How can we govern cities differently?

The promise and practices of co-production

JAM & JUSTICE

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What is this report?

This report draws on an action research project in Greater Manchester conducted between 2016 and 2019, called 'Jam and Justice'.

We wanted to test ways to connect decision-makers, civil society and citizens ('the jam'). We also wanted to look at involving those usually excluded from such processes to address wider issues ('justice'). Our focus was on the idea of co-production - and what it means for how cities are governed, how policy decisions get made and, more importantly, what we can do collectively to tackle urban issues.

We looked at ten urban issues, for example, how energy is produced for cities, how public money could be spent to produce more social value, how older people could be better supported to live a good life in their own homes, and what new roles local politicians could play to work even more productively with communities.

In this report, we share what we did, who was involved, what we learned, and what this means for how we govern cities differently.

Who was involved?

Jam and Justice was a research project involving the Universities of Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham, with the Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation.

As well as the named organisations, Jam and Justice involved a group of 15 co-researchers from diverse walks of life. The group was called the Action Research Collective (ARC), and this report has been edited together with the ARC.

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How can we govern cities differently?

Cities are important as places where more and more people live. But they also offer the opportunity to help address three big challenges:

The Democratic Challenge:

Around the world, the need to build many forms of democratic engagement has been widely recognised, requiring different ways to govern cities.

> How can we include a wider and more diverse range of people in governing cities?

The Knowledge Challenge:

Many people have knowledge and expertise that can contribute to addressing urban issues, especially where there is disagreement or uncertainty about ways forward.

> How can we bring together what we know to tackle critical issues in our cities?

The Justice Challenge:

There is an urgent need for cities to deal with social, economic and environmental inequalities, as well as addressing marginalisation and social exclusion.

> How can we change policies and decision-making to produce fairer outcomes?

These three challenges have been at the heart of Jam and Justice and the research questions identified at the beginning of the project.

> "We need meaningful participation in decision-making, planning and follow-up processes for all, as well as enhanced civil engagement, co-provision and co-production."
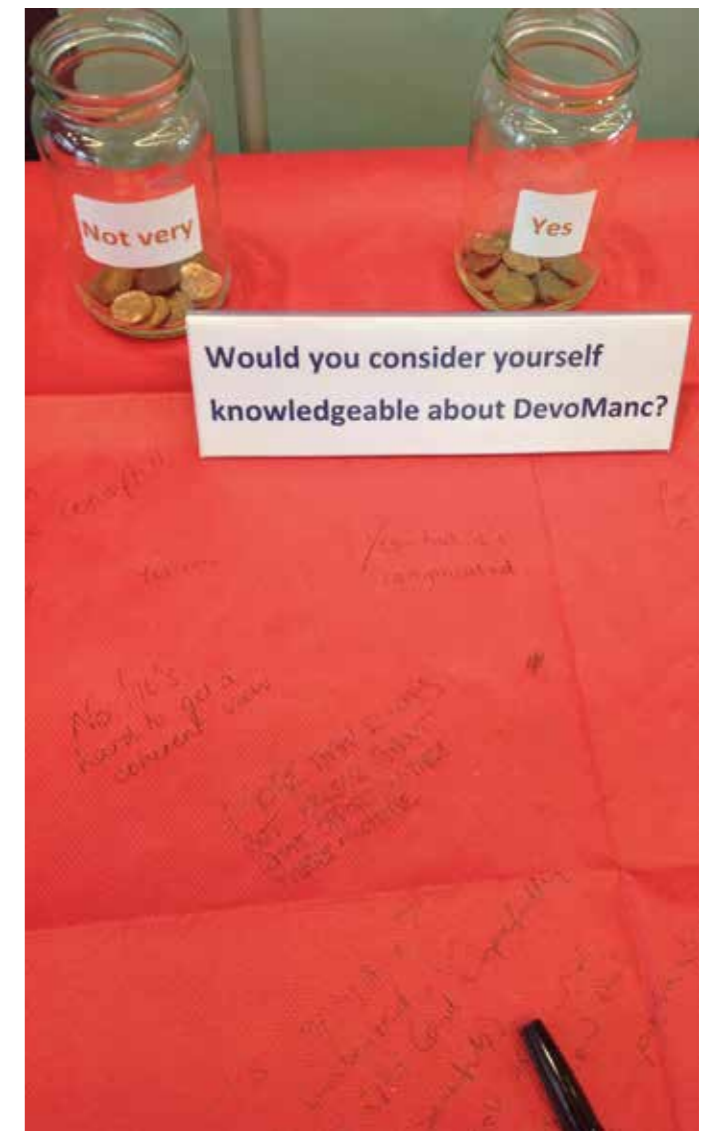> New Urban Agenda, UN Habitat 2016

Devolution

Jam and Justice was a project based in Greater Manchester, working in the context of city-regional devolution.

By working in Greater Manchester, the Jam and Justice project sought to seize the opportunities and challenges of devolution to think differently about how we govern cities.

Devolution in England has been seen as an opportunity to address big urban issues – like economic growth, climate change, transport infrastructure or improving health and wellbeing – through giving city-regions greater powers and responsibilities from central government.

Greater Manchester, in the North of England, is a city-region with 2.8 million people. It was the first English city-region to agree a deal for greater devolved powers from central government. In 2017, residents elected their first Mayor to head up a new Combined Authority, bringing the ten local authorities together in a formal partnership.

The deal was criticised by some commentators for being made behind closed doors. Since then there has been an expressed desire for more open dialogue and to work differently with citizens. Devolution is an opportunity to do more to involve the people of Greater Manchester in tackling the big challenges faced by the city-region. So, how could this opportunity be maximised?

Jam and Justice
Timeline

Develop bid

December 2014

Submit proposal

January 2015

We are successful!

07 August 2015

The promise of co-production?

Through the Jam and Justice project, we wanted to test the idea that co-production could offer a way to address the big three urban challenges of building local democracy, valuing knowledge and expertise and producing fairer outcomes.[1]

We wanted to test ways to connect decision-makers, civil society and citizens ('the jam'), specifically involving those usually excluded from such processes to address wider issues ('justice').

Co-production is an idea that has begun to catch attention across the public sector, civil society, the voluntary, community, faith and social enterprise sector (VCSFE) and universities. It is based on bringing together different voices and different forms of expertise. Co-production often needs to find or create different ways to have a conversation that brings out the best of what everyone has to offer.

Co-production can be applied to maximise opportunities to govern cities better, use our resources creatively, protect the environment or make sure people do not feel left out or left behind.

Co-production is usually seen as a 'deeper' form of participation than traditional methods such as consultation. It is often characterised as 'doing with and not to', engaging those with most at stake in the fullest way possible: from setting the agenda, defining problems and identifying ways forward.

Co-production is not a method, and has been variously described as an approach, set of principles or values, or ethos. Across different settings, approaches to co-production may vary. But there are important similarities in underpinning values and principles, with a focus on trust, transparency, recognising difference and building relationships.[2]

Co-production promises a lot, but can it deliver? What are the strengths and limitations of co-production in addressing urban challenges? And what does co-production mean for how cities need to be governed differently?

In Part 2, we describe what we did, how we did it, and who was involved. In Part 3, we set out what we have learned from the research. Part 4 outlines ways that the research has had an impact so far. Part 5 looks at implications, and tries to answer the 'so what' question.

1   May, T. and Perry, B. (2018) Cities and the Knowledge Economy: Promise, Politics and Possibility. Oxford: Routledge.
2   Durose, C. and Richardson, L. (2016) Designing public policy for co-production: theory, practice and change. Bristol, Policy Press/ Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Project starts

01 January 2016
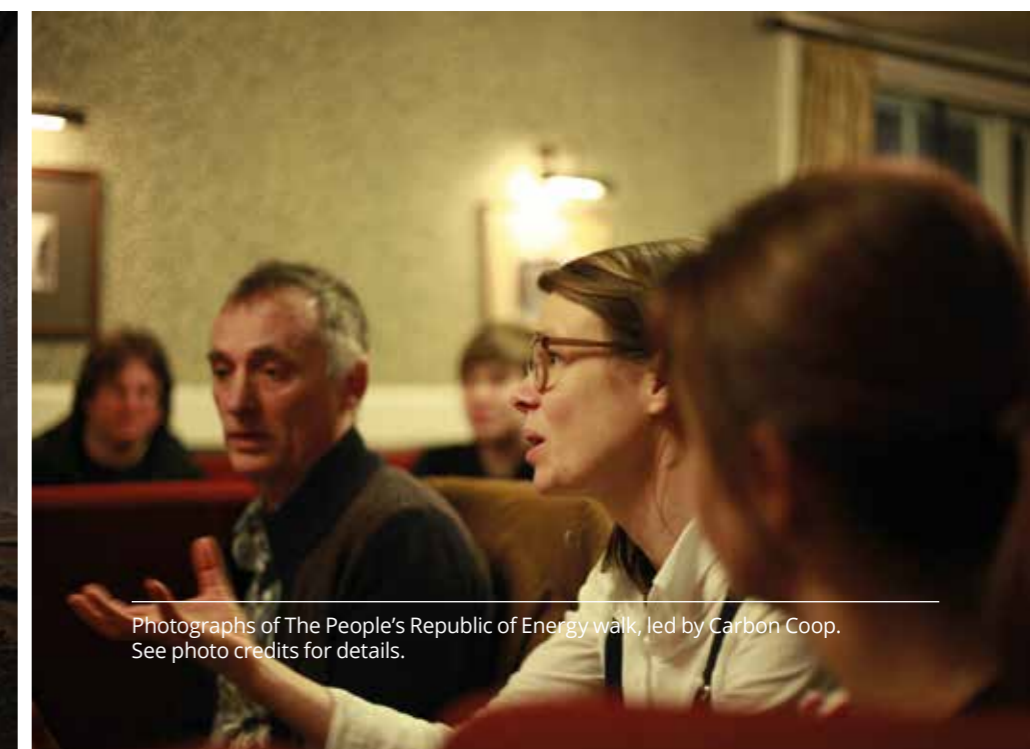
Photographs of The People's Republic of Energy walk, led by Carbon Coop. See photo credits for details.

PART 2 What did we do?

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 2 What did we do?

Who was involved in Jam and Justice?

Jam and Justice was a research project involving the Universities of Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham, with the Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation. These named organisations wrote the initial bid for funding, received the funding, and were responsible for delivering on the research grant.

Jam and Justice also involved a group of co-researchers from diverse walks of life. This group was called the Action Research Collective.

Building the Action Research Collective

The central part of Jam and Justice was the formation of the Action Research Collective or ARC. The primary responsibility of the ARC was the co-design, delivery and analysis of a series of projects in Greater Manchester that offered the opportunity to think differently about how we govern cities.

The idea was to bring together a diverse group, who shared a common desire for social change. The ARC formed an extended peer community of co-researchers, working in and between existing sectoral and organisational settings.

The Jam and Justice team held an open application process, with 50 people from Greater Manchester applying. The team focused on finding people with diverse expertise and connections across Greater Manchester and selected people who, together, could make an ARC with key characteristics (see right).

The ARC involved people in Jam and Justice as individuals – they were not there as representatives of organisations. ARC members already had paid and voluntary positions across national and local charities, consultancies, community interest and benefit organisations and public sector bodies. From an initial recruitment of 15 co-researchers, 10 continued to be involved over the course of the project.

ANALYSIS:
people able to think critically with subject-specific expertise

VISION:
people with creativity, imagination and the potential to lead

EXPERIENCE:
people with applied and experiential knowledge

REACH:
people with connections to formal, strategic and city-regional levels

RELATIONSHIPS:
people with diverse networks and relationships

ROOTS:
people embedded in under-represented communities

An Open Evening with Jam and Justice @ People's History Museum

Taster workshops on power analysis, decision making and 'what works'

13 May 2016

June – July 2016

Action research projects

The ARC co-initiated 10 action research projects. In June 2017, following a collaborative development process, we voted to select ten ideas (see next page) from a long list of project possibilities.

Some projects were commissioned out to external delivery partners; others were delivered 'in-house' by people involved in Jam and Justice, including the academic research team. Appendix 2, at the end of this report, describes the 10 projects in more detail.

Each of the 10 projects looked at a distinct urban issue: for example, how energy is produced for cities, how public money could be spent to produce more social value, how older people could be better supported to live a good life in their own homes, and what new roles local politicians could play to work even more productively with communities. We also explored routes to participation for women, people who feel disconnected from formal politics, and for younger people. Other projects addressed how we can have better conversations about planning, and new ways to model the economy for social benefit.

Each project used a different approach to address the issue. For example, one project used a method called photovoice, where people take photographs to open up conversations about often ignored or hidden issues. Another project used a form of deliberation called a citizens' inquiry (or jury), but 'flipped' the method – the 'experts' were people with lived experience, and the jury members were professionals.

Despite differences in topic and approach, the projects were all aimed at addressing the three challenges of democracy, knowledge, justice, and answering the research questions: How can we include a wider and more diverse range of people in governing cities? How can we bring together what we know to tackle critical issues in our cities? How can we change policies and decision-making to produce fairer outcomes?

Call for ARC members goes 'live'

July 2016

Deadline for ARC applications

26 September 2016

An overview of the action research projects

Care at Home
This project with Shared Future CIC worked with people directly involved in doing, or deciding about, care-at-home policy – exploring ways to bring emotional and practical considerations into decisions over healthcare delivery.

GM Decides
Working with Amity CIC and At the Moment Productions, this user-centred project set out to look at the scope for digital democratic innovations in Greater Manchester ('GM'), through a focus on what women need and want from participation.

Co-producing the Green Summit
Through participation in the Green Summit Steering Group, this project sought to widen citizen engagement in the development of the city-region's first Green Summit.

People's Procurement
Working with the Centre for Local Economic Strategies this project explored scenarios for maximising the social value of public sector spending in Greater Manchester.

People's Republic of Energy
Initiated by the Carbon Coop and Energy Democracy Greater Manchester, this project looked at different models that can give citizens, workers and members greater control over the governance of the energy system in Greater Manchester.

Space in Common
Running alongside the development of the Greater Manchester Spatial Framework, Jam and Justice worked with The Democratic Society to deliver four workshops around how we can have better conversations about spatial planning.

The System Doesn't Work
This participatory photography project worked with community researchers recruited through Chrysalis, the Broughton Trust and Community Pride CIC to document how people working in community projects understand politics beyond the ballot box, and how they think and act politically.

Testing the 21st Century Councillor Framework
Jam and Justice worked with North West Employers and four local councils in Greater Manchester to test different ideas about roles for local elected members in their communities.

Transform GM
Transform GM piloted a mapping exercise to show the diversity of social economy initiatives in Greater Manchester, with a focus on below-the-radar activities.

Young People Missing from Decisions
The Children's Society supported this youth-led design process with young people, to explore how they are missing from decisions that routinely affect their lives.

Building coalitions and capacity for change

Jam and Justice also built wider networks and alliances in Greater Manchester and beyond to bring together people who were interested in addressing urban issues through co-production.

The aim was to enable ideas, activities and relationships generated through the project to be more widely shared and embedded, and to continue beyond the project's conclusion.

ARC members launched **Coalitions for Change**, aiming to foster and support the growing community of practice around co-production in Greater Manchester. Through three crowd-sourced half-day workshops, we invited people with experience of co-production to explore what we might do together to make Greater Manchester a more co-productive city-region. The conversation on how to #CoProduceGM is ongoing.

In addition to Coalitions for Change, the Jam and Justice team forged a partnership, **Developing Co-productive Capacities**, with the Greater Manchester Combined Authority to look at the scope for co-production in policy development at the city-regional level. We are now starting to work with West Midlands, Sheffield and Gothenburg city-regions in similar ways.
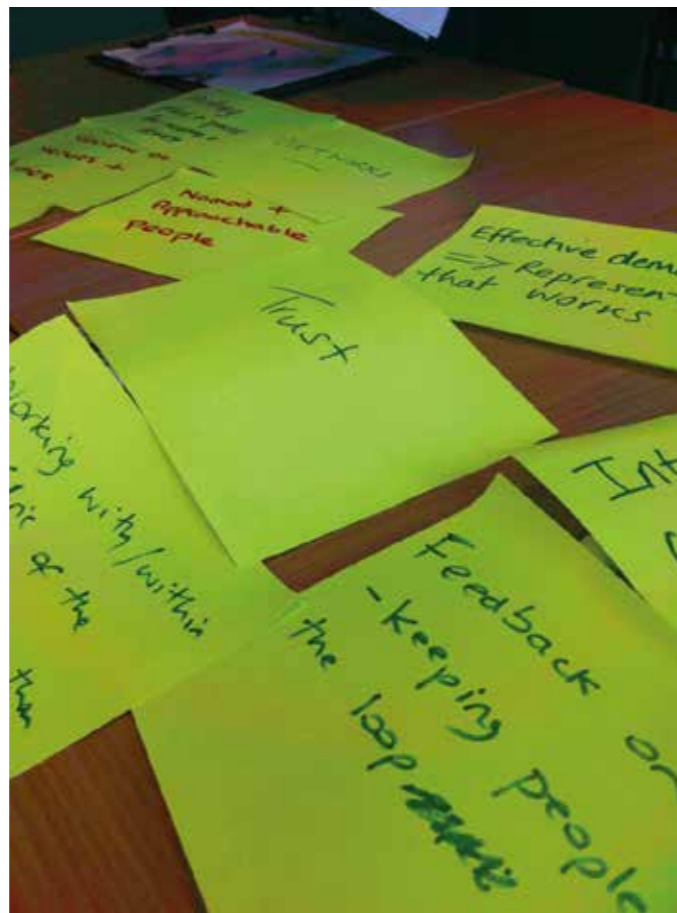
How did we do the research?

The research was informed by some key ideas. The Jam and Justice team wanted to say something sensible about 'what works'. The world is complex and what works in one place might not work in another. This does not mean we cannot find patterns and tendencies that will guide us in making policy interventions. Academic researchers developed a **hybrid research design**,[3] which focused on working across boundaries and using methods to produce different kinds of knowledge – from stories to statistics.

With the ARC, we wanted to **learn-by-doing**. Jam and Justice built on a rich tradition of 'participatory action research', and tried to model the values and principles of co-production in the project itself.

We also wanted to identify shared lessons across different institutional settings – research, governance, public policy, service delivery – that could provide a **mirror** for understanding co-production more widely.

In practical terms, data was collected by the paid academic research team. Early in the project, collaborative workshops with the ARC translated the Jam and Justice research questions into a set of themes to guide data collection. These focused on important factors in governing cities differently, and how we thought change happened.

Data was collected on the process of working as co-researchers with the ARC, for example, minutes of meetings, observational notes and working documents. For each of the projects, we also collected data about how the projects developed, who they involved, what they did and what impact they had. The academic research team conducted and recorded group discussions, undertook individual interviews, and made extensive notes of project activities, as well as collating relevant project documents.

The data across all 10 projects and the ARC was analysed using the themes, by the paid researchers.

Over recent months, a number of collaborative workshops have enabled the ARC to reflect upon and refine key findings from across the projects. Throughout, we have also taken time to reflect individually and collectively on the impact that our involvement has had on us, and that we have had on the project.[4] We developed participatory approaches to understand and trace the development of the ARC; and mapped what impact the project has had in Greater Manchester and beyond.

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3 Richardson, L., Durose, C., Perry, B. (2018) 'Moving towards hybridity in causal explanation: the example of citizen participation', Social Policy & Administration, 53(2), 265-278.

4 May, T. and Perry, B. (2018) Reflexivity: An Essential Guide. London: Sage.

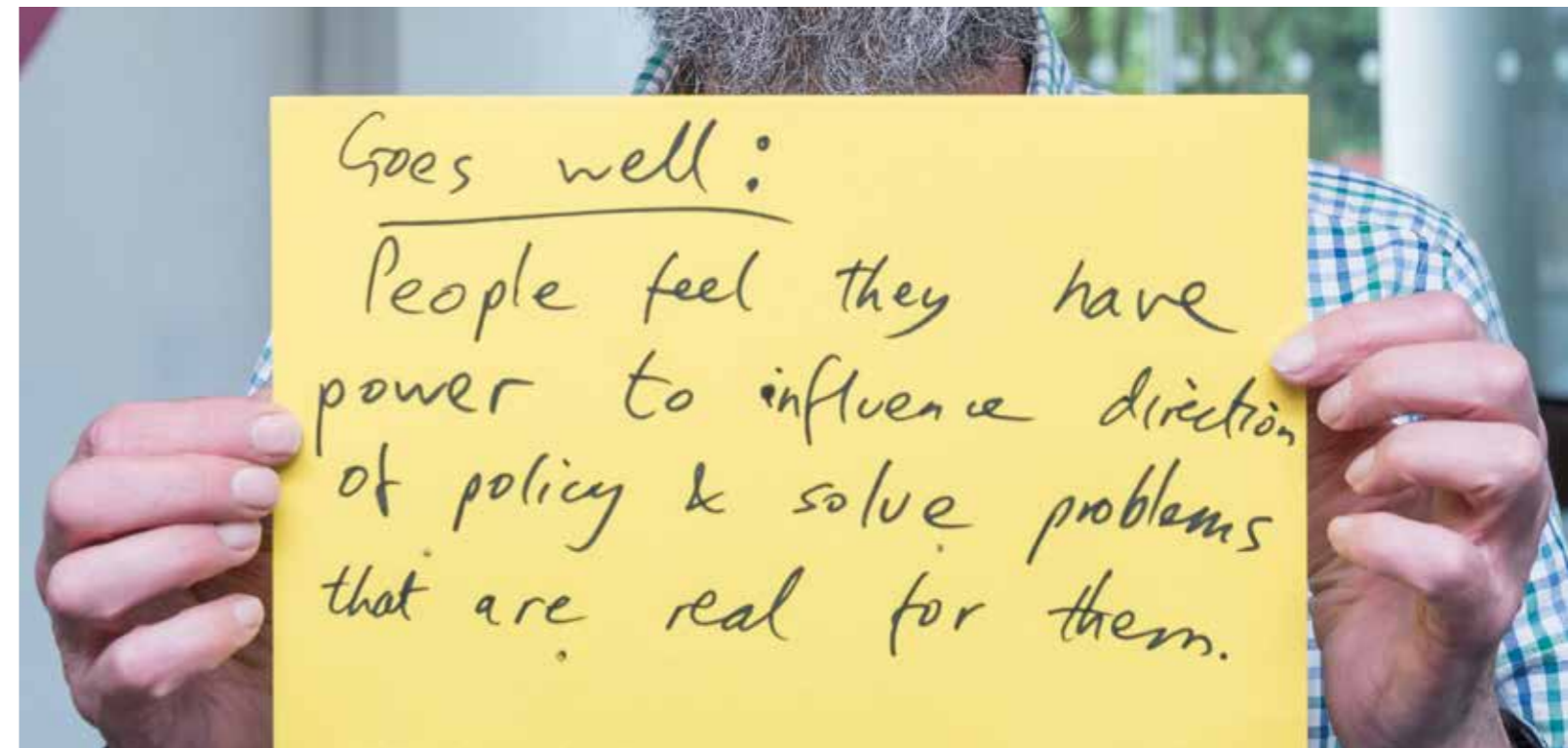| Selection of ARC members	Welcome to the Action Research Collective	ARC Meet 1 – Introduction to Jam and Justice	ARC Meet 2 – Principles for participation and design
07 October 2016	02 November 2016	13 December 2016	15 February 2017

Realising the promise of co-production

If co-production is to realise its promise in addressing democratic, knowledge and justice challenges, it needs to support more open processes, make participation meaningful through valuing people's knowledge and skills and move towards fairer outcomes.

The data collected through our research suggests that seven inter-related practices are the most significant factors that influence the achievement of these goals. These are:

We use the word 'practices' deliberately to emphasise that these are active and ongoing actions, needing constant attention in people's jobs, volunteer roles, organisational settings, professional positions and elected roles – by anyone who is engaged in the daily work of governing cities.

1. Designing for openness
2. Shaping the dynamics of participation
3. Blending expertise
4. Humanising experiences
5. Linking voice and values
6. Connecting with formal policy and decision-making
7. Holding the process

ARC Meet 3 – Factors for participatory urban governance workshop

03 March 2017

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

1. Designing for openness

Design structures how people can meaningfully participate to affect outcomes and hardwires in values and principles. We use 'designing' rather than 'design' to indicate that this is an ongoing process.

If design is done well, then it creates opportunities for people to get involved in different ways, and leaves space for them to make decisions that will affect the outcomes of the process.

Our open design created multiple entry points for people to join and leave at different times to suit their own needs, and contribute expertise and skills to the process.

The 'semi-structured' design of our project was described by one ARC member as 'uncorrupted'. This freedom allowed people to be responsive and reflect changing circumstances and emerging understandings.

Some ARC projects were able to be developed quite quickly; others needed a much longer lead-in time. Only in a few cases did the final ARC projects resemble the first ideas developed.

The People's Republic of Energy built on the pre-existing relationships between ARC member Laura Williams, Energy Democracy GM and the Carbon Coop. The project came to the ARC semi-formed and quickly moved to delivery. In contrast some ideas, such as Young People Missing from Decisions, stayed in brainstorm phase for some time before starting a new phase of co-design with the young people involved.

Our design allowed creativity to flourish when people could 'think freely' and have the 'relative freedom to experiment with a project'. This freedom to evolve allowed for shifts in strategies and tactics within the projects to adapt to external circumstances to achieve impact.

Openness and freedom to explore worked well in our project with young people and women, where space was explicitly held open to encourage creativity until a focus for the project later emerged. In contrast, on other topics, such as spatial planning, openness to different outcomes created some uncertainty for participants.

There were key decisions that we did not know in advance – such as the selection of ARC projects. We were also able to redesign the project several times to reflect everyone's input. However, certain decisions had already been made, linked to funding or timespans of the project. Design can 'harden' due to deadlines, for instance, and it is important to ensure that such pressures are communicated and understood.

Designing in openness can lead to uncertainty and discomfort. Levels of information need to be tailored: for instance, whilst some people may prefer to have information on a 'need to know basis' or work on particular issues, others will prefer to understand the big picture before deciding whether to participate. Uncertainty means being as transparent and honest as possible about what is not known.

Key Points:

Don't decide everything in advance, but be clear what is already in place

Make open not unstructured processes

Be ready to go back to the drawing board and revisit your design

Make it easy for people to participate, to join and to leave without consequence

Recognise that open designs can be hard to understand and create uncertainty

Prioritise transparency and communication to help people navigate unknown processes

ARC Meet 4 – Testing a collective narrative and projects brainstorm	Co-design workshops	ARC Meet 5 – Decision day for the ARC projects
04 April 2017	01 May 2017	17 June 2017

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

2. Shaping the dynamics of participation

Spaces determine how inclusive processes are, shaping the dynamics of participation as well as practical accessibility issues. The choice of space can disrupt or reinforce usual ways of thinking.

Choosing the right spaces for co-production will enable greater and more diverse involvement, tease out ideas and enable different issues and opinions to be aired.

A variety of spaces were used throughout the ARC projects: from university buildings to partner organisations, neighbourhood spaces to art venues, parks to formal decision-making spaces, alleyways and streets to cafés and bars.

It can be important to ensure that spaces are familiar or 'safe' to participants. But spaces can also add meaning when they are atypical or unfamiliar.

Participation officers at The Children's Society held meetings in their offices, where young people were used to going. In the People's Republic of Energy project, however, projecting videos onto railway tunnel walls at dusk brought energy histories and futures to life.

We know it matters to go where people are welcomed. But it can also be valuable to be in spaces where people are not usually present. Taking over traditional privileged spaces, where closed decisions are often made – such as University Council Chambers or local authority offices – can be a strong reminder of, and implicit challenge to, existing power imbalances.

The System Doesn't Work produced a mobile exhibition of community researchers' photographs depicting political action in their neighbourhoods. This enables everyday politics to be inserted in spaces where everyday voices are often missing.

Creating a convivial atmosphere through social interaction was noted as an important element of every project. Food was often provided and seen as way of demonstrating care and enabling the exchange and contribution of ideas.

Spaces can also support comparison and learning. Away from usual environments and day-to-day demands, many people noted their ability to think 'outside the box' and engage at a different speed and pace with alternative proposals and ideas.

This is particularly so when visiting other cities. By travelling together with decision-makers to different spaces, such as Edinburgh, Barcelona and Gothenburg, we found new inspiration for what is possible.

Scheduling meetings can take much planning to ensure that people with different needs, such as professional commitments or caring responsibilities, can participate. However, there is no substitute for face-to-face contact. The early introduction of digital innovation into a process, before fundamental trust and relationships are in place, can be counter-productive.

An experiment with an online chat forum, Discourse, for the ARC ended in failure and was described as 'shouty and divisive'. Later, inspired by what they had heard in Barcelona, the GM Decides team set out to explore the evidence, desirability and feasibility of digital democratic innovations in Greater Manchester. In conversation with their Partnership Group, they chose first to ask what women actually want and need to participate, before a wholesale embrace of online participation.

Key Points:

Make use of different spaces to allow people to engage on their own terms

Recognise that spaces can challenge and reinforce power dynamics

Feed the body and feed the mind through caring and convivial spaces

Enable spaces for comparison and learning to open up possibilities

Don't rely solely on digital technology: face-to-face meetings are worth the effort

ARC Meet 6 – Nuts and bolts business meeting   **People's Republic of Energy project starts**   **ARC Meet 7 – Discussing elephants in the room**

21 July 2017   22 August 2017   20 September 2017

18   19

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

3. Blending expertise

If co-production is meaningful, people will have done more than turn up to meetings. Their knowledge and expertise will have been valued so that the sum is more than the parts.

Blending produces new kinds of evidence and challenges whose knowledge matters in urban policy and decision-making.

Some of our projects explicitly set out to produce different kinds of evidence. Some aimed to road-test existing research with those who had direct knowledge of the issue. Others sought to introduce new voices into policy development processes or challenge what we mean by 'an expert'.

The work with councillors and communities focused on testing ideas to refine the evidence base to inform policy and practice. Through Co-producing the Green Summit, different engagement methods opened up the process of developing the Greater Manchester Environment Plan to different kinds of expertise. Care at Home constituted a formal route for care givers and receivers to be 'experts', contributing their lived experience as evidence into a policy deliberation process.

We used a range of methods, tools and techniques in our projects, from traditional surveys and focus groups, to participatory photography, 'future casting', a citizens' jury and appreciative enquiry.

Some policy issues are seen as 'off the agenda' or too technical. Different methods can unlock technical issues and make topics relevant to people, facilitating more inclusive and meaningful processes.

The People's Procurement project brought a relatively technical issue to life through reflecting on the past and imagining what future 'good news' might look like.

Different methods and processes can both support and hinder diverse entry points and pathways to participation. They can also disrupt the usual way that issues are approached, shifting views of what is possible, opening up imaginations and helping us to learn from the past or elsewhere.

Some methods are explicitly intended to challenge existing ways of working that privilege verbal skills or particular styles of debate. One example is the photovoice method, which draws on community organising principles. Other methods, such as appreciative inquiry, are less explicit about differences in access to resources and power.

Due to our selection criteria for the ARC, we often had the expertise within the co-research team to deliver projects, for instance, through partners such as Shared Future CIC, Amity CIC or The Children's Society. Placing an emphasis on expertise showed us when we had to bring new partners on board, for example, involving CLES, North West Employers and The Democratic Society.

The focus on expertise helped us notice who is not in the room. But it is important to focus on the quality not quantity of participation. Being clear on what the advantages are for different groups and how they will benefit is important to avoid tokenistic involvement.

One of the key topics discussed at a meeting of the 'young people and co-production' peer learning network was when to – and when not to – invite young people to meetings. Adults working with young people across a range of organisations in Greater Manchester expressed concern that young people are often invited to participate in meetings when there is not enough in it for them.

Key Points:

Blend expertise to make participation meaningful by valuing people's contributions

Use a range of methods and techniques to help bring different knowledge and expertise together

Creative and diverse methods can help to open up 'technical' issues

Recognise that methods are not neutral and impact on participation and power

Don't involve people for the sake of it – be clear what expertise they can bring and take

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

4. Humanising experiences

Connecting with human experience and emotion can mobilise energies and sustain commitment in labour-intensive, open and flexible co-production processes. It is also a route to change.

It is often said that co-production takes time and is difficult. Especially in long-term processes, meaningful participation can be an emotional rollercoaster – leading to doubt, anxiety, frustration and questioning.

Emotion mobilises and humanises people and can be an important sustaining force, helping people to get involved and stay involved. Emotion is also an important route to change, where powerful encounters between decision-makers and recipients of services make real the impacts of policy decisions.

In several projects we found that taking time to allow for expressions of frustration, disaffection and powerlessness was important before engaging in deeper conversations. This was particularly the case where topics had been controversial, such as spatial planning, or where confidence to contribute and affect change was lacking, for instance with the young people we worked with.

Relationships are essential to take care of these emotional experiences, the highs and the lows, of co-production. The time we needed to build relationships in the ARC, between a diverse group of people who had never worked together before, was greater than anticipated.

Projects where there was a set of pre-existing relationships, such as the People's Republic of Energy or Young People Missing from Decisions, moved further faster than those where relationships were being built from scratch, such as Transform GM or Space in Common.

What keeps people going is a commitment to each other, the values underpinning the work, their wider goals and their relationships.

It is important to notice differences between people, without erasing them. Prior experiences shape participation and the assumptions people bring to their experience. We found that inter-group dynamics were equally as important as the design, space and methods chosen, in impacting on people's desire, experience of, and capacity to contribute to, co-production processes. Views on the 'right way' to do something were sometimes strongly held; but often these revealed personal preferences rather than widely accepted best practice.

A point of difference in the ARC was the style and nature of our meetings. There was particular concern over whether we had the balance right between a more 'business' approach to project management and more creative and flexible ways of working together. This reflected different styles of working, professional practices and personal preferences.

Seeking to harness emotion and sustain relationships means that opportunities to reflect, be self-aware and adapt, both individually and collectively, must be built into processes.

Without being able to do this, we can default to the usual ways of doing things and fail to think more deeply about our existing ideas and assumptions.

Key Points:

Recognise that co-production is a human contact sport with emotional highs and lows

Create space for expression of a range of emotions

Make visible the emotional labour that is required to humanise experiences

Recognise and discuss what prior experiences people bring with their participation

Take time to explore differences properly

Build in spaces for individual and collective reflection

ARC Meet 8 – Project stocktake and insights	ARC festive meal	Transform GM project starts	People's Procurement project starts
07 December 2017	07 December 2017	18 December 2017	18 December 2017

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

5. Linking voice and values

Co-production is not about doing things more quickly or cheaply. Linking voice to values is important in understanding what needs to be done and how, to enable co-production to contribute to addressing democratic, knowledge and justice challenges in our cities.

Linking voice and values places co-production at the top of many people's models of participation, with a focus on fairer outcomes. Co-production can appear neutral – it is not an inherently 'good' or 'better' way of doing things. It can be used in processes without clear social goals.

The promise of co-production in addressing the big urban challenges must therefore be realised in and through action by articulating values and purpose.

This can involve challenging existing approaches and systems. A recurring theme in our ARC projects was the intention to make a shift in what is considered 'possible' in the current context. Many ARC projects were inspired by big ideas and engaged with political issues, for example, how we rebuild democracy, change perspectives and support more meaningful participation.

Co-researchers in The System Doesn't Work started with a clear rejection of formal party politics and wanted to show everyday engagement with political issues. Their concern was to show that neighbourhoods that may have low voter turnout are full of people who care, and can be rich with everyday political action. In Testing the 21st Councillor Framework, discussions over how councillors could play different roles in their communities were underpinned by concerns about cuts to local funding and the impacts of party politics.

ARC projects did not have a shared sense of how change could be achieved. For example, some felt that change could be catalysed through existing institutions, whilst others sought wider system change. There were different action orientations – from campaigning to collaborating – and different tactics and strategies flowed accordingly. By embracing these strategies, a range of impacts were able to be realised.

The ARC was intended as a space to embrace difference and diversity. We did not set 'agreement' as the hallmark of a productive process. However, where differences arise, so too does the potential for conflict. Methods, such as external facilitation, can be helpful in resolving disagreements but require commitment over time. Without this in place, existing power hierarchies can be reinforced through a default to business-as-usual decision-making.

An important way to embrace diversity of voice without compromising values is to invest time in understanding whether consensus is desirable or possible, whether differences can be reconciled, and identify red lines.

Within the ARC we shared a broad agreement about the importance of the issues, the goal of 'more participatory urban governance' and the values that should be promoted. There were strong differences, however, in what this looked like in practice. These related to how people saw formal politics, their ideas of how change happens, how they understood power – and who they therefore thought needed to be involved or influenced.

Key Points:

Engage with the politics as well as the practices of co-production

Challenge the limits of what is considered possible

Embrace different ways to create change

Identify where agreement is essential

Commit to processes to explore differences

Understand the limits of consensus

Coalitions for change working groups formed	ARC Meet 9 – Project management and updates	Co-producing the Green Summit project starts
January 2018	30 January 2018	20 February 2018

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

6. Connecting with formal policy and decision-making

Tackling critical urban issues means working across sectors and boundaries. Working between and across different interests and levels is crucial to influencing change.

We often hear that there is a disconnection between 'people' and the 'system'. There remains a tendency to fall on one of two sides: reasserting the need for strong city-regional partnerships, or emphasising the need to mobilise for change from the 'bottom up.' This binary thinking has become a 'tyranny' that contradicts the ideals and values of co-production.

Connecting with formal policy and decision-making does not mean privileging existing interests and agendas. The ARC projects were not selected on the basis of relevance to formal policy agendas within Greater Manchester.

Overall, the internal sourcing of ideas for projects allowed for a high degree of flexibility and openness in design. Discretion and relative autonomy was given to ARC projects to develop, adapt and change along the way in response to new opportunities or findings arising.

Some ARC projects were explicitly connected to a policy proposal or review from the beginning.

There was a pre-existing policy context for our work around procurement (where there was an ongoing review of the social value framework), energy (where the idea of a municipal energy company had been discussed but shelved), and planning (where a consultation on the spatial framework had recently closed).

However, in other projects, they found their points of connection later in the process. In some projects, such as our work with young people, initial disconnection from the policy process was seen as an advantage in gaining traction later. In other cases, for instance in work on the social and solidarity economy, the lack of an obvious audience for the work has hindered adoption.

Seeking to align with an ongoing policy process can considerably delay and complicate progress, requiring different approaches to connecting with formal decision-making.

Our ideas generation process identified concern about a lack of common cause and understanding across different areas of Greater Manchester, in the context of devolution. This was illustrated in the consultation process on the Greater Manchester Spatial Framework. We initially hoped to work with formal decision-makers to support and open up the process of redrafting the strategy. In the end we chose a different approach and partnered with The Democratic Society for the project. Decision-makers are now interested in hearing what we found.

The diverse networks and relationships held within the ARC were crucial in identifying how projects could link with city-regional agendas in the long-run, and subsequently secure influence and impact.

Connecting with formal policy and decision-makers means knowing the right people and enrolling them in the first place to engage interest, secure commitments and identify policy windows for change.

Key Points:

Work across boundaries to connect people with power and resources to those without

Think beyond existing agendas and policy priorities

Recognise the pros and cons of aligning with ongoing policy development processes

Find relevance and gain traction at different points of the process

Mobilise networks and relationships to find points of connection

Get decision-makers interested early on

Research Briefing 3 – Data collection and reflection	The System Doesn't Work project starts	Comparative data analysis workshop
26 February 2018	07 March 2018	13 March 2018

The need to tackle tyrannies in participatory urban governance

The case for greater participation, in which co-production is one approach, has been made many times over. But behind these shiny renderings, many often experience a gap between what is promised and what is realised.

Jam and Justice academic researchers have used the idea of tyrannies to start a conversation about how participation is shaped by assumptions and ways of thinking that continue to hold sway, despite failing to live up to their initial promise. Research suggests these assumptions restrict deeper thinking about the issues at hand. They have become tyrannies that plague many forms of collaborative work. For example:

- The *tyranny of authenticity* is when valuing 'lived experience' in participation is translated into a relentless search for 'real' or 'ordinary' people, dismissing the experience of those who don't fit or comply with such expectations. This tyranny also keeps the power to decide whose perspective matters in the hands of those in formal or elected positions.

- The *tyranny of 'bottom up'* can mean privileging popular mobilisation as way of generating innovation in response to perceived failures in 'top down' governance. This can downplay the need to harness the resources and power of formal decision-makers to effect real change.

Find out more: Richardson, L., Durose, C. and Perry, B. (2019) 'Three tyrannies of participatory governance', Journal of Chinese Governance, 4(2), 123-143.

PART 3 What did we learn? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 3 What did we learn?

7. Holding the process

Holding the process is critical to guard values and visions and to mediate tensions that inevitably arise through co-productive processes. Everyone's decisions and actions can influence this practice.

When holding is done well, people feel empowered and able to act, even in long, open, uncertain and uncomfortable processes. It helps people find some solid ground, locate themselves in the 'whole' and participate on their terms. The 'strong foundational story' of Jam and Justice was suggested by one participant to help navigate difference and uncertainty.

The practice of 'holding' underpins the others. Care must be taken to ensure other practices work well: for instance, balancing between control and too much freedom, working out what different people need to enable them to participate, or how to handle different opinions and preferences.

In the ARC we encountered strongly held and often contrasting views about the practical design and purpose of the project. How much 'action' and how much 'research' should an action research project involve? What role should academics play? What is okay to happen behind the scenes and what needs to be centre stage? ARC members have different views on answers to these questions.

It takes time to find roles where people can best contribute their skills and expertise as well as being motivated and passionate about their contributions.

After we selected our 10 ideas, we undertook one-to-one interviews and meetings to see where people wanted to contribute and how much capacity they had. In some cases, where topics or specific approaches were involved, people were able to quickly identify roles. For people interested in the big picture, it took several more months to find a good fit.

Holding the process is not carried out by one person. As the projects developed, people have played different roles. Batons have been passed between those experienced in working with specific groups, such as young people, or those who have specific skill sets, such as facilitation.

Trained participation officers were best placed to lead our co-production with young people. The Children's Society staff knew how to hold the process to reflect the flow and dynamics of the young people's engagement. This ensured that the young people stayed involved over an extended co-production process, involving 14 meetings over 12 months.

This raises the question of what leadership in co-production looks like. Equality in co-production does not mean that everyone does the same thing at the same time, or plays the same roles. Distributing roles can be important, but it is also critical to think about capacities, responsibilities and accountabilities.

In the ARC and ARC projects, many people played leadership roles which were not restricted to the team who secured the funding. Academic researchers collected data, but also drew on their networks to support wider impact and change.

Key Points:

Help people find solid ground to locate themselves in the process

Tell stories and narrate progress to help sustain motivation

Mediate between different tensions and concerns transparently

Identify roles where people can best contribute their skills and expertise

Be aware that people have different views on what 'good' leadership in co-production looks like

Care at Home project starts

16 March 2018

Testing the 21st Century Councillor Framework project starts

19 March 2018

What does good leadership in co-production look like?

Co-production involves tough challenges including bringing together different voices and forms of expertise, working with differences in power and resources, building sustained relationships and fostering creativity. We wanted to know what 'good' leadership in co-production looks like?

We interviewed people involved in Jam and Justice and identified some key themes. Using an innovative and systematic technique, we then undertook a survey of a diverse international group of people with experience in co-production. We found that people had strong agreement on what 'bad' leadership might look like. They also agreed that leadership needs to take questions of power differences seriously.

But there were different views on what 'good' leadership looks like, for instance, in terms of what power differences mean in practice or how much direction people need.

- **Viewpoint 1:** good leadership should be flexible and focus on group dynamics and relationships in order to support people's creativity

- **Viewpoint 2:** good leadership is about having clear structures and finding the best person for the job at hand in order to deliver outcomes

- **Viewpoint 3:** good leadership is about having the discretion to support people in following their passions in order to achieve a vision

- **Viewpoint 4:** leadership is about finding consensus and sharing power within the group in order to achieve equity

These differences have real implications for how we approach co-production and emphasise the need to bring leadership to the fore in future conversations.

We are in the process of writing up this research.
Get in touch if you want to follow this research: leadingcoproduction@sheffield.ac.uk

PART 4 What did we achieve?

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 4 What did we achieve?

Prompting social innovation

We have argued elsewhere that new metrics are needed to value co-production and challenge dominant ways of measuring success.[5] Here we describe our achievements, where we have concrete evidence of our impact.

Using the idea of 'social innovation' offers one approach to valuing the impacts of co-production. Social innovation refers to processes that generate ideas to address unmet social needs.

These ideas may not be new. Sometimes ideas are new to a place or policy setting. Putting existing ideas into different orderings and contexts is also a form of innovation.

In the People's Republic of Energy project, Carbon Coop and their collaborators spent time **remembering** the history of municipal energy ownership in Greater Manchester, to show that energy infrastructure 'was ours anyway'.

Care at Home **borrowed** the existing model of the citizens' jury and then adapted it. Where a typical citizen's jury has citizens deliberating based on evidence from technical experts, in the Care at Home project, technical specialists deliberated instead on 'expert' testimony from people with lived experience.

The project Testing the 21st Century Councillor Framework **translated** ideas about the roles that local councillors can play into live contexts. The project asked councillors if they recognised their roles in terms described by others, and if they felt comfortable with them. We asked the same questions of council officers and community members.

The People's Procurement project brought together experienced officers and representatives from the voluntary and community sector to **deepen** their understanding of shared challenges around making public money produce better social value.

Space in Common had value as a space for exchange and cross-sector thinking. The focus was not on producing new knowledge but on **synthesising** and sharing what is already known, and exploring how ideas developed elsewhere might improve participation in spatial planning in Greater Manchester.

The Young People Missing from Decisions project **validated** that teaching money matters in school was important, an issue that had already been identified by decision-makers. It also moved the priority of this issue up the agenda and identified new opportunities, like learning sign language as part of the curriculum.

The System Doesn't Work used novel visual methods to create space to **question** existing agendas, and redefine what questions should be asked in the first place. Enabling priorities and policies to be challenged is a prompt for social innovation.

5   Durose, C., Richardson, L., Perry, B. (2018) 'Craft metrics to value co-production', Nature, 562 (7725), 32. DOI: 10.1038/d41586-018-06860-w

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ARC project strategies for social innovation

The ARC projects developed processes of social innovation in different ways.

Remembering means looking to the past to learn from what has been tried, succeeded and failed.

Borrowing involves adapting and testing existing models of citizen participation in new policy and place-based contexts.

Translating is important in ensuring that ideas can be acted on through communicating existing and new ideas in a relevant way to different audiences.

Deepening focuses on improving understanding of obstacles to change and how they might be addressed.

Synthesising focuses on collating and integrating perspectives and ideas into new constellations.

Validating can be useful in grounding existing policy through real engagement with different voices and examining the practicalities of implementation.

Questioning means reframing policy issues to open up new challenges and horizons.

You can read our full feature on social innovation in Open Access Government 'How social innovation can support citizen participation', which can be downloaded from here: https://www.openaccessgovernment.org/citizen-participation/67481/

We have built on and extended work by Vivien Lowndes, an academic at University of Birmingham to identify these strategies – see Lowndes, V. (2005) 'Something old, something new, something borrowed… How institutions change (and stay the same) in local governance.' Policy Studies 26(3/4), 291-309.

Evidencing impact

Change takes time. Capturing the impacts of co-production is also not easy.

Our work has begun to re-frame the policy issues raised by ARC projects. Each of the projects has supported new discussions or aligned with existing ones, providing input and evidence for rethinking policy (see next page). For instance, work on procurement and social value with the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES) has provided impetus for the GM Combined Authority (GMCA) and GM Health and Social Care Partnership (GMHSCP) to review procurement policies. As a result of this work, the policy which will be published later in 2019 will 'reflect a more holistic vision for social value and what it can achieve in Greater Manchester' (Anne Lythgoe, VCSE Accord Principal, GMCA), shaping public sector budgets in excess of £7 billion per annum.

We have also demonstrated the value of different approaches to participation. Using photovoice in the System Doesn't Work, or working with trained participation officers in The Children's Society, has proved valuable in reaching groups that would not usually engage in public policy debates.

Work to open up the Green Summit to wider voices and influence was described as 'a smart intervention… initiating a pretty extraordinary participatory process' (Phil Korbel, Cooler).[6]

New methods, such as the Care at Home inverted citizens' jury and People's Republic of Energy participatory energy walks have prompted wider uptake of participatory methods. Carbon Co-op has drawn on work with Jam and Justice to share best practice on municipal energy in response to climate change with local authorities across Europe, through their Horizon 2020-funded mPower project.

6   http://www.coolerprojects.com/editorial/the-green-city-summit-a-personal-view/ (26 March 2018)

ARC project impacts

Greater Manchester's Living Well at Home delivery group launched seven trailblazers to accelerate improvement. They credit our Care at Home Inquiry with helping assert a holistic approach, giving added impetus to collaboration with housing officers.

Our interventions through Co-producing the Green Summit led to changes in the Summit's design, closing the co-productive loop, supporting greater interactivity and crowdsourcing content for the GM Environment Plan.

Members of a cross-sector Partnership Group for GM Decides are feeding learning directly into a GM initiative to Turbo Charge Gender Equality. We hope the results will shape and inform public debate about the feminisation of participation.

Greater Manchester Social Value Network has put together a business plan to support better practice across the city-region, and the Combined Authority and Health and Social Care Partnership has taken note of People's Procurement research, refreshing their procurement policy.

The People's Republic of Energy project re-opened debate around municipal energy ownership in Greater Manchester. Carbon Coop's EU-funded project mPOWER is fostering peer-to-peer networks so cities can explore fair, clean, democratic energy options, drawing on participatory methods. We hope these techniques will support cities across Europe to embrace energy democracy.

As the Combined Authority draw up plans for VCSE engagement on the revised Spatial Framework, officers are seeking to draw in lessons from Space in Common. We hope our insights will contribute to participatory planning.

Turin, Gothenburg, Berlin—championed by Sarah Whitehead, the messages from the System Doesn't Works report, 'Everyday Politics', are going global. A member of Italy's Inclusive Leaders Network said he was inspired to set up a self-reliance group for homeless people to help themselves. We hope the project can be mobilised to make grassroots action more visible, valued and supported.

As a result of findings from the Testing the 21st Century Councillor Framework project, delivery partners North West Employers are updating their training offer across 41 local authorities, to provide joint sessions for Councillors and officers and look directly at co-production.

The Meteor, GM's independent media outlet, is setting up as a cooperative. The Transform GM map was useful as they researched how it works. We shared the report with the GM Cooperative Commission and Local Industrial Strategy consultation and hope the findings are effective in supporting transformative economic actors in GM and beyond.

We shared the Young People Missing from Decisions report, 'Life Lessons', with Greater Manchester Youth Combined Authority. In April 2019, a subgroup discussed the recommendations, putting money matters at the top of their Curriculum for Life agenda. We hope to influence national discussions on reform of personal, social, health and citizenship education.

Space in Common project starts	**Scottish fieldtrip to visit What Works Scotland**
May 2018	29–31 May 2019

ARC members have taken knowledge and embedded change in their own organisational settings, highlighting the impacts on their professional practice, their confidence to argue their case or their underpinning strategies for achieving change:

"I feel acknowledged and I've had space to experiment with my own professional practices. Having the space to experiment alongside others with the same values and goals in pursuit of something important is a real privilege." Katie Finney, Amity CIC

"My community organisation, Chrysalis, offers drop-in support for families in need. Last year we needed to find new premises. Within the ARC and through conversation with peers in the System Doesn't Work project, I learned how to assess what was essential to our services. This helped me to present our case to Manchester City Council who recommended our new venue. At what would have been a crisis, the Jam and Justice experience gave me a very solid base to build on." Julie Asumu, Chrysalis

"We want the people we help to get involved in helping others, creating cycles of community change. So we consult, and co-design packages of support, building on people's strengths. We get them active in their own lives and then in the lives of other people in the community. Bits of that approach were always there, but Jam and

Justice has reinforced the articulation of this approach and my understanding of the 'cycle' we want to achieve. That's very much a sustainable outcome from the Jam and Justice programme." Adrian Ball, Chief Executive, Manchester Settlement

Through more than 200 organised activities over the three years of the project, we have catalysed public and policy debate over the role of co-production in the context of wider social challenges, including public service reform and the state of local democracy. This has led to more than 700 people actively engaged and 200 organisations reached in the project.

We are confident we have contributed to shifting minds about what is possible in urban governance, by opening up imaginations - whether in spatial planning, energy or service provision.

"Jam and Justice seemed to capture GM's imagination. It has created space for discussions around participation, co-production and whose voices are being heard. Connecting with the project has opened new doors for me, providing the opportunity to develop relationships with people who share my values but work in very different sectors and at different levels. More than that, having an ally, collaborator and someone to bounce ideas off has given me the confidence to jump into trying new ways of working and perhaps even take more risks!" Maddy Hubbard, Co-Production Project Manager, GM Health & Social Care Partnership
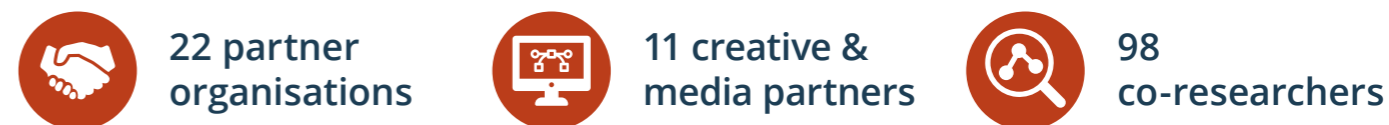

4 institutions

2 funding bodies

£1m research investment

15 recruits & their networks

1 ACTION RESEARCH COLLECTIVE

2 pilot projects **10 ARC projects**

22 partner organisations **11 creative & media partners** **98 co-researchers**

237 ACTIVITIES INCLUDING:

| 19 ARC meetings | 4 methods sessions | 128 research sessions |
| 29 briefings and guest talks | 24 organised events for wider audiences | 9 socials and field trips |

Over 8000 person hours

More than 700 individuals engaged and 200 organisations reached and counting...
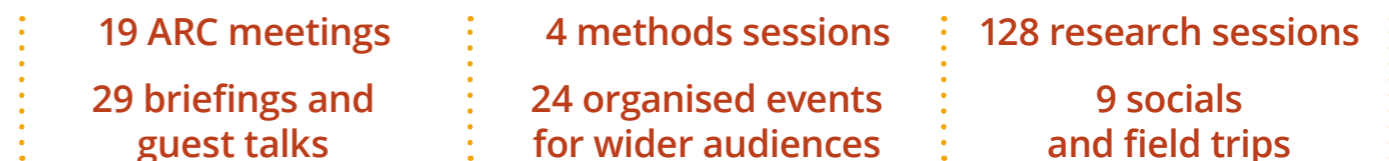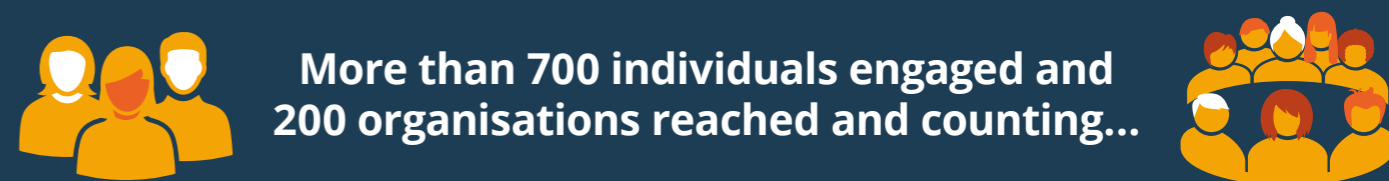
These figures are based on activity logged and reported up to June 2019. Want to know what's behind these figures? Head over to our website to find out more: **jamandjustice-rjc.org/blog/about-our-infographic**

| Jam and Justice flyer produced | ARC Meet 11 – Project management and updates |
| 1 June 2018 | 26 June 2018 |

PART 4 What did we achieve? | Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation

Co-producing Urban Governance for Social Innovation | PART 4 What did we achieve?

We have also contributed to a **step change in strategic policy direction** in Greater Manchester. Prior to the election of GM's first Mayor, Andy Burnham, Jam and Justice gave expert evidence to a working group of the Combined Authority that was asking: "What would it take for citizens of Greater Manchester to understand and be able to contribute to the success of devolution?" This evidence directly informed recommendations in the report 'to foster meaningful participation… and actively engage in co-production of key messages'. The report also recommended that clearer information is provided by the Combined Authority to elected members, the public and communities of interest to show how they can produce input into policy making.[7]

When the GM Health and Social Care Partnership and GM's VCSE sector signed a Memorandum of Understanding in 2017 pledging to work together toward better services and increased community involvement, GMCVO had a leading role, citing Jam and Justice's research on 'inclusive governance within devolution' as a key driver.[8]

"Jam and Justice has developed in parallel with a growing interest across Greater Manchester in the role of citizens and citizen-led organisations in developing policy and designing services for the public. But a genuine desire to involve a wider range of people in decision-making and delivery requires good, strong evidence about how and when to do this effectively – otherwise nothing really changes on the ground. Jam and Justice contributes to this evidence base and complements programmes, such as Ambition for Ageing. It has been great to see its contribution to our multi-sector co-production network and connection with the Combined Authority." Alex Whinnom, Chief Executive, Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation

In January 2019, the GM Mayor affirmed the significance of our collaboration, with a request to the 10 member local authorities to participate in a 'genuine opportunity to develop a community of practice around co-production' building on the research undertaken in Jam and Justice.[9]

"Working with Jam and Justice has helped us to understand how we can build on the strength of our existing relationships and the opportunity presented by devolution. As we look to put the principle of 'doing with; not to' into practice, we welcomed the chance for facilitated cross-sector conversations around issues like procurement and social value as well as learning about citizen-led projects aiming to influence the commissioning of public services. In this way we can develop new ways of working which are shaped and driven by our communities themselves to truly unlock the full potential of people across Greater Manchester." David Rogerson, Principal Strategy and Policy, Greater Manchester Combined Authority

We have **forged relationships and pathways**. Through our work with The Children's Society, Jam and Justice has supported new peer learning networks around co-production with young people and linked up with topic-specific networks such as the Greater Manchester Social Value Network. We have supported a wider community of practice around co-production in Greater Manchester through working with the Greater Manchester VCSE Co-production Assembly and contributed to the emerging English National Co-production Network. We have also connected decision-makers in Greater Manchester with those in the West Midlands, Sheffield and other UK city-regions, as well as with partners in Gothenburg, Sweden.

The impacts of these connections will take time to be realised, but suggest an important role in **creating networks for cross-local learning** and exchange. We have also seen evidence that places outside Greater Manchester are considering what co-production means for them, and how they need to govern cities differently. In the West Midlands, decision-makers who participated in our policy exchange to Gothenburg have already revised the (draft) Inclusive Growth Framework to incorporate citizen insight as a 'soft' indicator to complement existing 'hard' quantitative indicators. Work has 'enabled structured thinking about what we can expect "good" to look like [in co-production] across the public sector', applied, for example, to a co-produced 'engagement approach' for mental health programmes.[10] In Gothenburg, feedback from officials also emphasises the value of the project for developing co-productive capacities.

"The Jam and Justice tools supplied an analytical framework I hadn't realised we were missing – tools we can now use to plan which methods of co-production to use where." Sarah Johnstone, Gothenburg Region Association of Local Authorities

7 Report of the GM Joint Scrutiny Pool's Task and Finish Group on Communications, Cllr Angeliki Stogia, 10 February 2017. https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/1828/7_gm_scrutiny_pools_task_and_finish_group

8 Memorandum of Understanding between The Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Partnership and The Voluntary, Community and Social Enterprise Sector in Greater Manchester, 2017. p. 9, paragraph 11.1.2. https://www.gmcvo.org.uk/system/files/gm_hsc_spb_vcse_mou_signed_0.pdf

9 Co-production in Greater Manchester and funding of Co-Production Project from the Reform Investment Fund, Andy Burnham, 25 January 2019. Item 14 in the GMCA Agenda Pack, page 7, paragraph 3.3 http://democracy.stockport.gov.uk/documents/s151146/14%20Coproduction%20Report%20GMCA%20250118%20merged.pdf

10 Written feedback from and personal communication with Senior Policy Advisor, Inclusive Growth Unit, West Midlands Combined Authority, 26 March 2019. Also "On changing the world: learning and reflections from Gothenburg visit", blogpost by Fiona Bottrill, Programme Manager, Justice and Engagement, West Midlands Combined Authority, June 2019. https://jamandjustice-rjc.org/blog/changing-world-learning-and-reflections-gothenburg-visit

Double Devolution debate @ Manchester Histories Festival   **GM Decides project starts**   **ARC Meet 12 - Project updates and workshop on 'Coalitions for Change'**

June 2018   16 July 2018   31 July 2018

40   41

The strengths and limits of co-production...

Jam and Justice suggests that co-production has a critical role to play in addressing urban challenges. To realise this potential means paying attention to what work people actually do day-to-day and the way that values and principles are put into practice. We specifically identified the importance of designing for openness, shaping the dynamics of participation, blending expertise, humanising experiences, linking voice and values, connecting to formal policy and decision-making and holding the process.

Our research suggests that co-production can play a role in addressing the democratic, knowledge and justice challenges through:

• opening processes for people to get involved in debating, discussing and shaping public policy who would not normally be engaged;

• creating synergies between different ways of knowing, evidencing and designing policy;

• seeding change towards fairer outcomes, particularly for the most marginalised and excluded.

A distinctive contribution of Jam and Justice is to link the process and outcomes of co-production. 'Jam' needs 'justice' if co-production is to be anything more than a convenient buzzword.

Co-production is not neutral: giving voice to people, and recognising and valuing their contributions, are meaningless if there is no ability to concretely affect outcomes.

Those initiating co-production need to be ready for change, willing to adapt and open for challenge, as a result of people's participation. Co-production cannot flatten or erase existing differences in power and access to resources; but needs to take those seriously and be clear on what has already been decided.

We also need to recognise that it is not always possible or even desirable to identify outcomes in advance: setting out precisely what is up for grabs may conversely shut down opportunities for meaningful participation.

The promise of co-production is seductive. We have found a number of reasons to nuance claims made and be cautious about its full embrace. We have not found a single pathway to co-production. There is no simple 'fix' or method. Nor is there a toolkit that can identify when or where co-production makes sense.

"You don't go into the forest by only one route." Nigerian saying. Contributed by Julie Asumu.

Co-production is not an off-the-shelf solution, sticking plaster or panacea. It requires time, resources, dedication and commitment. Real care and different forms of leadership are needed to guard values and work with and challenge inequalities in power and access to resources.

Developing co-productive capacities workshop with GMCA

August 2018
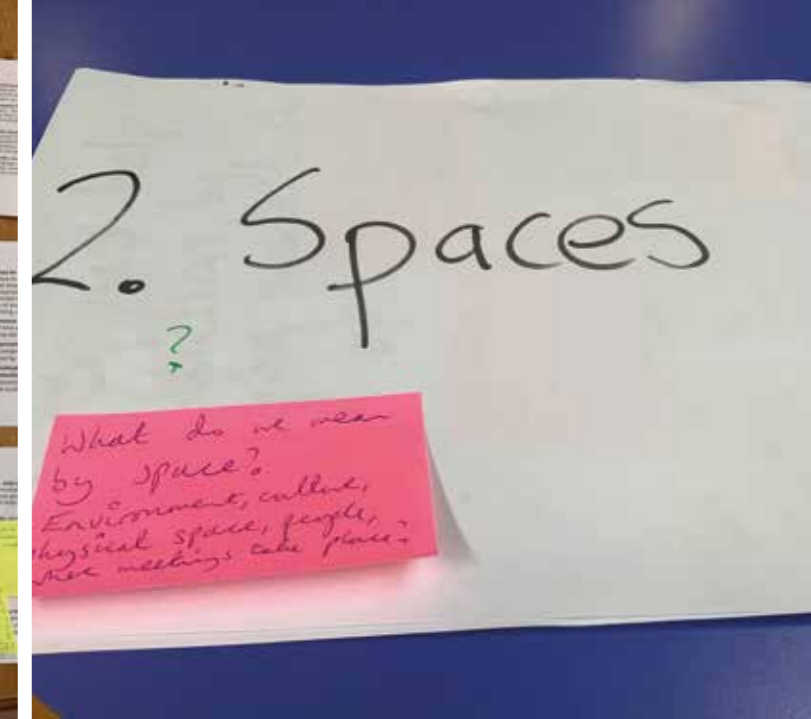
When to co-produce?

The idea of co-production is capturing popular imaginations, as a way of embedding the idea of 'doing with and not to' across multiple areas of urban policy.

From this perspective, no issue is unsuitable or off the table. Beyond a general ethos, however, our research suggests a more distinctive niche for co-production compared with other participatory approaches. Given the factors that make co-production work, starting where there is a fertile context or opportunity makes sense, for instance, early on in agenda-setting or policy design.

It is important to be clear why co-production is needed and what participants can meaningfully bring and take.

Co-production is especially helpful when:

- the problem itself needs to be defined and understood;
- there's no shared solution;
- there are new opportunities not determined or captured by existing agendas or organisations;
- traditional approaches for tackling the issue have failed.

By starting here, co-production can be a stepping stone to more systemic change.

It is equally clear when promises about co-production are unlikely to be realised. For instance, when there is a clear instrumental goal in sight, when processes are fixed, when solutions are already known, or where there are cultural or organisational barriers to open and uncertain processes.

What do we mean by governing cities?

The UK is one of the most centralised countries in the world. Devolution gives local governments and Combined Authorities only limited more control over budgets and policy areas.

Whilst municipal authorities in other countries may have higher degrees of autonomy and freedom, they too are looking for different approaches to addressing the democratic, knowledge and justice challenges.

In Greater Manchester, there is a long history of partnership working – dating back over 40 years. It is precisely this history of strong collaborative working that gave the UK Treasury confidence to sign off the devolution deal in 2014. The power of the 10 Local Authorities working together, now with a directly elected Mayor, has proved a stable model over decades.

But now is the time for radical reform. Setting up new structural partnerships, bringing the great and the good together in multi-sector groupings, will not be enough. The same thinking and approaches as yesterday cannot address the challenges of today, from austerity to Brexit.

We need to think about practices not structures. This is why we emphasise governing rather than governance as an active and ongoing process of urban transformation. New voices, fresh inputs, innovative thinking. These are the bedrocks on which progressive change has been achieved in the past and could be again.

ARC Meet 13 – Project updates and workshop on 'Lessons for another city'

25 September 2018

ARC Meet 14 – Project management and updates

30 October 2018

Unsticking the system

Our systems and structures in UK city-regions are not set up for co-production. Despite social and economic inequality and the continuing climate emergency, change is hard to achieve.

In Greater Manchester, despite a sense from officials that deep reform is needed, there is much faith in the existing strong partnership model across the 'Greater Manchester family'. Civil society is not similarly organised to be able to engage on equal terms and there remains little evidence that residents have the resources to mobilise for a different urban politics.

Co-production is a term used more and more freely. Funding cuts to local authorities and reductions in public services at a time of increasing demand are putting severe strain on public sector organisations. Institutions have to collaborate, and they have to do so in a way that is meaningful and honest, without reinforcing the burden of austerity on communities.

To realise the promise of co-production, without replicating its pitfalls, requires widespread cultural change, different kinds of leadership and institutional reform.

It also means learning from elsewhere. As cities around the world start organising differently as part of the 'new municipalist' wave[11], what will places like Greater Manchester do next?
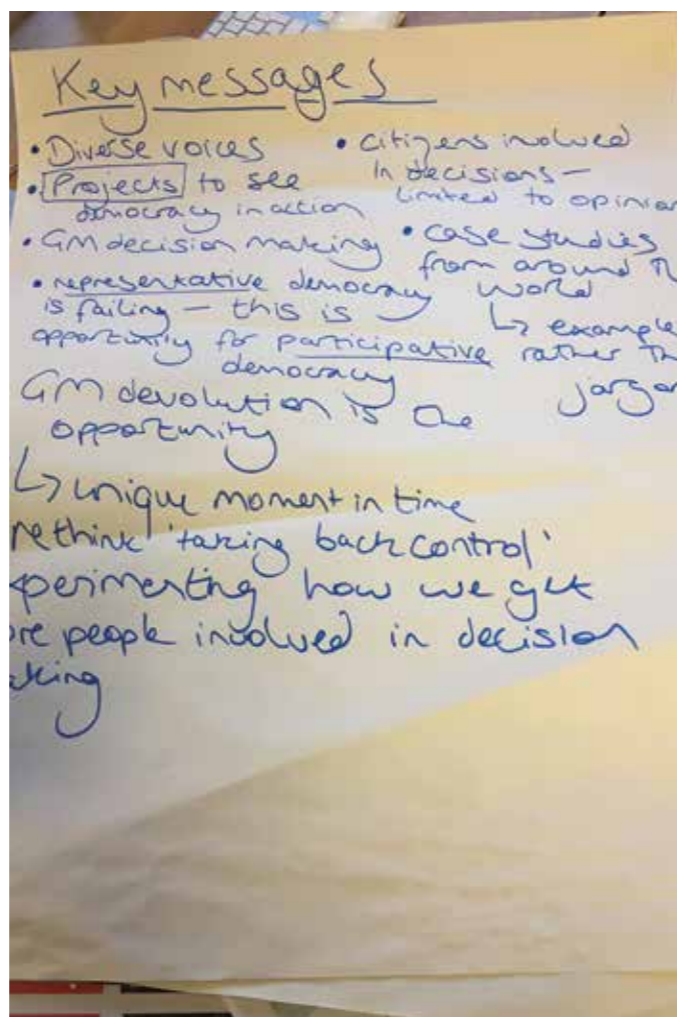
11 Russell, B. (2019) 'Beyond the local trap: new municipalism and the rise of the fearless cities', Antipode, 51:3, Online doi.org/10.1111.anti.12520

What would 'different' look like?

Governing 'differently' means putting the democratic, knowledge and justice challenges front and centre stage of urban policy. It means recognising that governing is about a different way of working – or set of practices – not a one-size, one-off fix.

Fundamentally, 'differently' means working towards an approach where command-and-control is replaced by multiple diverse and diffuse centres of power, resources and influence.

Networked 'boundary spaces', with sufficient common cause and negotiated autonomy, are needed. In these new spaces for governing cities, policies, actions, strategies and tactics can be forged to support more progressive urban transformations. Coalitions of the willing to argue for wider system change can be built across different sectors.

Co-production needs to connect those with and without power and resources through recognising that everyone has skills and expertise to contribute. We need to get beyond the ideas of 'top down' and 'bottom up' without ignoring power and resource hierarchies.

Co-production has a role to play. But to work across boundaries, we also need to work within them. Organisations and individuals need to take stock and take action within their own worlds before engaging effectively in any collective endeavour. This applies to local governments, voluntary organisations, political parties, universities, employers, residents' associations and all their myriad members.

- Organisations need to focus on their values and ways of working. More attention is needed to how cultures seek to control or empower, and the different kinds of professional practices that are incentivised and encouraged.

- Individuals need to question how far they are willing and open to change, to have their assumptions challenged and to step outside their comfort zones.

- Those that self-define as co-producers in different organisational settings need to embrace alternative styles of leadership, and reflect honestly on what works and does not in supportive peer learning processes.

- Potential participants or would-be co-producers, from citizens or young people, need to be empowered to ask the right questions about what has been decided, what can be influenced and why their participation really matters.

Co-production strategies, accords or statements of intent can provide a marker in the sand. But it is only through collective actions, learning-by-doing and organisational and individual willingness to change that the promise of co-production can be realised.

Jam and Justice in perspective

The Jam and Justice project was a large research investment in co-production and urban governance in the UK.

Funders felt they took a risk in funding a project that did not follow usual conventions but noted that the rewards would be worthwhile. Jam and Justice proves the point. We have succeeded in generating meaningful impact underpinned by high quality research, through working with a diverse range of partners in Greater Manchester and beyond.

We have talked, worried and reflected collectively over questions of representation, ethics, bias and relevance. We have followed and contributed to what good research practice looks like, and been prepared to learn through any mistakes we made along the way.

We also have much to celebrate. The collective project represents a huge investment of time, commitment and friendship from all involved. The volume and quality of data collected will keep us busy far beyond the completion of the project.

Our premise that lessons are transferable across sectors is supported by high levels of interest, recognition and relevance from partners in cities around the world, whether in academia, the public sector or civil society, and from UK networks such as the Welsh Co-production Network or the emergent English equivalent.

We are continuing to produce different outputs for different audiences to communicate what we have found in creative and exciting ways. We will also continue to reflect on the experience and continue our evaluation and reflexive learning throughout 2019.

This project is only a small drop in the ocean of change needed to address the urban challenges we have identified. We have actively sought to ensure that our research, action and learning continue to ripple out beyond the lifetime of the project.
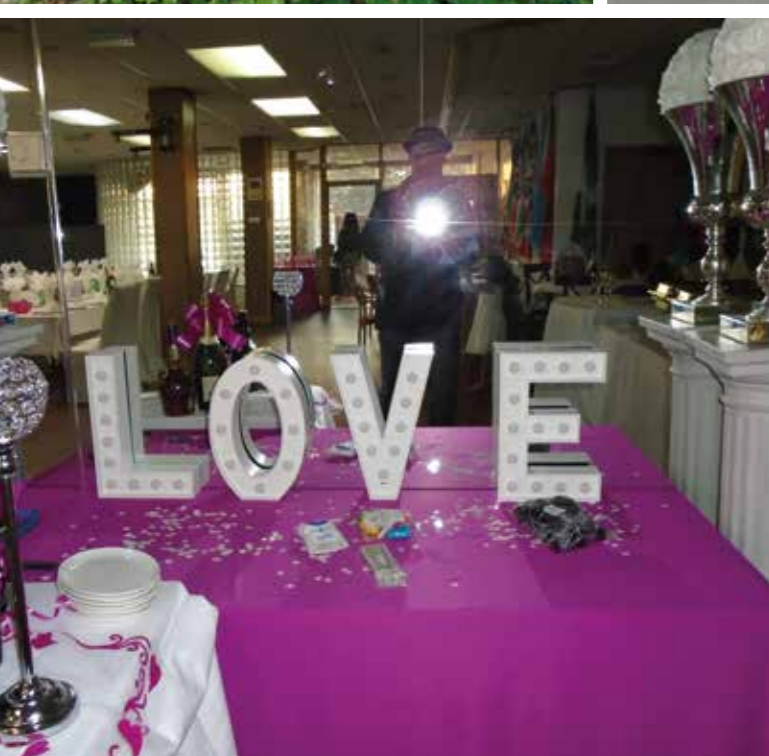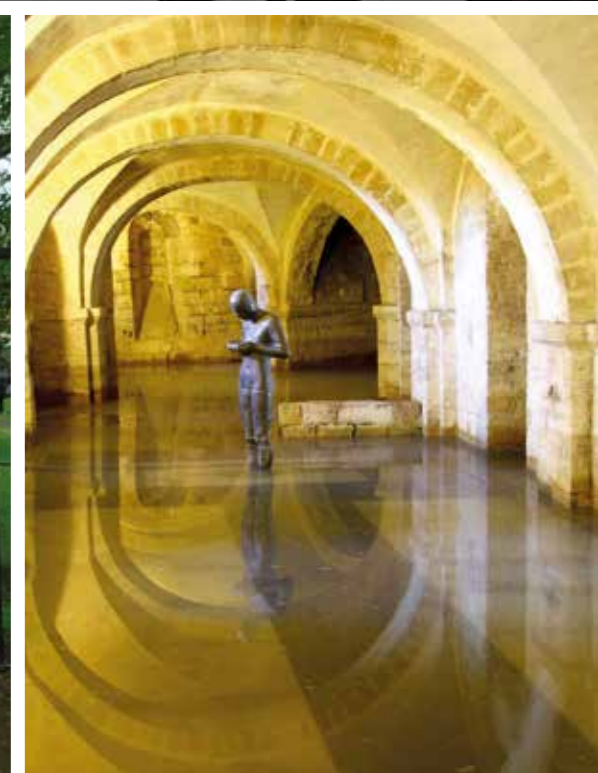
Photographs taken by community researchers for The System Doesn't Work project.
See photo credits for details.

Appendix 1
Co-researchers in the Action Research Collective (June 2019)

Adrian Ball, Chief Executive: Manchester Settlement

Alice Toomer McAlpine, Media Producer, Journalist and Community Worker

Amanda Bickerton, National Community Link Worker: Church Action on Poverty, Communications

Andrew Burridge, Policy & Programme Manager: North West Association of Directors of Adult Social Care

Jez Hall, Self-employed Consultant, and Director: Shared Future CIC

Julie Asumu, Voluntary Project Manager: Chrysalis Community Centre

Kate Finney, Co-Founder and Lead Facilitator: Amity CIC

Laura Williams, Activism Officer: Global Justice Now and Carbon Coop

Paul Maher, Director of Business Development: The Children's Society

Sarah Whitehead, Community Development Worker and Global Social Innovator: Community Pride CIC

And the following named Jam and Justice project staff:

Beth Perry, **Iona Hine**, **Bert Russell**, and **Vicky Simpson**: Urban Institute, University of Sheffield

Liz Richardson and **Dan Silver**: University of Manchester

Catherine Durose: University of Birmingham

Alex Whinnom and **Susanne Martikke**: Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation

Appendix 2
Project delivery partners

Amanda Preece: Shared Future CIC/Mill Research

Atiha Chaudry: Manchester BME Network

Ben Aylott: Carbon Coop

Benjamin Lear: Independent Researcher

Britt Jurgensen: Theatre Maker

Claire Haigh: Collaborate Out Loud

Dawn Kelly: North West Employers

Eve Holt: Happen CIC

Fiona McInroy: Manchester BME Project

Hannah Knox: University College London

Jayne MacFadyen: Shared Future CIC

Joanna Hunt: The Children's Society

Jonathan Atkinson: Carbon Coop

Louise Marix Evans: Quantum

Mark Atherton: Greater Manchester Low Carbon Hub

Mat Basford: Democratic Society

Matt Bazquiera-Jackson: Greater Manchester Social Value Network

Michelle Brook: Democratic Society

Natalie Hindson: The Children's Society

Nicola Dean: Starting Point

Ros Lloyd: Romiley People

Ryan Bellinson: University of Sheffield

Sharon Senior: North West Employers

Stuart McDonald: Centre for Local Economic Strategies

Suraya Skelland: The Children's Society

Everyday Politics on show @ The Beacon	**Interim report 'Co-producing the City' produced in Impact magazine**
January 2019	January 2019
2nd Coalitions for Change workshop @ the Whitworth	**Jam and Justice policy exchange delegation to Gothenburg, Sweden**
March 2019	March 2019

Appendix 3
The Action Research Collective projects

Care at home

How can more emotional and practical considerations be included in decisions over people's care needs? How can health and social care devolution in Greater Manchester address long-standing care issues such as bed-blocking, when people are well enough to leave hospital but can't get appropriate homecare services? Guided by Shared Future CIC and with facilitation by Katie Finney (Amity CIC) and Amanda Preece (Mill Research), Care at Home sought fresh solutions to this challenge through testing a new model of decision-making: an inversion of the citizens' jury. Citizens' juries usually involve technical specialists and professionals giving evidence to a group of citizens. In our project we switched this up, with citizens providing expert testimony and evidence to those traditionally seen as experts. A cross-sector reference group, brought together with assistance from North West Association of Directors of Adult Social Care, helped set the inquiry question: "What would it take to help people live a good life at home for as long as they choose?" Six inquiry sessions were held, yielding 12 recommendations. These have been widely shared, with participants involved in brainstorming next steps at the launch event and ongoing discussions with the Greater Manchester Living Well at Home delivery group.

Co-producing the green summit

How can the public be more involved in debating and acting on climate change and the environment? Why is this engagement so important? Holding a 'Green Summit' to address environmental concerns was one of the pledges made by Greater Manchester Mayor Andy Burnham during his election campaign. Building on a previous research collaboration between the Sheffield Urban Institute and the GM Low Carbon Hub, which had identified the need for a more diverse stakeholder base and wider engagement in environmental policy, a place on the Green Summit Steering Group was offered to one of the Jam and Justice researchers. Being on the inside track enabled the research to support a more inclusive Green Summit, through the design of breakout rooms during the Summit to close the loop on a series of listening events that had previously taken place. Researchers got stuck in, making video vox pops of participants and providing feedback direct to the Mayor on stage around the importance of education, expertise and engagement in delivering on the environmental aspirations of the city-region.

GM decides

Do digital tools and spaces make it easier for more people to take part in decision-making? How can online options challenge and open up existing processes and structures to wider influence? Drawing on examples from around the world, such as Barcelona and Taiwan where there has been impressive investment in digital platforms, GM Decides started with the aim of exploring digital democratic innovations with women in Greater Manchester. Led by Amity and At the Moment Productions, the springboard for this work was the Fawcett Society's observation that worse outcomes for women would only be addressed if and when women became equal partners in policy design. With the idea that designing for women would lead to good design for everyone, GM Decides formed a diverse Partnership Group and ran listening sessions to gather examples of women's experience of participation on and offline.

People's procurement

How can we maximise the social value created when local authorities spend money on different services? How can existing decisions to spend public money ethically be implemented in practice? Despite cuts to local authority budgets, councils still spend money procuring services from different suppliers. Many organisations providing services to local authorities have signed up to 'add social value' in their contracts, but there is little or no capacity to check that these promises are fulfilled. Using an appreciative inquiry model, the People's Procurement project was a partnership with the Centre for Local Economic Strategies (CLES), who ran workshops with representatives from the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector and public sector procurement leads. At a joint workshop, the strengths and opportunities both groups had identified were laid out as parallel timelines, inviting stakeholders to work together to identify concrete actions that would help realise best practice in procurement and social value. Key ideas being worked up with the GM Social Value Network include a dedicated cross-sector investment fund, cooperatively managed; and a hub to provide advice and connect up different kinds of expertise to yield better social value.

People's republic of energy

How is Greater Manchester's energy supply owned and managed? What can we learn from models of ownership used in other countries about the possibilities for more democratic forms of municipal energy provision? With the urgency of addressing climate emergencies and social issues such as fuel poverty, ARC researchers teamed up with the Carbon Coop and a cross-sector group of co-researchers to interrogate these questions. Through mapping energy distribution, making visits to a local electricity substation and the offices of a major power supplier and a 'research sprint', the team created a trio of prospectuses imagining the future of a new Greater Manchester Energy company, based on real world examples from around the world. They shared their findings at Greater Manchester's first Green Summit and ran a series of immersive walks to enable people to explore the history of the city's electricity supply, which have sparked interest further afield.

Space in common

What would it mean to make 'better' decisions over the physical redevelopment of the city-region? Where can discussions take place across local authority and sectoral boundaries about matters of common concern, such as how land is used and for whom? When Greater Manchester Combined Authority first launched a consultation about the proposed 'Spatial Framework' for the city region, there were more than 25,000 responses, many of them negative. ARC members were concerned that this first 'test' of city-regional policy under devolution was failing to connect with issues that mattered to residents. At first, Jam and Justice hoped to collaborate with the Greater Manchester Combined Authority as they undertook what was promised as a 'radical rewrite'. But shifting policy timescales and the complexity of negotiations ultimately meant Space in Common set out independently. In partnership with The Democratic Society, four workshops were held to create space to discuss and identify what 'better' dialogue on spatial planning might look like. Inspired by input from local planners in Greater Manchester and a representative from London's Just Space, participants identified the need for early involvement in planning processes, better access to information and more networked coordination amongst civil society and campaign groups across the city-region.

The system doesn't work

How can we value everyday political action beyond the polling booth? What methods can challenge perceptions of localities with low voter turnout, which stigmatise residents as uncaring or apathetic? Many people disengage from mainstream politics, feeling that the 'system doesn't work' for them. Yet they may be highly active and engaged outside formal politics. Building on the networks of ARC members including Community Pride CIC, Chrysalis Community Centre, and the Broughton Trust, we recruited ten community-based researchers who shared a DIY-approach to changing Greater Manchester. Using a photovoice approach, each community researcher took at least four photographs to capture what they did in their local communities to make a difference. We used these photographs as a basis for discussion to understand more about everyday politics. The results are reported in a postcard series, a booklet, and an exhibition that's now touring community centres in the city region.

Testing the 21st century councillor framework

How can councillors best fulfil their mandate as the closest elected representatives to the people that chose them? What impact do changes in local government and the reduction of funds and services have on the skills that councillors need to discharge their democratic mandate? The role of councillors has changed dramatically since 2000, when new legislation changed how councils make decisions and what powers local elected representatives have. Previous research from the Institute for Local Government Studies developed 'The 21st Century Councillor' framework setting out what sorts of skills councillors needed

and roles they could play. Jam and Justice then worked with North West Employers to test this framework through focus groups with Councillors, council officers and community members in Bury, Manchester, Oldham and Salford. Key recommendations are being shared with councils and communities across the North West. These include the importance of listening, being clever with money, being honest about what's possible and working across party politics.

Transform GM

What kinds of businesses does Greater Manchester need if we are to tackle urgent urban challenges? How can we build the quality and not only the quantity of an economy benefitting the many and not the few? There are many organisations and enterprises innovating with different business models, which are based on solidarity and alternative economic models, aimed at improving the common good. But these are often invisible and undervalued. At a time when interest is high in the Local Industrial Strategy and Prosperity Review, there is a real need to rethink what kind of economic development is needed and for whom. Transform GM identified examples of Transformative Economic Actors around the Greater Manchester city-region. With independent research assistance, the examples were added to an interactive map (published online at transformgm.org) and a pilot survey undertaken to find out what such organisations want and

need to support economic change. A report was produced that identified three next steps: deepening understanding by connecting with other experienced practitioners, including leading cities such as Barcelona and Geneva; establishing a Chamber for the Transformative Economy in Greater Manchester; and co-producing an Impetus Plan for the wider Social and Solidarity Economy sector.

Young people missing from decisions

How can young people get involved in decision-making on their own terms? What are the options for increasing participation beyond formal routes such as youth councils? What kinds of decisions would matter to them, if they could set the agenda? Restrictions, such as voting age, mean young people are automatically excluded from many of the decisions that shape their lives. Partnering with The Children's Society, we asked young people about the decisions that matter to them. A team of ten young researchers chose to survey their peers about gaps in the school curriculum, and their biggest concerns. The Life Lessons report, written by the young researchers and based on 138 survey responses from vulnerable young people across Greater Manchester, highlights the importance of money matters, relationships, politics and law, and recommends sign language lessons for all.

Read other Jam & Justice reports

(Downloadable from jamandjustice-rjc.org/downloads)

An Inquiry into the Challenge of Care at Home
Jez Hall, Amanda Preece, Jayne McFadyen, Katie Finney, and inquiry participants. Greater Manchester: Shared Future CIC for Jam & Justice, Autumn 2018.

Co-producing the City
Beth Perry, Bert Russell, Catherine Durose, Liz Richardson, Alex Whinnom, and ARC participants. In Impact, February 2019, pp. 43-40.

Councillors and Communities: a report from Jam and Justice and North West Employers
Sheffield: Jam & Justice, March 2019.

Craft Metrics to Value Co-Production
Catherine Durose, Liz Richardson, and Beth Perry. Nature 562, pp. 32-33 (2018).

Everyday Politics
Aba Graham, Daniel Nkrumah, Saraswati Sinha, Elaine Unegbu, Jane Gregory, Nidhi Minocha, Pete Simms, Tony Wright and Steven Calver, with Catherine Durose, Dan Silver, Sarah Whitehead, Julie Asumu, and Amanda Bickerton. Greater Manchester: Jam & Justice, December 2018.

GM Energy Futures 2020-2035: Municipal Energy Scenarios Explored
Jonathan Atkinson, Britt Jurgensen and Hannah Knox, with Ben Aylott, Bertie Russell, Laura Williams, and Matt Fawcett. Greater Manchester:

Carbon Co-op and Energy Democracy GM for Jam & Justice with assistance from the Seedbed Trust. March 2018.

Life Lessons
The Jam and Justice Group. Greater Manchester: The Children's Society and Jam & Justice, March 2019.

Life Lessons: Technical Appendix
Dan Silver, Suraya Skelland, Natalie Hindson, Joanne Hunt, Paul Maher and Beth Perry. Sheffield: Jam & Justice, March 2019.

People's Procurement: Jam & Justice: co-producing urban governance for social innovation
Greater Manchester: CLES, October 2018.

Space in Common: Key Messages
Sheffield: The Democratic Society and Jam & Justice, July 2019.

Testing the 21st Century Councillor Framework
Sheffield: North West Employers and Jam & Justice, July 2019.

Transform GM: A Pilot Study of the Social & Solidarity Economy in Greater Manchester
Bertie Russell and Benjamin Lear. Greater Manchester: Jam & Justice, January 2019.

Acknowledgements

What else are we up to?

Jam and Justice has a number of sister projects in Greater Manchester and Sheffield, on housing, spatial planning, savings-based organising, food governance and the UN's Sustainable Development Goals as part of the Realising Just Cities programme. Academic researchers are also working on projects looking at how individuals who make connections and bring people together can make a difference in their neighbourhoods. Much of this work involves sharing and learning with international city partners around the world.

Want to know more or get in touch? Contact Beth Perry:

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Visit **jamandjustice-rjc.org**

ARC Meet 16 – Feedback on draft findings 2 workshop

17 June 2019

Jam & Justice celebrates National Co-Production Week

1-5 July 2019

**Towns, cities and city-regions are facing urgent questions:**

How can a wider and more diverse range of people be included in governing cities?

How we can bring together what we know to tackle critical issues in our cities?

How we can change policies and decision-making to produce fairer outcomes?

Jam and Justice suggests that co-production has a critical role to play in addressing these challenges.

— Based on 3.5 years of action research, this report argues that co-production can contribute to opening processes, creating synergies and seeding change in how to govern cities differently.

— This report sets out what we have found - what practices can support co-production, what we have achieved, and what this means for governing cities differently.

— This is essential reading for anyone interested in how we might govern cities differently.

— The promise of co-production is seductive. While we are enthusiasts, we advocate caution. There's no simple 'fix' or method for co-production.

— A distinctive contribution of Jam and Justice is to link the process and outcomes of co-production. By starting in the right place, co-production can be a stepping stone to wider change.
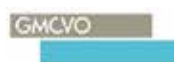
'Jam' needs 'justice' if
co-production is to address the
big urban challenges of our time.

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