan funding or, increasingly, through community share offers and other crowdfunding schemes. Specialist professional expertise is usually also essential, not least to ensure that apparent assets do not turn out to be liabilities; community enterprise opportunities, despite have significant social benefits, are frequently financially marginal at best, especially in disadvantaged communities with little money available to circulate locally.

Endowments: long-term financial investments held by a community organisation or a local community body/trust can also provide a steady, independent source.

Public services and procurement: many community anchors generate income through public sector service level agreements and wider public procurement contracts. Where these activities can raise a surplus ('profit') then this income can add to an anchor's financial independence. Community organisations have been developing strategies that can support them in winning contracts, given they are often at a competitive disadvantage to larger third sector and private sector organisations working across larger areas who can draw on 'economies of scale' (see 1.3). One such strategy is that of community sector consortia where community organisations work together to win and provide for a contract – see the text box below. However, such consortia are hugely time-consuming for smaller community organisations to put together. And further, this does the beg the question as to whether the public sector has really understood the advantages that multi-purpose community anchors offer – their ability to multi-task and provide inherent complexity or 'economies of scope' (see 1.3) and to work with and draw from people's local knowledge (social capital and local networks).[49] Here, the aim would be for the public sector to scale down procurement contracts to actively seek to draw on this strength of community anchors and their 'inherent complexity' (Weaver, 2009). This would need then a very different approach to the commissioning of services – drawing on a locally-focused, longer-term relational approach (Davidson Knight et al. 2017).

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[48] see, for instance, Senscot's listings and the diversity of (often) community-based social enterprises: https://senscot.net/network/members/.

[49] See, for instance, Locality and Seddon's (2017) report: *Saving Money by doing the right thing: updated* makes an *initial case* for the strength of a 'local-by-default' approach to services in terms of quality of service; resolving people's (complex) concerns before they get worse; and so (potentially) reducing pressure on public services and related services costs.

Public sector procurement and community sector consortia

Engaging with public sector procurement can be challenging and the consortium model pioneered by the [Community Resource Network Scotland](#)[50](CRNS) is providing a model that could be replicated by other community sector networks.

Consisting of 17 community-based social enterprises, the Reuse Consortium, created by Community Resources Network Scotland, is groundbreaking in enabling these enterprises to provide services to local authorities. Each local authority administers grants from the Scottish Welfare Fund to people on low incomes who need support to establish or remain in their homes in their communities. Local authorities now have the option of procuring quality reuse, rather than new, furniture and white goods to grant recipients. This is creating a win, win, win situation with clients benefiting from greater choice, local authority's potentially being able to make constrained budgets go further, and the social enterprises gaining business that can enable them to increase their social and community outcomes, such as providing local employment and volunteering opportunities – often for those furthest from the job market.

From a local authority's perspective, the benefits are significant:

- In a time of financial constraint, budgets can potentially be stretched to support more people in need[51]. Exposure to reuse may encourage people to consider reuse in the future, potentially discouraging them from using high street weekly payment stores and pay day lenders.
- Local authority budgets are spent in the local social enterprise providing the reuse furniture, contributing to their financial viability which allows them to continue to provide opportunities for employment and volunteering to those who are furthest removed from the job market.
- Items are diverted from landfill resulting in a more circular approach to the local economy.

Scottish Communities for Health and Wellbeing has also piloted a consortium approach where partner organisations work together on larger national contracts.

> It is a way of moving beyond local funding opportunities and to do specific pieces of work that may not be funded at a local level. The consortium approach offers organisations the opportunity to secure contracts or funding that would not otherwise be available, extend their service provision into new fields and to gain new expertise or to extend their activities in to new geographies or other community groups.

For commissioners, it enables economies of scale whilst ensuring that delivery can be

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[50] http://crns.org.uk/
[51] View at: http://www.schw.co.uk/currentprojects.page4.html (accessed 05/01/2018)

flexible and adapted to local circumstances. They have recently delivered a project for the Health and Social Care Alliance to support people who are socially isolated due to long-term health conditions.

Investing in the people: staff, Board members, activists and volunteers

We highlighted in 3.6 the importance of investment in training and leadership for the community sector as it pursues complex multi-purpose local roles within diverse communities and in pursuit of long-term goals. Smaller, newer organisations will need to develop the capacity, skills and peer support networks of staff, activists and volunteers … and current valuable examples of such training and support include those provided by:

- [Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations](#) and other housing groups including [Share](#) and [EVH](#) provide specialist support, particularly to the Boards and Management Committees of community housing associations in their employer role.
- Development Trust Association Scotland provides a range of advice, support services and training opportunities to community development trusts – including the Community Ownership Support Services and the Strengthening Communities Programme – *see text box below.*
- Highlands & Islands Enterprise and its Community Account Management approach (see text box below) as well as providing Board Governance health checks that build leadership and knowledge re finance, management, legal duties, accountability.
- Social Enterprise Networks – supported by [Senscot](#) (Social Entrepreneurs Network Scotland) –are member-led and provide a safe space for sharing ideas and information; for promoting products and services; providing events and training; and influencing policy development.

Community account management and the Strengthening Communities Programme

Community account management: Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) has had a long-standing role in the region for supporting local economic and community development, since the 1960s. In a context of market failure and state constraints, given dispersed populations, it has played a crucial role in supporting the development of community ownership and enterprise. It has refined its models for working with rural and remote communities as [account management](#). One of these, *community account management*, supports the development of community organisations in fragile communities through:

- funding and support for local development officers employed by local community anchor organisations
- developing local community plans – with the officer working with local groups to prioritise community development needs
- stakeholders taking the plans forward – including enterprise activities that in the

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medium-term generate sustainable income for organisation and community
  * HIE staff work closely with the community to advise and support the plans.
HIE works with the community to identify the necessary resource, whether full or part time, and this post is often initially funded at 100%. Funding may then taper down to zero over a number of years as the community develops income streams from development projects – the rate of tapering being flexible according to context.[52]

Strengthening Communities Programme: as part of the Scottish Government's support for community-led regeneration, HIE and Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) are supporting over 50 community organisations[53] in rural and urban areas, and seeking to build the capacity of organisations and communities along the broad lines of the community account management model; Glenboig NH, Greener Kirkcaldy and Huntly DDT have benefited – see interim report on the Programme http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/community/strengthening-communities/InterimReviewSCP/SCPInterimReview

A range of other state funding for community-led regeneration is now available, and this includes:

  * The **People and Communities Fund** that supports co-production of services – accessed by Ardenglen HA, Govanhill HA and Greener Kirkcaldy.
  * The **Community Choices Fund** – accessed by Ardenglen HA.
  * The **Community Ownership Support Service** delivered by DTAS.

These are all part of the Scottish Government's Empowering Communities Fund programme.

  * And, the **Coalfields Regeneration Trust** – accessed by Glenboig NH and including Scottish Government funds https://beta.gov.scot/news/investing-in-coalfield-communities/ and here: https://www.coalfields-regen.org.uk/where-we-work/scotland/

There is then already significant support for community anchor organisations as they seek to develop skills in governance, organisational development, community asset ownership and community enterprise/business development – and from community sector networks and state agencies with Government funding. If the potential for community anchors is to be further developed then this experience can support and inform development of wider networks of support and development of suitable investment and funding. For instance,

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[52] Examples of community-led approaches used by HIE are highlighted in newsletter (2015) – view: http://www.hie.co.uk/userfiles/files/CCB-newsletter-V4(1).pdf. A 2016 evaluation of HIE's community-led development approach is available here: http://www.hie.co.uk/regional-information/economic-reports-and-research/archive/community-led-development-evaluation-2009-15.html
[53] Meaning of term 'community anchors' will vary here. View Strengthening Communities Programme at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Built-Environment/regeneration/community/strengthening-communities

CPPs and their partner bodies could bring together a range of existing funding, grants and investment – often needing match funding – to build local Strengthening Community Programmes that support development workers in local community anchors in taking forward income-generating activities.

> … it would be far easier honestly if we could just say, whether it's the community planning partnership or [whoever] … here's two or three years for … a set development officer to go and make the most of that [asset] … 100,000 pounds over three years or four years and the reward from that...the payback from that for council, for NHS, from whoever, in terms of the prevention agenda I think would be a tremendous …

(Community anchor interviewee)

A change-agent programme

Given the scope of activities of multi-purpose community anchors, and the leadership roles needed (see discussions in 2.8 and 3.6) then there will be the potential need for further types of training and support. One such area worthy of consideration links to our own research focus on local democracy, community resilience and social change. These fit within a broad approach of *'developing change-agents'* and such a focus could include an integration of skills and knowledge such as:

- facilitative leadership, local democratic practices (participative and facilitative);
- developing community resilience and 'bouncing forward' approaches – see 5.2;
- community organising and social change – preventing inequality and sustainable development.

A community sector-led programme could, for instance, include a mentoring and coaching programme to enable peer-to-peer support across the community sector. Whilst many change-agents emerge naturally and 'learn by doing' as they work to realise their particular local vision, much effort could be saved through this model of training and support. Alternatively, or as well as, a programme approach, there is the potential, too, to achieve this through suitable investment/funding being passed to the community level. This then bubbles upwards as communities buy-in whatever services, training and expertise they need from relevant sources. And this would provide the opportunity to explore what emerges when intentionally inverting top-down polices, resourcing and dynamics.

Investing in local social capital – local activists and volunteers

All community anchors – and so communities and society – derive a huge subsidy from the *in-kind contribution* from their many activists, volunteers and those 'helping out'. Their contribution spans from the sometimes onerous governance responsibilities of board membership to developing and implementing practical projects and activities, and

undertaking the many smaller tasks and kindnesses that keep groups, networks and neighbourhoods 'running'.

For many, such unpaid work provides opportunities to develop skills, knowledge and experience that can lead to better employment prospects (material) and enhance individual and community wellbeing (non-material). At the same time, these hugely significant activities and contributions to community development and resilience across Scotland really deserve to be better valued and acknowledged.

This suggests there would be value – in a society where 'in-work poverty' and 'over-work and related burnout' are endemic – in exploring further how to invest in these crucial people and roles. For instance through a citizen's allowance – for those on low incomes working in this way; training allowances – to support an individual's development; and/or the adaption of the welfare (benefits and pensions) system to support those in these unpaid roles; another related approach being explored currently through local pilots is a Basic or Citizens Income via Scottish Government funding.[54]

3) Culture change: public services and society

Key learning

Community Planning Partnerships, the public sector and public services should look to:

- *invest in community-led training for public service staff to support understanding of the community sector and its potential.*
- *work with community anchors to build local deliberative and participatory democratic structures.*
- *invest in the longer-term role of community anchors in monitoring change in actual (local) social and economic outcomes in their communities, e.g. inequalities, sustainable communities, to support the development of preventative approaches to inequality and related social change.*

Building shared understandings across public services and community sector

We have highlighted, in 2.8 and 3.6, the challenges for public services partners and partnerships in understanding what community anchors and the community sector can do, and what types of support and investment they need. And we've suggested that developing this understanding requires significant culture change and related training for those working in public services.

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[54] View: https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/rsa-blogs/2017/09/scottish-government-will-fund-basic-income-experiments

Working with such a different sector – one with a distinctive ethos and diverse approaches – requires a significant shift in thinking for the public sector: for instance, in moving from a more top-down, linear-type of partnership working to a more organic style of partnership working across complex systems and networks. The reflections from five public sector/CPP partners in the text box below – each working with a different anchor exemplar – illustrate their learning and the shared learning from taking up this challenge and the value of building partnership and trust through a longer-term and patient approach between the two sectors.

Building relevant community sector and public sector partnership

Feedback from five of public sector/CPP staff, each working with a different exemplar, on what they are learning from developing these partnerships:

> *"… (they) are an active member of the CLD Partnership including membership of Youth Provision sub group and Employability sub group. Staff from this CLD locality also have formal links as monitoring … Local Grant awards and offering Community Capacity Building support to the board members as appropriate. … I would say the partnership goes beyond the formal structure with staff from both (our) organisations having good working relationships and, where appropriate, able to complement each other's service."*

> *"…I would reflect that over the last few years a lot of their energies have been working on projects which would provide the organisation with a sustainable income for the long term. Therefore, it may have been the perception that the organisation have not been contributing as much to partnership working or participation with partners as you would expect. This hard work has paid off (in) providing a sustainable income for years to come which, in time, will also provide a substantial income for community projects…"*

> *"… the CPP Area Partnership focused on evaluating the(ir own) Community Budgeting (CB) event, bringing in those funded to provide feedback to members – on the use of the funding, impact on their communities and their experience of taking part in the pilot etc. It was decided to also invite (the anchor) to this meeting to do the same regarding their (own CB) pilot, so that moving forward everyone would have been briefed in the same way. There is potential therefore for both to work in partnership to develop further CB rollout in the area, and obviously avoid duplication."*

> *"…close working relationship with (the anchor) … has had a transformative effect in many ways cf. to previous situation in which economy was extremely fragile. Main issues are around them ensuring that they take the community with them and with ensuring that they clearly prioritise the projects that they want to take forward – they have a huge suite of projects they would like to progress.*

[researcher interview notes]"

"…Through past projects that we have worked on with (them) … I can honestly say that our relationship has moved on from pushing individual agendas at the start to a deeper understanding and respect for each other's organisations. … Through work with them we have managed to reach and engage with a large number of our vulnerable tenants who previously would have mistrust of Local Authority intervention. … we have learned that partnership working and pulling on the strengths of each organisation is more beneficial to the customer in the long run. Our relationship is based on a mutual trust, we communicate and meet regularly, are open and provide information or reports which are mutually beneficial to one another."

Through our research process and in having the opportunity to talk with both sectors, and from our previous research and practice experience, we would flag up several key opportunities for CPPs and public services to empower community anchors and local partners and, in the process, build shared understanding of the potential of organic and community-led development. These could include:

Local community-led plans: by working in support of community anchors as they lead on community plans and visions (see 3.3 and 3.5), public services have the opportunity to learn more about the sector, its approach and the value of its local knowledge and networks.

Community sector-led training programmes: by supporting the local community sector in developing local (community sector) change-agent training, as highlighted above in 4.2 (2), there would be the potential for public services to draw from this to establish a related approach of culture change through public service change-agents.

Evidencing the complex, multi-purpose (holistic) contributions of community anchors: given that anchors work through their 'inherent complexity,' then different approaches are needed to evidence (evaluate) this holistic approach rather than the more silo-based approaches of larger bodies.[55] Local (context relevant) development of such evidencing would provide opportunities for shared cross-sector working and learning.

There will doubtless be other 'obvious' opportunities to build engagement and shared learning around common causes. The What Works Scotland Report *Community Planning Officials Survey: Understanding the everyday work of local participatory governance in Scotland* report (Escobar et al., 2018), for instance, highlights the importance of CPPs being able to show how their work with partners and communities (participation) is making a difference:

> **Recommendation 14:** the added value of CPPs needs to be better understood and communicated within CPPs, across local government and communities, and at national level – for example, by reporting more systematically the collaborative advantages gained through partnership work, as well as specific outcomes for a range of communities of place, practice and interest.

By actively seeking to develop partnership working and community-led working with and through community anchor organisations, and focused on these common causes, CPPs and wider public services will be better placed to illustrate their developing work on 'collaborative advantages' and particular outcomes.

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[55] Some experience (and tools) already exists: Sampson and Weaver (2010) have piloted a quantitative approach that identifies how anchors 'attract' local people and 'connect' with local services; Baker et al. (2011) illustrate a mapping of anchor contributions to local community development.

Working towards participatory and deliberative governance

The What Works Scotland report *Community Planning Officials Survey: Understanding the everyday work of local participatory governance in Scotland* (Escobar et al., 2018) also provides valuable pointers in relation to the development of stronger participatory and deliberative processes within community planning:

> **Recommendation 8:** CPPs should examine the extent to which they constitute effective **'deliberative systems'**, where different meetings and forums, from the local to the strategic, are coherently linked and feature high quality deliberation throughout. [our emphasis in bold]

> **Recommendation 2:** Future research must assess the impact of the Community Empowerment Act on transforming CPPs into spaces for **participatory governance** – i.e. governance through partnership across sectors and organisations, underpinned by meaningful and consequential participation by citizens and communities of place, practice and interest. [our emphasis in bold]

A key challenge for public services and government remains 'the how' of shifting from seeking top-down control to putting in place the conditions that can enable community action to emerge and flourish … and related to this having the confidence to let go, trust the process and work skilfully with others to achieve aspirations and outcomes. This work requires a different skillset, that of 'facilitative leadership' which values expertise in hosting and convening creative dialogue and genuinely seeking to including all relevant stakeholders. It will require new, local and inclusive deliberative spaces where:

> *"all voices are heard, differing perspectives are considered and conflicts used to find creative ways forward in resilient communities of the future"*

> (Stirling, 2015)

This would be very different from simply consulting people on options. It is about open-ended conversations where new possibilities can be generated; and where people feel able to explore and understand each other's views on equal terms – and then deliberate in-depth on potential actions and outcomes.

We would suggest that the emphasis on local partnerships, participation, collaboration, local democracy and local accountability in the Christie Commission (2011) report points towards not simply a collaborative governance, but developing a **participatory governance**. Here local spaces for dialogue, deliberation and decision-making (Escobar, 2011) across all stakeholders become fundamental.

Locally-led, deliberative planning and participation

> *"People's needs are better met when they are involved in an equal and reciprocal relationship with professionals and others, working together to get things done."*

> NESTA/National Economic Foundation – Boyle et al. (2010)

This is not necessarily an approach that will suit all communities from the outset but, commitment from CPPs to properly resourced and facilitated local processes would enable a fundamental change in the role of the public services, at all levels. What if their role became to provide resources and relevant professional support and knowledge/expertise for local people in developing ultra-local place plans? These deliberatively produced plans could then inform and lead relevant central community planning such as Local Outcome Improvement Plans (LOIPs). Suitably resourced community anchors would be well-placed to support building local capacity for deliberative activities and Local Place Plans.

The *Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015* provides a range of opportunities for 'community bodies' and local community sector, including locality plans, asset transfers, community-right-to-buy, participation requests and engaging with strategic and statutory processes of CPPs. Taken in piecemeal and tokenistic ways, they may amount to little. Yet, a committed, creative CPP could, for instance, work with community anchors and the wider community sector e.g. community councils, community social enterprises on its patch to work to build locally-led, bottom-up networks concerned for **participatory governance**.

Focusing on making a difference to social problems and actual outcomes

The What Works Scotland report *Community Planning Officials Survey: Understanding the everyday work of local participatory governance in Scotland* (Escobar et al., 2018) has highlighted the importance to CPPs of continuing to recognise not only plans to change local social and economic outcomes, but also what then actually happens:

> Recommendation 13: Monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Community Empowerment Act should pay close attention to the extent to which it contributes **to reduce, increase or reproduce existing inequalities** at local level and across Scotland. [our emphasis in bold]

Similarly, the Christie Commission swings the focus solely from that of improving service performance to that of seeking to tackle complex social problems and seeking a more equitable, fairer society. All stakeholders are considered crucial to meeting this challenge: CPPs and the state as a whole; the wider economy and institutions – including private sector; third/community sector; staff and trades unions; citizens and communities; and, service-users, carers and households (families). We have suggested in 2.8 and 3.6, the potential for community anchors and the community sector to have leading roles here in providing knowledge and generating advocacy – where public services and the state are willing to invest in them.

Advocating the rolling back of the state's support for vulnerable communities in the name of resilience is a misguided translation of self-organisation in ecological systems into self-reliance in social systems.

(Davoudi, 2012)

Crucially, whilst emphasising the need to move from a top-down mindset to learning how to put in place the

conditions to create empowered, resilient communities, we would argue that this is **not** about the withdrawal of the local state from governance responsibilities – and passing of these onto citizens and communities (responsibilisation). In this research, we have pointed to the potential for community anchors to provide local leadership and develop community resilience. Yet this a key way to sustain the state's focus and resources on tackling structural social problems and inequalities – not as a way for the state and society to abdicate responsibility.

Both our discussions above of (1) the state and a locally-focused participatory governance, and (2) the community sector and community-led dialogue, could usefully begin in the local and community-led place-making e.g. community plans and visions, dialogue and deliberation. Yet, will inevitably engage with discussions of values and aspirations for society and the working through of policies, systems and structures that distribute and redistribute resources and wealth across society.

The long-term roles, commitment and local visions of community anchors allows them to play a crucial role here in sustaining discussions between citizens, service-users and communities with public services, CPPs and the local state. They can facilitate engagement with the challenging questions (for all of us) about what is *actually* happening (outcomes) in relation to social problems. For instance, in relation to poverty and social, economic and health inequalities, and more broadly in relation to the wider social, societal and global challenges we face – democratic deficit; climate change and the decarbonisation of the economy; demographic change, technological change and so on.

4.3: Concluding thoughts: shared spaces for reflection on policy and practice

Across 4.2, we have explored the potential to build an infrastructure supportive of community anchors and the wider community sector through policy, resources and culture change within public services. Our argument builds from Sections 2 and 3 where we have contributed to and explored the evidence base on the potential of community anchors to engage with, lead and provide challenge within public service reform – where understood as the Christie Commission's agenda. We have drawn, too, on our discussions with the Advisory Group and others involved in the consultation on the report. We have sought to make the case for community anchors to be taken seriously as one key vehicle for local and wider change. And this is change that necessarily involves public services and the wider state changing and making change too.

We understand this report as one starting point for ongoing discussions on the relationship between the community sector, public services and public service reform – communities and the state. Others, from across all sectors, will likely challenge us on key elements of what we have concluded here; that feels crucial if we are all to develop shared, deeper understandings of the theories, policies and practices.

In 4.3, we therefore return to the three underlying themes that we have employed throughout the report (1.2, 2.8, 3.6 in particular) – local democracy, community resilience and social change – to reflect on how our discussions in 4.2 are influencing our understanding of theory and practice.

Local democratic practices: we have highlighted in 2.8 and 3.6 the complexity of democratic working in diverse communities with different interest groups for community anchors and their leaders – as well as for public services. As our understanding of how the community sector and public services can work together is deepening in 4.2, it is becoming clear that there are different types of local democratic practice at work here for both state and community – representative, participatory and deliberative democracy. These different practices are now beginning to develop in increasingly complex ways.

Providing facilitative, accountable local leadership whether as a community anchor, other local organisation, public service and CPP, and/or local politician is, therefore, ever more challenging and yet more crucial. In 3.6 and 4.2, we have pointed to the value of local community/place plans, and the potential role for community anchors in facilitating them, and further, for suitable (community sector-led) training and development for both community sector and public services. Shared areas of purposeful activity such as these can provide concrete opportunities for developing knowledge in the practice of complex local democratic governance.

Community resilience for local sustainable development: this is likewise a complex meeting point between the community sector, public services and many other organisations including the private sector. There is both potential for common ground (a shared agenda) but also for very significant differences and concerns between sectors and services. The varieties of 'languages' used in relation to local development illustrates this, e.g. economic regeneration, place-based approaches, inclusive and/or sustainable economic growth, sustainable place-making, community-led regeneration, community empowerment and so on. In this research, we've sought to understand community anchors as 'initially' concerned for *community-led place-making* and have argued that this can be considered more particularly as a *community resilience concerned for local sustainable development (Revell & Dinnie, forthcoming)*.

We've highlighted in 2.8 and 3.6 likely differences between the community sector and public services currently in relation to a long-term strategic commitment to such a local approach. Further, the tensions between different sectors are also highlighted in 3.4 and 3.6 given the scale of stubborn inequalities and poverty ('needing preventing') in Scotland through challenges such as low incomes, accessing suitable services, environmental damage and uneven development. These are challenging areas for further shared dialogue and research, wicked issues for sure, and where there are considerable differences in power between sectors.

Social change: fairer society, sustainable future: the Christie Commission continues to create shared spaces for discussion of a variety of hugely significant social, wicked problems:

preventing inequalities, an ageing population, levels of public spending, empowering people and communities, balanced economic development and environmental concerns. We have flagged up the potential for community anchors to mitigate some of the worst impacts of inequality and poverty and to challenge (advocacy) for further resources for communities. Given the need for wider policy and structural (systems) change, a degree of realism is needed as to what community anchors can achieve through their existing resources. Yet ongoing, shared reflective dialogue and research between the community sector and public services *could* provide spaces for discussions of public service reform, wider social change and the (re-)distribution of wealth and resources across our society – a deepening engagement with the 'preventing of inequalities'.

In our concluding chapter, Section 5, we return to these three key themes of local democracy, community resilience and social change – in the context of public service reform in Scotland. We take the opportunity to explore these themes in a wider context and imagine roles community anchors and the community sector *could* have in taking them forward.

5. Reflecting on public service reform, community anchors and aspirations for the future: local democracy, community resilience and social change

In this concluding chapter, we reflect on the role of community anchor organisations in local democracy, community resilience, and wider social change, and how they can contribute through public service reform to developing strong, local foundations for a fairer society. Considering this (and previous) research, and placing it in the context of broader debates, we seek to imagine how building community resilience and new forms of facilitative leadership may be central components of taking forward public service reform. In particular, how they can help to realise current policy aspirations for community empowerment, a responsive and democratic local state and public services, and a fairer, sustainable economy in Scotland.

5.1: Local democracy and facilitative leadership

Key learning

- *Community anchors can contribute to addressing the deficits of local democracy in Scotland by providing new spaces for public participation and deliberation focused on improving outcomes for communities*
- *Fulfilling this potential requires strong participatory foundations in terms of community anchor governance and community engagement*
- *New styles of facilitative leadership are crucial to developing community anchors as key institutions of local democracy.*

The democratic deficit

As illustrated throughout this report, community anchor organisations provide foundations and initiative for economic and social development locally, *and* they also constitute spaces with much potential to advance local democratic engagement. This is a dimension that merits particular attention in the context of a Scottish local democracy riddled with democratic deficits. Bort et al. (2012) argue that some of those deficits stem from the large scale of local authorities in Scotland, which are more akin to what may be considered regional authorities in other countries. As Keating (2005) notes, Scotland has the largest average population per basic unit of local government of any developed country. For example, the average population per local authority area (LAA) in Finland is 15,960, with 1,770 in France, 7,080 in Germany and 5,680 in Spain. Consequently, the European Union average is 5,630, whereas Scotland has an average of 163,200 citizens per LAA (Bort et al. 2012).

This means that there is considerable distance between communities of place and the institutions of local government. This vacuum has been filled with a range of governance structures such as community planning partnerships, which seek to provide spaces for partnership and participation, both at strategic and local levels. Nonetheless, these structures often struggle to connect local participation to official decision-making at strategic level, and often lack meaningful devolution of power from local authorities to local partnerships and forums (Escobar et al., 2017; Escobar, 2015). In addition, other institutions of local democracy, such as community councils, are criticised for lacking legitimacy and diversity as they often fall short of enabling wide community participation and representation (Escobar, 2014a).

Such democratic deficits contribute to generating cynicism and disconnection between communities and institutions. A survey conducted for the 2014 COSLA Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy found that only 35% of Scottish citizens feel part of how decisions affecting their community are made, and 77% would get more involved in their community if it was easier to participate in decisions that affect it (Ipsos Mori, 2014). This is also reflected in the *Scottish Social Attitudes Survey 2015*, where 80% said that people should be involved in deciding how money is spent on local services, while 96% said that people should be involved in making decisions about how local services are planned and run.

> *"50 years of centralisation has not tackled the biggest problems that Scotland faces. For a country with Scotland's wealth and strength, the level of inequality is intolerable, and has huge social and financial costs. There is a link between the absence of strong local democracy and the prevalence of inequalities."*
>
> (COSLA Commission on Strengthening Local Democracy, 2014)

Apathy or lack of opportunity?

To be sure, Scotland is not unique in facing these challenges, but rather reflects international trends in the evolving relationship between citizens and democracy. Two perspectives are prevalent in academic studies about democratic citizenship in the 21st century. The first perspective focuses on deficits (e.g. Dalton, 2005; Putnam, 2001), highlighting the decline of voter turnout in elections, and the erosion of social capital, trust and legitimacy mediated by traditional institutions of public life (e.g. political parties, trade unions, church groups, government, the media).

The second perspective focusses on progress (e.g. Norris, 2002; Castells, 2012) and argues that what we are witnessing is an unprecedented development in democratic aspirations. In a nutshell, most people love the idea of democracy but are disenchanted with its current practices. Citizens are now: better educated, more knowledgeable and critical; less deferential to traditional authority and elite-driven/hierarchical forms of governance; and often dismissive of conventional participation mechanisms and instead increasingly engaged in alternative forms of political expression and organisation (Norris, 2002, 2011; Castells,

2012; Dalton, 2018). From this perspective, there is no public apathy, but rather a lack of new democratic spaces that can accommodate these new aspirations for deeper and more meaningful community participation in governance.

Scotland is a prime example of these international trends. For example, alongside England, Scotland has some of the lowest voter turnout at local elections in the EU, and the ratio of local elected members per citizens represented is in stark contrast to other countries. In Finland one councillor represents on average 500 citizens; in France it is 1/125, Germany 1/400, Spain 1/700 and the UK average is 1/2,860 (Bort et al. 2012). The Scottish average is one councillor per 4,270 citizens. This puts considerable pressure on elected members and contributes to the disconnect between communities and traditional institutions of local democracy. While participation in local elections remains low, other forms of civic participation are on the rise, as reflected by a growing and vibrant civil society organised in development trusts, social enterprises, housing associations, and a wide range of community groups and initiatives. More broadly, recent waves of the Scottish Social Attitudes Survey (2013, 2015) suggest that civic participation is growing, from 55% in 2009 to 61% in 2013 and 69% in 2015.

New approaches to democratic participation and deliberation

In this context, many representative democracies around the world are slowly upgrading to counter the deficits of elite-driven electoral democracy by turning towards new forms of public participation and deliberation (Smith, 2009; Elstub and Escobar, 2018; Escobar and Elstub, 2017; Harkins and Escobar, 2015). A "participatory democracy" is one where citizens have the opportunity to:

> *"govern themselves directly, not necessarily at every level and in every instance, but frequently enough and in particular when basic policies are being decided and when significant power is being deployed. This is carried out through institutions designed to facilitate ongoing civic participation in agenda-setting, deliberation, legislation, and policy implementation…"*

> (Barber 2004/1984)

In this kind of democracy, people are supported to participate in collective learning and action, including the decision-making processes that shape their lives and communities. The aspiration is to democratise the governance of public goods across society, government and the economy.

More recently, this model has been further developed by proponents of 'deliberative democracy'. They argue that democracy should be more than counting heads: *"it must involve discussion on an equal and inclusive basis, which deepens participants' knowledge of issues, awareness of the interests of others, and the confidence to play an active part in public affairs"* (Saward, 2000:5). In their view, decision-making should be *"talk-centric rather than voter-centric"* (Elstub and McLaverty, 2014:1) with public deliberation being the engine

for social action and change. This is proposed as a corrective to the capture of representative democracy by powerful players and agendas. Accordingly, the goal of public deliberation is to improve the legitimacy and effectiveness of democracy *"by making democratic institutions systematically responsive to reasons, not just the weight of numbers or the power of interests"* (Parkinson, 2012:170). In sum, 'deliberative democracy' is based on the idea that decision-making should be based on reasoned public dialogue in pursuit of the common good, and where no force other than that of the better argument should prevail (Habermas, 1975).

Accordingly, democratic reformers and innovators argue that participatory democracy, with its emphasis on equality and community empowerment, and deliberative democracy, with its focus on informed and reasoned decision-making, can help to shore up the weaknesses of representative democracy. Perhaps in the near future we will no longer need to use these labels and we will simply talk about democracy and how to best combine its core practices – representation, participation and deliberation – to improve people's lives. What seems clear is that representation alone is no longer seen as sufficient to sustain an effective and legitimate democratic system capable of addressing the pressing issues of our time. Community participation and deliberation, as noted by Involve (2005), can contribute to this by:

- Addressing complex problems drawing on local untapped knowledge, experience and perspectives
- Making better policies and decisions, and ensuring effective implementation
- Improving public service design and delivery
- Building legitimacy and trust in local institutions
- Developing citizens' skills, confidence and ambition
- Enabling active citizens and communities.

The challenge for Scotland: democratic, facilitative leadership

Scotland currently faces the challenge of building the foundations for a more participatory and deliberative democracy as reflected in the Community Empowerment (Scotland) Act 2015. Community anchors can play a crucial role by providing new spaces for local participation, deliberation and action. As shown in our profiles, community anchors are locally rooted and thus have the capacity to be highly responsive to emerging local priorities as well as long-term visions for local development. The six profiles explored in this report demonstrate this capacity. For this potential to be realised across the country, however, community anchors *must* demonstrate strong democratic qualities both internally (governance) and externally (community engagement). This requires substantial participation and deliberation by a cross-section of the community in the governance of the anchor organisation, as well a broader local engagement on key initiatives and decisions that affect the community.

Leadership plays a crucial role in these developments. In each of our cases we have found one or more individuals providing strong, long-term visionary leadership, but this is enabled by a core group or network of activists and staff. The quality of leadership is central to develop the necessary trust and relationships to build community buy-in. In this context, we can observe a transition from traditional to new forms of facilitative leadership (see Table 2). If traditional leadership is about having all the answers and pointing the direction, facilitative leadership is about enabling communities to work out the answers and agree the directions. The facilitative leader is someone who knows how to bring people together to engage in meaningful deliberation that leads to action. The ultimate goal of this kind of leader is not notoriety, but to willingly vanish into the self-governing community that s/he has helped to empower (Escobar, 2014b:32).

Table 2. Approaches to leadership

Traditional leader	Facilitative leader
Hierarchies	Networks
Certainty (knows everything)	Openness (constant learning)
Leads others	Helps others to lead themselves
Good at talking	Good at listening
Knows the direction	Knows how to help others to work out the direction
Commanding and controlling	Facilitating and mediating
Builds alliances to win policy battles	Builds alliances to find workable policies and solutions

Source: own elaboration

The profiles in this report are examples of participatory democracy in action, going to some lengths to enable and encourage active participation in decisions concerning their own activities. They show how anchors are often well-placed to pick up on and reflect community opinion. Further, the growing focus on community action plans and Local Place Plans, and the potential role of community anchors in leading and/or facilitating these, suggests that anchors could deepen democratic engagement by supporting deliberative processes that engage a diversity of local people in complex decision-making.[56]

The cases we studied, even when actively engaged with Community Planning structures, experience little agency over many decisions affecting their localities or over structural factors affecting their work, such as wealth inequality. Despite often taking a preventative approach, they lack the agency to tackle the root causes that are driving the demand for

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[56] Deliberative processes seek to engage diverse groups in using evidence, reasoning, emotions and values in order to work together to make complex decisions and take action (Escobar, 2011).

their services. This limits their ability to support their communities to develop the necessary capacity and resilience. Therefore, it is important that community anchors do not stand in isolation but as part of a broader network capable of connecting local democratic engagement to national and international spheres. There is therefore also a crucial role for local government and the state in fostering the conditions for this level of community empowerment, as well as to ensure its impact on national and international policy. This aspiration has been articulated in visions such as that of an 'enabling state' (Elvidge 2012, Wallace, 2013) or a 'partner state which facilitates the creation of new civic infrastructures' for community ownership and governance (Bauwens, 2015:24).

All in all, key current policy agendas (i.e. implementation of the Community Empowerment Act; Local Governance Review) present a unique opportunity to rethink the constellation of key spaces and institutions that can deepen and strengthen local democracy in Scotland. Community anchors are uniquely placed to contribute to this agenda by developing new spaces for democratic engagement that leads to collective action predicated on local control and self-government. However, realising this potential will require addressing investment and support needs, for instance, in the ways we have recognised in 4.2.

5.2: Community resilience for local sustainable development

Key learning

- *Community anchors are uniquely placed to support the development of community resilience – but only when they themselves are resilient organisations.*
- *Community resilience needs to be understood as being about supporting transformational, systems (economic, social and political) change.*
- *Transformational change will require resilience 'in the round' – including personal, cultural and economic resilience as well as inter-community collaboration.*

One of the four key objectives put forward by the Christie Commission was to ensure that:

> *"public services are built around people and communities, their needs, aspirations, capacities and skills, and work to build up their autonomy and resilience."*

Calls for building community resilience are now common place and multi-purpose community anchor organisations, such as our six exemplars, are uniquely placed to support this agenda. Each emerged when a particular set of local and external circumstances came together at a time when local people, with particular vision and commitment, were able to grasp the situation as an opportunity. The variety displayed, even within this small sample of six profiles, is a reflection of the particular, complex, local situations in which they have evolved and now operate – as created by local history, geography and particular local government/public sector structures and key local personal relationships. Arguably, enhancing community resilience is one of the key public services that these, and other, community anchors are delivering. However, there are distinctly different, and increasingly

contested, understandings of the concept of community resilience[57]. In simple terms, the main distinction is between resilience as ability to 'bounce-back' (to normal) from adversity, shock or disaster, and resilience as ability to innovate, transform and 'bounce forward', in response to changed conditions (Steiner et al., 2016, Grove, 2017).

These two narratives broadly correspond with two strands of resilience now utilised on the one hand by policymakers to enlist communities and citizens in preparedness for emergencies such as adverse weather or terrorist attack, and on the other by social and environmental activists seeking to contribute to radical societal systems change through local action (Cretney and Bond, 2014). Whilst 'bouncing back' may clearly be necessary after a short-term emergency, there is a danger of inadvertently propping up a 'normal' that is becoming less and less fit for purpose as we confront the urgent need to start living within planetary boundaries (Rockstrom et al., 2009) and as structural wealth inequalities become intolerable. Related to this is the question of 'resilience for whom?' Disparities in access to capital and power both within and between communities need to be acknowledged and addressed (Cretney 2014; Mason and Whitehead, 2012).

A model of community resilience – 'breaking through' to a new 'normal'

In an increasingly uncertain world it is becoming essential that all communities are not only able to recover from unexpected events but also are empowered to self-organise, to play an active role in shaping change through innovating, and rapidly prototyping, new, locally-appropriate solutions to addressing local needs – including the urgent need to decarbonise our way of life.

The Carnegie UK report on *Exploring Community Resilience*[58] (Wilding, 2011) provides a simple but very practical and useful framework for understanding four essential, and all equally necessary and interlinked, components contributing to community resilience. In particular, this can be used to describe what a community with fully-rounded, 'bounce forward' (or 'break through') resilience might look and feel like:

"Crucially, we suggest that a new form of 'break through' resilience can emerge as activists, professionals and policy makers collaborate together – combining graft with high levels of creativity and fun to invent better futures than we may previously have thought possible."

(Wilding, 2011)

- **Personal resilience** – the individuals within the community have a high level of physical and psychological wellbeing, with strong, good-quality personal relationships, a good connection to nature, opportunities to learn and share skills,

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[57] See for example Mackinnon, D. & Derickson, K. D. 2013. From Resilience To Resourcefulness. *Progress In Human Geography,* 37**,** 253-270.

[58] Exploring Community Resilience, Carnegie UK, 2011, https://www.carnegieuktrust.org.uk/publications/exploring-community-resilience/ accessed 23/10/17

and will generally feel a strong sense of meaning and purpose in life and control over decisions that affect them.

- **Economic resilience –** a localising economy that connects with and positively stewards the local environment, ensuring that local resources are regenerated and biodiversity enhanced with a thriving 'eco-system' of local enterprises that are able to meet many local needs whilst providing meaningful, low-carbon livelihoods.
- **Cultural resilience** – the community is self-confident, creative and inclusive, actively working for social justice and open to exploring ways of working that encourage real deliberation and value everyone's contribution.
- **Inter-community collaboration** – the community has active links with other communities, ready to give and receive support, to share knowledge and ideas and to develop active partnerships.
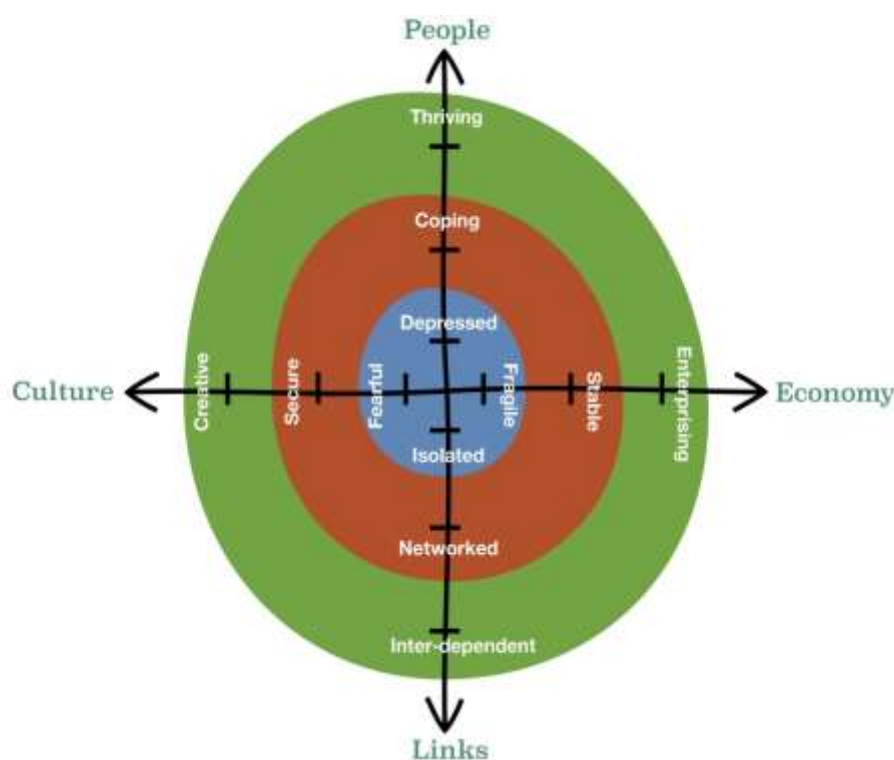
Dimensions and zones of community resilience - from Exploring Community Resilience, Carnegie UK, 2011

This then can provide a means of considering which components of resilience are most in need of support and development in any particular place –and a vision of the sort of places that will comprise a truly resilient, sustainable Scotland.

Each of our case studies is contributing to some of these components to a greater or lesser extent. Most obviously they are building the social (bonding, bridging and linking) capital that can enhance both personal and cultural resilience whilst also developing active, cross-sector, and inter-community, links and collaborations. Stòras Uibhist is explicitly working to support the development of a more localised, diverse and ecologically sustainable local economy whilst also improving wellbeing through creating livelihood opportunities. Huntly

and District Development Trust is currently in the early stages of a similar track, with a focus on economic and environmental activity.

All are able to achieve what they do only because of detailed, local, on-the-ground knowledge, relationships and networking. When combined with multi-skilled, adaptable staff and volunteers this allows for very efficient, flexible and responsive action. This can start creating the fertile ground for seeding positive, systemic renewal and reorganisation at local level (Henfrey et al. 2015) to actively contribute to building a sustainable future from the bottom up. As a multi-level phenomenon, the four components of resilience outlined above can equally be applied at the level of a community anchor itself. The ability of an anchor to support the resilience of its wider community will be crucially dependent on its own resilience as an organisation, including its economic resilience through securing a solid foundation of financial sustainability, as discussed above (section 4.2).

With the exception of Stòras Uibhist, all six case studies are still reliant on a high proportion of external, project funding and spend considerable time on grant applications. Most of this funding comes from a multiplicity of pots of short-term public funding targeted at 'deprived' communities – and is far from sufficient to begin to impact on poverty and inequality in these communities. This also begs the question of how best to support the establishment and development of community anchors in less obviously deprived areas, which may actually still suffer considerable, if less visible, inequality and deprivation. Constant fundraising creates a considerable burden, particularly on smaller organisations that are dependent on volunteers, to keep abreast of funding opportunities and write grant applications. Small organisations with few funding sources are also very vulnerable to loss of funding and consequent loss of staff and expertise. Greener Kirkcaldy noted that, whilst they would not want to grow any bigger, growing to the size they have (with 15 FTE staff) has been helpful in terms of diversity of funding sources and staff stability – which has enabled them to take the calculated risk of now employing staff on permanent contracts.

5.3: Social change: a fairer, more equitable society and sustainable future

Key learning

- *Suitably resourced community anchors can act as catalysts and advocates for both local and wider social change.*
- *Community anchors and the community sector are one expression of a wider and global movement for a fairer, democratic and sustainable future.*
- *The social commons as a shared, bottom-up approach to regenerating natural, social, political and economic resources offers a fresh perspective on how community anchors and communities, the wider social economy and the state can build towards a more equitable and optimistic society.*

As we have illustrated throughout this report, community anchors are making a substantial contribution to three key agendas in post-Christie public service reform, namely: social justice, community empowerment and aspirations for a fairer, sustainable economy.

> *"This country is a paradoxical tapestry of rich resources, inventive humanity, gross inequalities, and persistent levels of poor health and deprivation. Against that backdrop, the public services of the future must not only continue to provide a safety net for the vulnerable, but make a coherent contribution to a stronger, healthier, economically viable and more equitable society."*

(Christie Commission 2011: 2)

Contemporary societies are being tested by a range of economic, social, political and ecological crises. There is growing support for approaches that seek to tackle the 'wicked' problems of coordinating the generation and (re-)distribution of resources more equitably and creatively. And there is now a substantial evidence base that points to the value of reducing inequalities – to society as a whole as well as those directly harmed by them (Marmot et al., 2010; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). In this context, various strategies are put forward to build both the public and community infrastructures needed to address these challenges. Some point to the state and its traditional role in public enterprise, taxation, investment, welfare and planning. Others point towards communities and the role of community ownership and social capital in developing resilience and sustainable development. These strategies can not only be compatible but also potentially mutually beneficial; although the Scottish context presents some challenges because the local state often lacks key levers of power, e.g. fiscal capacity, to take a more proactive role in local development. Nevertheless, as is shown in these case studies, there is considerable scope for concerted action between the public and community sectors through meaningful partnerships and collaboration to create change towards a more equitable society.

Anchors as catalysts for social change

Community anchors and the local community sector in which they are embedded offer a key to unlocking the potential of both community ownership and social capital. As argued in previous sections, they can provide new spaces for democratic engagement and facilitative leadership while focusing on building community resilience and a fairer, sustainable local economy. Community sector networks are holders of complex, dynamic and locally-rooted knowledge that can create and sustain change. The community anchors featured in this report demonstrate considerable capacity to engage pro-actively with change. Each anchor organisation has emerged in response to a particular set of circumstances, which prompted local people to come together and engage in community organising for collective action. The cases illustrate the range of catalysts that can stimulate the development of a community anchor organisation:

- Greener Kirkcaldy: the stimulus was the Climate Challenge Fund, which encouraged former Friends of Earth activists to start practical action;

- Glenboig Neighbourhood House: North Lanarkshire Council's proposed closure of neighbourhood house facility;

- Ardenglen HA: part of Glasgow City Councils housing stock transfer; and with wider regeneration activities now stimulated by the threats of UK welfare reform;

- Stòras Uibhist: community-right-to-buy legislation, leading to negotiated estate sale;

- Govanhill HA/CDT: community housing stock transfer from 1970s onwards; and more recently a private rental 'slum housing crisis';

- Huntly District and Development Trust: local activists taking over a local authority regeneration initiative.

The cases illustrate the capacity of these communities to mobilise and self-organise – what we have called in this report 'community-led place-making' – although it must be noted that similar circumstances in other communities may not lead to the same course of action. This depends on existing social capital and facilitative leadership, combined to generate sufficient community capacity and resilience, and on the broader policy context and whether this is supportive of community organising and ownership – as considered in 4.2 (1).

Beyond their role in local development and community empowerment, community anchors also play an important advocacy role, translating local priorities and aspirations into collective visions and plans for action. They can advocate for the sort of public services and social change concerned with preventing inequalities (Craig, 2014) and creating a more equitable and sustainable society where there is a 'virtuous circle' between communities, services and the economy. This advocacy role is founded on the legitimacy and knowledge derived from actually 'walking the talk' of community empowerment. In this sense, they are *prefigurative* – that is, they are not only saying that 'another world is possible' but actually making it happen as they seek to translate ideals into everyday practices.

Part of a global movement for change

In sum, community anchor organisations provide local spaces to both think and act collectively in response to the question 'what kind of society are we working towards?' They can be seen as local manifestations of various global movements founded on the aspiration of co-producing a better future through the development of preventative public services, the social economy, and a deeper form of local democracy underpinned by community participation and deliberation. In this sense, community anchors in Scotland are reflective of the **global 'commons' movement**, which is concerned with overcoming the traditional dualism between market and state and articulating a new social paradigm rooted in local communities of place. It is concerned with 'how we act together to help each other by pooling resources and sharing risks so that we can all meet our needs and flourish – now and in the future' (Coote, 2017:4). Building, in fact, a social commons where natural, cultural, political and economic resources are shared and sustained for future generations.

And where the state, the community sector and wider social economy, and communities learn to build democratic and collaborative ways of working – rather than 'traditional' top-down varieties – that can give cause for genuine hope and sustained commitment for a fairer society and sustainable future.

5.4: Concluding thoughts: emerging spaces for dialogue

In this concluding chapter, we have placed our understanding of community anchors and public service reform in broader contexts and thinking to generate further discussions on local democracy, community resilience for local sustainable development, and social change. These have been built on the earlier research work in Section 1 – model and a demanding policy context; Section 2 – community anchor exemplars of 'good and diverse practice'; Section 3 – relevance of community anchors to the Christie Commission agenda for public service reform; and Section 4 – infrastructure for the development of anchor organisations.

Across the whole, we have sought to present an emerging picture of 'theory, policy and practice' in Scotland in relation to community anchors and public service reform; and to make this relevant to discussions of a diverse community sector more generally. We have approached this optimistically (appreciatively) seeing opportunities for shared discussions across community sector and public services that could build a very different policy and practice. We have also highlighted that such change *cannot*:

- happen without the necessary investment in infrastructure for community anchors through policy, resources and culture change, and angled to supporting and prioritising more deprived, working class communities.

- be a one-size-fits-all approach: different communities and contexts will develop community anchors which will take varied forms and build distinctive networks.

This then is an emerging space for ongoing dialogue and deliberation – one that can be both reflective and action-orientated. We are not putting forward this research as the 'final say' on community anchors. Instead, this is a starting point for informed discussions of policy, practice and resources at the new frontiers between community sector and public services in Scotland. Given the dependence of all of us on both these systems, there is plenty to discuss.

Resources and contacts

Community Land Scotland http://www.communitylandscotland.org.uk/

Community Land Scotland was established in 2010 as a collective voice for community landowners in Scotland, and its members currently own and manage approximately 500,000 acres between them.

Community Energy Scotland http://www.communityenergyscotland.org.uk/

Community Energy Scotland is a registered charity that provides education, finance and practical help for communities on green energy development and energy conservation.

Development Trust Association Scotland (DTAS) http://www.dtascot.org.uk/

The Development Trust Association Scotland is an independent, member-led organisation that promotes, supports and represents development trusts (community-owned and led organisations).

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations (GWSFHA)
http://gwsf.org.uk/

Glasgow and West of Scotland Forum of Housing Associations is the membership body for community-controlled housing associations, and it promotes, represents and campaigns on their behalf.

Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) http://www.hie.co.uk/

Highlands and Islands Enterprise covers the Highlands and Islands region; its mission to make the area a highly successful and competitive region in which increasing numbers of people choose to live, work, study and invest.

Poverty Alliance http://www.povertyalliance.org/

The Poverty Alliance is a membership organisation that works to create a sustainable Scotland, based on social and economic justice, where poverty and inequalities aren't tolerated and are challenged.

Scottish Community Alliance (SCA)

http://www.scottishcommunityalliance.org.uk/

The Scottish Community Alliance helps the community sector in Scotland develop its own unique identity and voice, promoting the work of local people and influencing national policy development.

Scottish Community Development Centre (SCDC) http://www.scdc.org.uk/

The Scottish Community Development Centre supports best practice in community development and is the national lead body for community development.

SURF, Scotland's Regeneration Forum https://www.surf.scot/

SURF is Scotland's Regeneration Forum and it works to improve the lives and opportunities of residents in Scotland's disadvantaged communities.

Senscot https://senscot.net/

Senscot informs, connects and develops Scotland's social enterprise community, ensuring they have the support they need to work positively in their areas.

Scottish Government Regeneration Team https://beta.gov.scot/policies/regeneration/

The Scottish Government's Regeneration Team is in the process of reversing the economic, physical and social decline of places, reforming the way resources are invested in disadvantaged communities.

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