



Citizenship & Community

Finding the Key to Total Place

Working Paper Version 2.0

by Simon Duffy

This is a working paper - all comments welcome

Summary

This paper argues that the assumptions that underly the design of the welfare state are seriously flawed and that we need to begin the process of redesigning the welfare state by examining how its structures can better support citizenship and community life:

1. The welfare state was designed at a time when we over-estimated what the state can do on its own and underestimated the negative consequences of some forms of welfare provision.
2. The welfare state is dominated by the *Professional Gift Model* - which sees the purpose of the state as primarily providing, as a gift services or resources to meet social needs.
3. The *Citizenship Model* offers an alternative paradigm for welfare, one which presumes citizens have rights, duties and authority.
4. *Self-Directed Support*, and other similar technologies have been developed to make it possible for the welfare state to operate according to the *Citizenship Model*.
5. We can also identify other aspects of the *Real Wealth* which underpins effective citizen behaviour and the different kinds of strategies necessary to develop these assets.
6. Citizens use their *Real Wealth* in order to build a good life for themselves, but the value of these assets corresponds to the total *Community Capacity* which they can access.
7. *Total Place Commissioning* offers us an opportunity to reframe the task of local government in a way which is liberated from mere service delivery and which begins to identify strategies for investing in citizens, families and communities.
8. A sustainable welfare state will unlock the intelligence, energy, and good will of citizens and cease locking resources into increasingly inefficient service silos.

Introduction

There is a growing interest in the power of community. Many now recognise that individualism, or economic liberalism, is not the key to building a better society. However many also recognise that, on its own, the state is a blunt instrument and that it can undermine - unless it is very thoughtful - the very things that it sets out to achieve. Supporting and investing in community seems to offer an attractive alternative to unfettered individualism and the growing power of the state and state-run 'services'.

However this only gives us a vague sense of a possible way forward; the devil lies in the detail. Too often calls to promote community collapse back into further intrusive state action or naive wishful thinking. To genuinely promote and develop community we need to understand how communities actually flourish and the real conditions for supporting their development.

One successful strategy for promoting community has been self-directed support and the use of individual budgets. However these new approaches, or technologies, developed first by disabled people and professionals in the field, have often been misinterpreted and misunderstood by policy-makers. Simplistic, ideologically-bound thinking often led policy-makers to interpret these approaches as a new form of individualism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Communities do not build or replenish themselves. Their weakness and their strength is the fact that they are utterly dependent upon the existence of strong families and active citizens. In this paper I want to particularly explore the importance of citizenship to community. I will argue that the failure to understand and support citizenship vitiates public policy; it leads to the constant failure of trying to build community from the top-down. Community must be built and sustained from the bottom-up, by citizens themselves. Moreover it turns out that building community is the core activity of citizenship, so the problem of building community is intimately connected to the challenge of supporting active citizenship.

This paper is also going to be somewhat personal. I have been engaged in trying to understand the relationship between the citizen and the community for over 20 years and I have, during that time, developed a range of practical and theoretical models for improving understanding and achieving real change. I will therefore frame this essay in terms of my own journey of discovery.

1. Reforming the welfare state

It is rarely observed how unusual is the current situation for human beings in the early Twenty-First Century, particularly in what are called developed or Western societies. The growth of powerful and effective technologies has created a situation where large populations can meet their basic needs for food, shelter, clothing through the efforts of a relatively modest share of the population. We have never been so wealthy, nor have we ever been so efficient at meeting our basic human needs.

The price we have paid for this new state of wealth and efficiency is instability. New technologies in farming and industry have been crucially dependent on moving people out of old securities. The modern individual has no pre-assigned role, no certainty of employment, no fixed inheritance that guarantees a stable income. All of the older patterns of life, work, faith and community have changed and most seem to have become weaker. The social impact of these changes has been profound and often painful - these changes probably underpin much of the evil that came to fruition in the Twentieth Century: eugenics, revolutions, world wars, depressions and a growing sense of alienation.

The positive discovery of the late Twentieth Century was that the state could successfully intervene in the economy and society and could provide, in a different form, some of the security that technology and economic development had stripped away. Across the Western world the state began to take on new powers, take on unprecedented levels of economic control and provide new services, particularly welfare services to help those whose needs were no longer being successfully met in the modern economy.

Today all developed countries are welfare states. Welfare, in one form or other, has become the most important function of the state. Issues of service delivery - funding, policy and regulation dominate political debate. Governments now control around 50% of GDP and most of that funding is used to provide welfare and economic security. Social and economic problems are largely perceived by the population as political problems which need solving by politicians or civil servants. General economic progress and the day-to-day management of the economy is seen as central to the role of the state.

The welfare state now seems natural and inevitable. And it is a great achievement which has taken us at least some distance from the vicious instabilities of the first half of the Twentieth Century. It is not surprising that possible changes to the welfare state create near hysterical reactions from the media or the general public. It is understandable that people are fearful that any possible change might weaken it.

Perhaps this is why we should not be surprised that there has been so little debate about the fundamental function and design of the welfare state. Yet the very existence of this new thing, this enormous level of state power, directed at the welfare of the citizen, is so unprecedented that it demands careful reflection. In particular it is not possible to explore the issues of citizenship and community without attending to the form and function of the welfare state.

My own view is that it is time to begin to reform and modernise the welfare state. This does not and cannot mean abandoning the welfare state. The conditions that required us to build

the welfare state still apply - without the security of a social contract, enforced by the state, we will not be able to cope with the insecurity, injustice and growing terror that unfettered liberalism would unleash. But, we do not need to accept that the original design of the welfare state was perfect nor that every issue can be resolved by demanding 'more money' or 'more efficiency'.

The welfare state was designed at a time when there was great confidence in the rationality and effectiveness of state planning and there had been no opportunity to learn about some of the threats created by the welfare state to citizens and communities. We have had to slowly learn both that government needs to be more humble and that we need to be more sensitive to the unintended side-effects of state action.

The closest historical parallel we may have to our current situation is the development of monarchical power during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the constitutional reforms which followed that: the Glorious Revolution, the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. All of these reforming movements, for all their differences, were united by an attempt - not to roll back the state - but to place state power within the constraints and disciplines of legal and administrative measures such as:

- Bills of rights
- Constitutional frameworks
- Democratic & judicial accountabilities
- Separations of powers

The phase we are now beginning is akin to this phase of political reform. Successful reform will not involve growing or shrinking the state. It will focus on disciplining the state, making it work in a way which is smarter, more transparent and more open to learning and development. We need the welfare state; but we need the welfare state to work better, to be smarter.

This paper will explore some of my own learning about effective state action and it will focus particularly on the experiences of disabled people and those older people who need extra care and support (and I will call this whole group 'disabled people' for the purposes of this paper). The experience of disabled people is particularly illuminating in two ways.

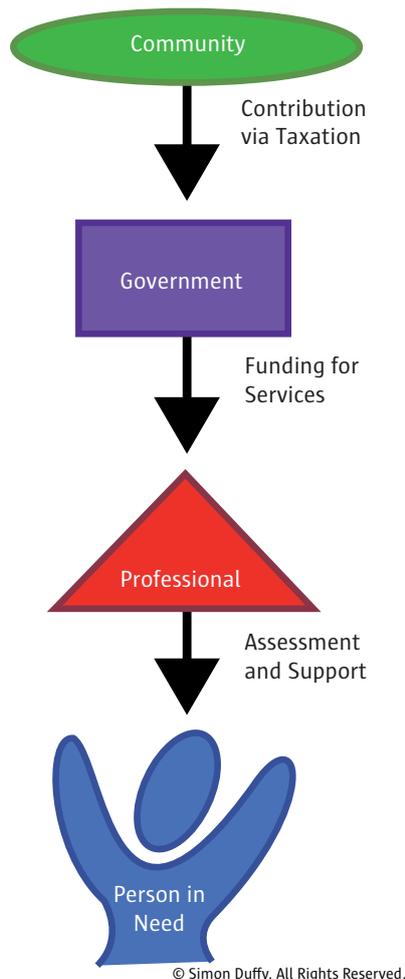
Disabled people often rely upon the welfare state to a much greater degree than other groups. They are therefore more likely to understand its weaknesses and its real long-term impact. For example, it is disabled people who have had to fight against the incarceration within total institutions that had cut them from communities and encouraged abuse and powerlessness.

In addition disabled people, as a minority group, have discovered they are not of immediate interest to professional politicians and this is reflected in the injustice of many of the arrangements that are put in place for them. For example, everyone is entitled to health care and a full childhood education, because these are perceived as universal needs. However social care, a key service for disabled people, is subject to significant means-testing and

diminished funding from central government. This 'tyranny of the majority' consequence is entirely predictable when democratic power is not constrained by any bill of rights or other form of self-discipline. Resources are spent where they bring perceived value to the 'swing voter' - not where they will best promote social justice.

2. The Professional Gift Model

The state's response to the needs of disabled people is often clumsy and sometimes harmful. Too often, people find they have swapped one bad situation for another. If people go without state support, they struggle and suffer. If they accept state support, they can find that support comes at a great price – loss of control and effective exclusion from their community. Most state support is already defined in terms of fixed and institutional services, hospitals, special units, care homes and day centres. The welfare state does not think community - it thinks service.



Behind this standard service-based approach of the welfare state is a paradigm for welfare delivery that I have called the *Professional Gift Model*. Nothing is harder to change than a powerful and persuasive view of the world, and the dominance of the *Professional Gift Model* explains why there is deep resistance to thinking differently about the role of public services.

The *Professional Gift Model* sees the individual and their needs as the problem. It then sets out to meet those needs in ways shaped and defined by experts or professionals who specialise in understanding those needs: doctors, nurses, teachers, social workers and so on. To pay these professionals the state must raise taxes from the community. It is important to see how plausible and powerful this way of thinking is.

Is it not natural to start with the problem or the need? And isn't it natural to ask an expert to solve the problem and meet the need? Surely, it is just as natural to expect that the state, in the name of social justice, will pay for all this good work. And so we must pay for all this good work through our taxes. What could be fairer or more reasonable?

The *Professional Gift Model* is a natural way of thinking about welfare in the Twentieth Century. It is natural that a society that has experienced so much suffering, pain and need would try to find ways of meeting those needs. It is natural that a society that respects expertise would give a powerful role to professional experts. It is natural for a society that has suffered wars, industrialisation and massive social unrest to want the state to engineer an 'industrial solution' to welfare. It is natural, but not necessarily right.

The limitations and difficulties created by the *Professional Gift Model* are easy to see when we identify the underlying paradigm. In particular, the model marginalises the role of the citizen and the community.

The citizen is seen as lacking something that the professional must give them. This way of thinking is deeply unhelpful. It excludes from our thinking the understanding, motivation and activity of the citizen him or herself. In this model, citizens are not actors who live their life, contribute to their community and are part of a family. Citizens become solitary, passive and needy – the opposite of a real citizen.

The community is primarily seen as a taxpayer. This view leaves out the support of family and friends and the skills, interests and even the needs of the wider community to which the citizen might contribute. Communities are not seen as mutually supportive networks of real people with important interests and purposes. On this view, communities stand back, awaiting the intervention of the state and the professional – the opposite of a real community.

So, the *Professional Gift Model* effectively drives both citizenship and community from our thinking. Indeed, the more we reflect on the real business of life the more troubling these exclusions appear, because a good life is intimately bound up in:

- our ability to identify meaningful goals for ourselves
- the need to be part of communities where those goals make sense
- the opportunity to connect to like-minded people who will support those goals
- having the necessary means to pursue those goals.

Without the many different communities of family, neighbourhood, work and society, our lives can have no substantial meaning. Our dreams, goals and aspirations would be so much smoke. Only through community can our lives take on meaning.

Of course, it is not true to say that the modern welfare system has given no attention to community. Indeed, the system often uses the word ‘community’. But the meaning is different. In the early 1990’s, the Government talked about ‘community care’ as the answer to the institutional residential care system it had developed during the 1980’s. But the policies it put in place to bring about community care could never deliver the necessary solutions because community can’t be purchased or commissioned by professionals. Instead, communities must be actively built and sustained by citizens themselves. Communities are identical with citizens in action. So, a policy of community care actually translated into the creation of mini-institutions in ordinary neighbourhoods – institutions in which ‘residents’ were completely cut off from the people and activities of the community.

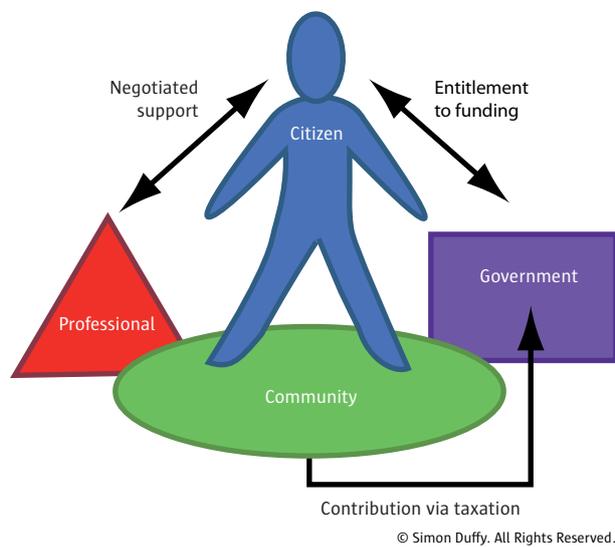
Increasingly disabled people and their allies have tried to escape the *Professional Gift Model* by finding a different way of thinking and a different way of doing. However we still have much to learn. In the following pages I offer my understanding of some of our early lessons.

3. The Citizenship Model

Back in 1992 I both defined the *Professional Gift Model* and offered, as an alternative, the *Citizenship Model*. This was my first attempt to offer a new framework for our thinking about the proper place of professional services and the state in relationship to the citizen.¹ It places the individual as a citizen at the centre of the picture – at the centre of their community.

The model presumes that each of us lives our own life, under our own control, but as part of inter-locking and diverse communities of family, friends, colleagues, members and peers.

All of us, as citizens, must pay taxes to the state, and the state must give resources to those citizens who need extra support or help. We can then work with our community and with professionals and service providers to construct any patterns of support that we need to live our lives successfully.

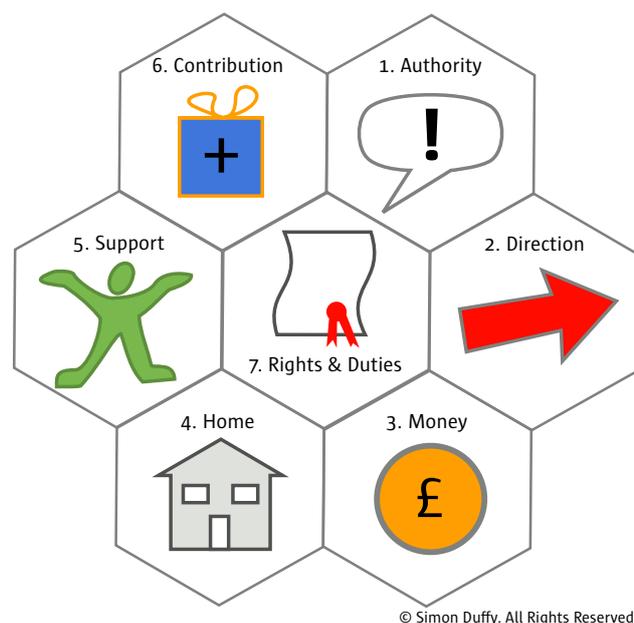


All of the elements of the old *Professional Gift Model* are still used within the *Citizenship Model*, but they have been reordered to represent the centrality of citizenship and community. Critically, splitting the professionals role away from Government enables us to better distinguish (a) my entitlement to get some help to meet my needs and (b) how I get those needs met.

I then went on to try and understand citizenship and its relationship to community in more detail. This was done through the framework of *Keys to*

Citizenship.² In the book of that name I argued that citizenship is not something dry or abstract. Citizenship is about real life and the keys to citizenship are also the keys to a stronger community.

In a sense I am choosing to actively redefine citizenship here. To take it away from the question of whether or not you have a passport (which is a top-down definition of citizenship) to a bottom-up community-based definition of citizenship. Citizenship is here being defined in a way which is intentionally designed to include groups who can too easily become subject to abuse or treated as not worthy.³



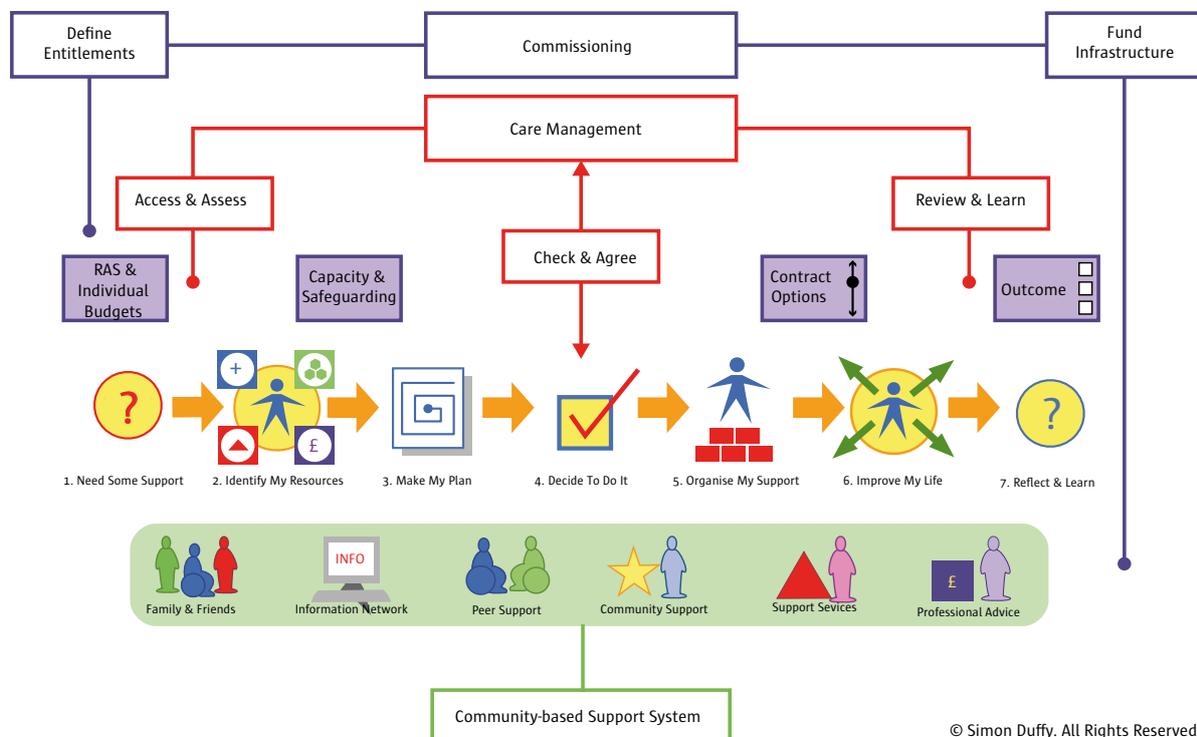
Key	Meaning for Citizen	Meaning to Others
Authority	I am able to make my own decisions.	You have the right to speak and to be listened to.
Direction	I am able to define my own unique role.	Your life makes sense. It has meaning.
Money	I have enough independence to aim for my goals.	You can pay your way and are not unduly dependent on our good will.
Home	I have a safe and private place, where I belong.	You belong with us. You are rooted in our community.
Support	I need other people. I am interdependent not self-sufficient.	You need us. You provide us with opportunities to give and contribute.
Contribution	I contribute, give and support my community.	You help us. You make a difference to our community.
Rights & Duties	I am protected by explicit rules and systems.	You are part of one shared social system.

If we think about citizenship in this way we can see that it is not really a different concept to community. Citizenship is just a way of thinking about community 'through' the individual. It reinforces the fact that communities don't exist without the citizens who make them.

4. Self-Directed Support

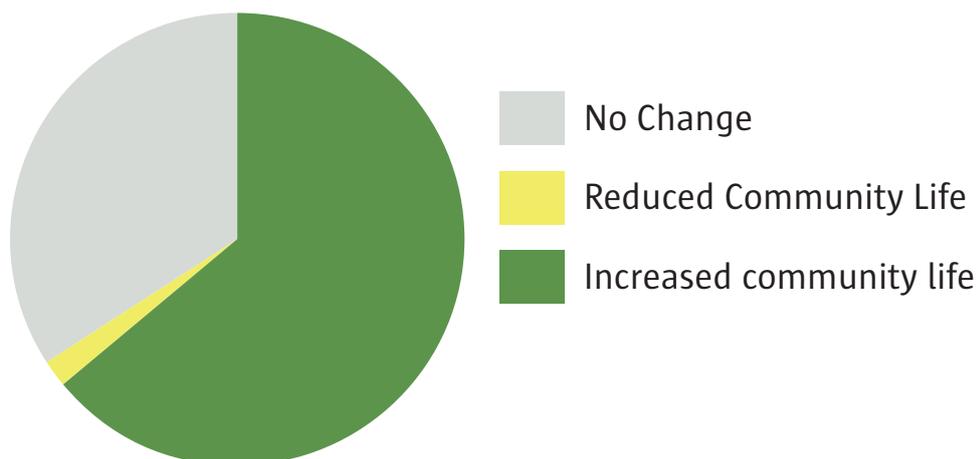
The next stage in my thinking was to develop a model by which the old system of social care could be reorganised to respect and support citizenship. For the old system of social care was deeply wedded to the *Professional Gift Model*. Even when systems like Care Management, Person-Centred Planning and Direct Payments were applied to it it would still fall back into an approach which presumed it knew best.

It was for this reason I began to develop in 2000 a system of *Self-Directed Support* that could be used by local authorities to re-engineer their care management systems.. This model sets out a process in which people who need significant levels of support could be assigned a fair level of funding (originally called an *Individual Budget* but now also called a Personal Budget by some) and who could then get the chance to lead the design of their own support, working in a partnership with community networks and professionals.⁴



I then got the chance to further test this system of *Self-Directed Support* within the In Control pilot programme from 2003-2005 in partnership with six local authorities.⁵ It was then further developed in partnership with a growing number of local authorities (100 by 2007) during the period 2005-2007.⁶ *Self-Directed Support* now forms a core element of the Government's Putting People First initiative that sets out a 'radical reform of public services'.⁷

Self-Directed Support has been important because, for the million or so people who rely on social care services, it enables a fundamental shift of power to families and communities. One of the positive consequences of introducing Self-Directed Support has been significant, measurable improvements in people's community connections. In the report on In Control's work between 2005 and 2007, 64% of people had taken a greater part in their community, while only 2% had become less involved (of a sample of 200).

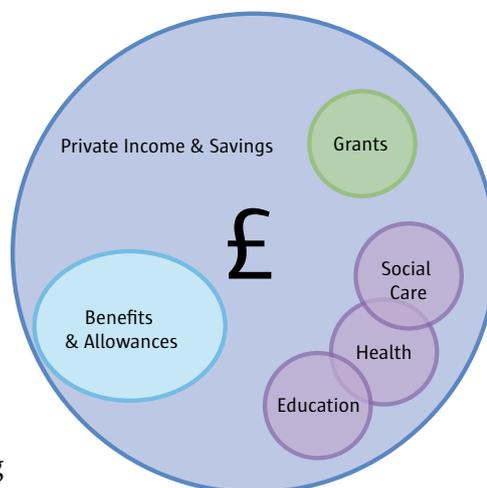


Self-Directed Support helps us to think differently about the relationship to the state of those who have complex needs or are vulnerable to specific risks. But we can go further. We could develop a more universal system of welfare if we look beyond the limits of *Individual Budgets* to a model that includes all citizens. Individual Budgets, or other forms of state funding or benefits, are only one part of the picture. The *Individual Budget* should be seen in the context of all the individual's benefits and personal income. All the individual's financial assets need to be considered.

At present, the development of *Individual Budgets* has been left to happen in isolation from the other systems of the Welfare state. In addition to a social care budget, people may have other forms of income:

- Personal income from earnings or savings
- Benefits, tax credits and tax allowances
- Health funding
- Education funding
- Grants or other time-limited forms of funding

Personal savings and other capital assets like property, shares or pension rights could also be included. However, at the moment, there is no coherent thinking about how we help people to develop their wealth:



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- Many people don't get all their entitlements. The entitlement system is complex and overlapping. There are nearly 100 different benefits.
- Many people don't earn or save because they fear losing their entitlements.
- The rules about taxation, charging and contributions, and benefit reduction are not integrated. People on modest incomes can be taxed many times over.

We need to help the Government see the need for a thorough reorganisation of the whole tax-benefit system. In particular, we need to find ways of combating the diverse disincentives for individuals and families to improve their income and savings.⁸

Means-testing and poverty traps are an important factor in determining the real value of income and savings. If you find that, say, your housing benefit is at risk if you choose to live with your family, earn a little money and save a little, then that benefit is actually a trap that discourages you from developing your skills, from contributing, from building your family. It may be difficult to entirely remove some of these disincentives, but it must make sense to reduce them to a minimum.

The current system is focused on needs not citizens. Different systems are set up for different needs without regard to the impact of the whole system on the citizen and their community. Reform in this area may be difficult to achieve, but it is vital.

5. Real Wealth

We can go further than simply seeing wealth as a collection of financial assets. We are learning that a good life is dependent on a number of factors, each of which is logically independent of each other. We can think of people's *Real Wealth* as the factors that will enable them to really achieve a good and positive life.⁹

- **Resilience** - The most important aspect of *Real Wealth* is resilience, the inner flame or spirit, which enables an individual to respond to difficult challenges with hope and to seek solutions, connections and opportunities. This may also be close to what Varun Vidyarthi refers to as the “inner dimension” of community development.¹⁰
- **Strengths** - We all have strengths, whatever our age, health or impairments. Our diverse gifts, abilities or skills are part of what we use to construct the best possible life for ourselves. A good life is connected to the expression of our gifts in ways that are authentic and developmental.
- **Connections** - Our close and extended family, our friends, work colleagues, our peers, and all of those connected to us through organisations, clubs, groups or networks form our connections. These connections: all of these form an important dimension of our *Real Wealth*. These connections are not just the primary source of help, they are also the source of meaning, value and fulfilment.
- **Financial Assets** - Our income, property, savings, benefits, tax credits and entitlements add to our wealth and give us the means to build a better life. It is these financial assets that are the key to getting help in ways we can control without undue dependence on others.
- **Access to Community** - We are also wealthy to the extent that we live within a community that has resources we can easily tap into and use. We cannot build a good life without being able to connect to community, to find places where our skills can be used, places where our relationships can grow or develop, places where we can earn or contribute.



These are the things that make up *Real Wealth* – the resources that enable individuals and families to achieve a good life. More importantly, it is our attitude, our sense of personal resilience, that enables us to use our wealth positively to live a good life.

The idea of *Real Wealth* helps us to understand how someone who is, according to current norms, poor can still be wealthy if they have a vibrant sense of their own strengths, if they have family and friends and they know where and how to connect to community opportunities. The idea of *Real Wealth* also explains how someone with a lot of money can feel incapable, socially isolated and unaware of positive possibilities.

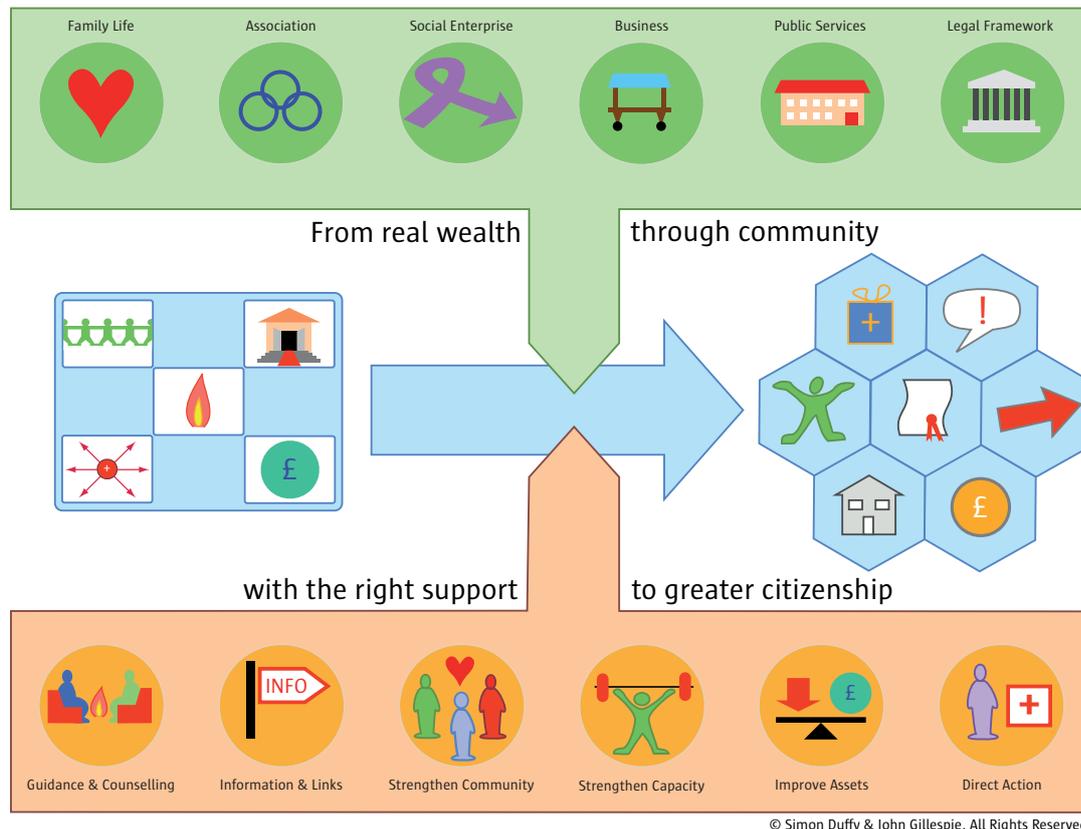
There are 6 forms of support that respond, with one exception, to the dimensions of *Real Wealth*:

- **Guidance, counselling and friendship** - encouraging people to have hope and faith in their own capacities and the love of those around them and helping people make better decisions.
- **Information and links** - letting people know about the resources available to them and building bridges into those communities.
- **Strengthening community** - helping people strengthen their own community, escape damaging relationships or providing a community.
- **Strengthen capacity** - helping people grow in confidence, learn new skills, try new activities or master old ones.
- **Improve assets** - help to improve their income or savings, obtain their entitlements and to give people more flexibility and control over their resources.
- **Direct action** - sometimes people need direct help where we help them by doing something for them - such help may not grow *Real Wealth* but it is sometimes necessary simply to help people be safe enough or well enough to begin the process of helping themselves.

We have a lot to learn about which forms of support are most effective and about how support is best organised and promoted. However, it is clear that the current system is not organised to think about community. Funding for support is almost totally locked into professional, specialist and regulatory support. Almost nothing is done to foster peer support. When peer support is set up it is usually organised in ways that mimic professional support – despite the constant insistence by disabled people and families that the most productive conversations they have are with people who share similar experiences.¹¹

6. Community Capacity

Wealth, even *Real Wealth* is not the only factor that determines the outcomes we can achieve. For the wider community resources and the help available to us shape how we can actually use our wealth. If we then put together these different models we can develop a more complex and comprehensive model which describes the interaction between the citizen and community which can be used to test and explore different practical strategies:



This model is the *Community Capacity Model* and it enables us to map four dimensions of community capacity. These community capacities support the achievement of valued outcomes. The four dimensions of community capacity are:

1. The wealth that citizens and families use
2. The citizenship that people achieve
3. The community structures within which people operate
4. The support available to help achieve our outcomes

The concepts of *Real Wealth* and *Citizenship* have already been explored. However it is important to note that this model allows us to use these ideas to reframe discussions of *need* and *outcome* which are central to understanding the purpose of the welfare state.

Needs are the currency of the welfare state. Expenditure and professional power are all organised around the assumption that needs exist and that the welfare state must step in if

there is any danger that a need might go unmet. However there are two different problems with a simple-minded focus on needs:

First we can miss an important ambiguity in the concept of need. Sometimes we use the term need to mean something that is essential to whatever we have in mind - I need dynamite to crack the safe. But sometimes we mean that something is essential to people achieving what we think it is important someone else achieves - he needs to be more disciplined. Of course, for the Welfare State, it is important to distinguish 'important needs' but this can't be done by just looking for needs. We must develop some account of what, as a society, we are trying to help people achieve - the concept of need on its own is inadequate, we need to understand why some needs are so important that they demand community action.

The second problem with just focusing on needs is that it can make us forget the purpose of the need. For a need only makes sense in terms of some outcome that it serves - I need cheese for my sandwich. And outcomes are, primarily defined and achieved by individuals:

- I want a home - not just to meet my need for shelter
- I want a job - not just to meet my need for income security
- I want love - not just to meet my need for social relationships

It is vital to respect this outcome-need distinction because without attending to it we can forget that it is the outcome which is the real source of motivation and meaning for the individual. Moreover it can become too easy for those who are focused on meeting the need to simply meet the need in ways that are most convenient to them, rather than supporting the individual to achieve the outcome they value. So, someone who may want and need friendship is deemed to 'need a place in the day centre' for this is how the Welfare State meets such needs. And so our needs are incorrectly translated into the 'gifts' that the services are able to provide. We simply end up needing what someone else can give us.

Instead, it is more helpful to focus on outcomes because an outcome must be defined by the person themselves and it is much more obvious that the person must be integral to the achievement of their own outcomes. Although this is not a simple matter either - having a cancer removed is certainly a desirable outcome and, while I must consent to any operation, but it is the surgeon who is the means to the achievement of the outcome.

However the problem with defining the purpose of welfare merely in terms of outcomes is that it is not at all clear that the state or other citizens should be concerned to help people achieve every outcome they desire. Many outcomes people seek are bad, corrupting or harmful to others, many others are just simply not the business of the state at all. But it is here that the concepts of Real Wealth and Citizenship are helpful:

- *Real Wealth* helps us understand that means that it is necessary and appropriate for someone to have in order to be able to meet their own needs and achieve their own outcomes.
- *Keys to Citizenship* helps us to redefine outcomes as that which it is necessary for someone to achieve in order to be treated with respect by others.

Threats to active citizenship demand attention from fellow citizens and from society as a whole. Some of those threats come from not having sufficient *Real Wealth* in order to be able to achieve citizenship. Meeting a need for increased real wealth enables someone to achieve outcomes themselves. However, there is an even wider context of support and community that provides the setting for individual action:

This community context can be broken down into six categories:

- the fabric of family life
- associations, clubs, circles available
- social enterprises, charities, faith organisations
- business, commerce and economic environment
- public services, hospitals, schools and emergency services
- law, regulations, democratic and judicial structures.

We need to learn more about how these elements of community can enable or inhibit opportunities for individuals. We also need to learn how interventions by the state impact on these elements of community. For instance, current ideas about training and regulation of the social care workforce focus entirely on paid staff (about a million workers). However, over 6 million unpaid people (family and friends) each provides more than 50 hours care a week. This emphasis on paid staff is an example of how current thinking is blind to the real community context.

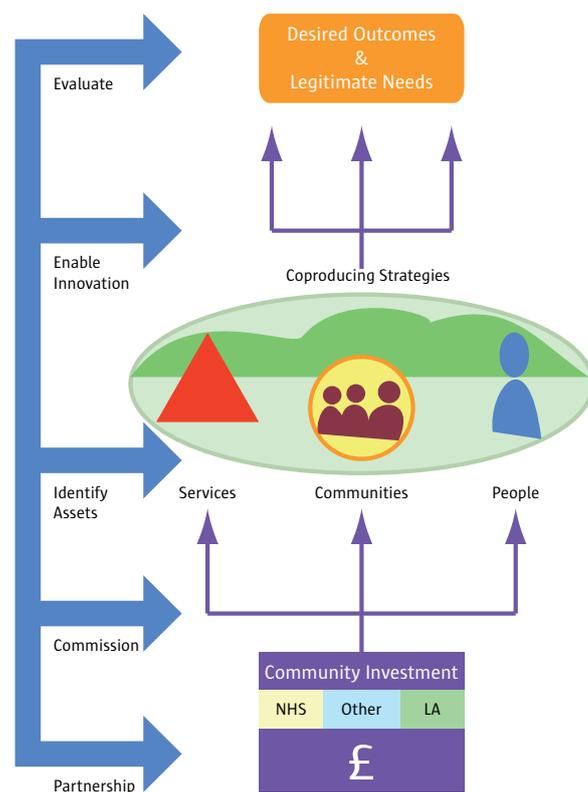
It is exciting to see the changes that can be brought about on estates which have been blighted with deprivation and falling standards and expectation. The work of the C2 Community Connecting, and other similar efforts, demonstrates the power of approaches that respect local capacity and get behind real local leadership.

7. Total Place Commissioning

These approaches described above begin to offer a very different account of how the welfare state needs to be redesigned if it is to genuinely promote citizenship and community. In the future model the modern welfare state will need to become more sensitive to the value and tension between three very different strategies:

- fostering stronger communities
- directly increasing wealth
- providing effective support

We do not know how all these different strategies will interact and what is the best balance of strategies. What we do know is that, currently, the shift from offering direct services towards increasing wealth through *Individual Budgets* is leading to some dramatic outcome improvements. The *Community Capacity Model* opens up the possibility of a much more innovative and empirical approach to promoting social justice and better lives for everyone.



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One further concept that has emerged lately and which seems to offer a better framework for the welfare state in the future is *Total Place Commissioning*. This approach gives us an opportunity to rethink the delivery of all local services and to find ways of doing things that really works with the grain of local communities to meet locally defined needs. The key elements of *Total Place Commissioning* are:

1. **Locally Agreed Outcomes** - The identification of an overarching local vision, which identifies desired outcomes and the needs that must be met to achieve those outcomes
2. **Co-production** - The strategy must recognise that positive outcomes cannot be achieved without the leadership and involvement of citizens and communities. Professionals and services can only co-produce improved outcomes.
3. **Community Assets** - Strategies to achieve these outcomes must be based on the identification and support of all community assets, this includes public services, but goes much further to include citizens, families and the full range of community resources.
4. **Smart Investments** - Local commissioning and investment decisions must be based upon real evidence of effectiveness and the use of all forms of investment, this includes prevention and enablement, the use of *Individual Budgets*, and support for community infrastructure.
5. **Real Partnership** - Local partners making investment decisions together in the light of the different obligations and constraints placed upon them by central government.
6. **Innovation & Evaluation** - The whole process of Total Place commissioning must be underpinned by competence in encouraging innovation and examining what practices are genuinely working.

This framework helps us to see that, if our primary responsibility is to help people have good lives, then we need to learn how to establish the conditions for success. We need then to understand how to adapt our society to ensure that we genuinely support success. It is important to see that this a whole-system model: a change in one part of the model will require changes at other points. In particular it is important to that:

- increasing money in public services reduces the money that can be directly invested in real wealth
- shifting resources towards more productive and empowering strategies will mean moving resources away from less effective strategies
- existing structures and silos may be poorly focused on real problems or socially valued outcomes

However, on its own the methodology of *Total Place* is too open and it will be subject to confusion and conflict. *Total Place* needs to be combined with the principles of personalisation to develop an approach that defines:

- Meaningful objectives - defined by real communities, not just services
- Entitlements - resources that can be used differently by local citizens
- Partnerships - opportunities to redesign and make sure things really work
- Governance - robust systems for management, monitoring and learning

Conclusion

We are entering a new period of political and economic instability in the UK. There is no guarantee that this will lead to intelligent reform, experience teaches us that it is just as likely to lead to retrograde measures - blaming the poor, blaming public servants, more top-down intervention - increased regulation, flawed market management systems or floods of guidance, expertise and consultancy.

However we have shown, during the last few years, that reforms can also emerge from the community itself. It is natural that government takes credit for innovations in personalisation and community development, but the reality is that these innovations were developed by citizens, people using public services and professionals who work in those services.

The challenge will be to organise those voices, those experiences and new ideas, in order to help government develop a new understanding of the capacities that are locked within people, and which, in the right environment can help transform lives and communities. At bottom meaningful reform can only arise if we can begin to trust that - to a very great extent - the solutions we need are already waiting - in the hearts, minds and spirits of local citizens.

Goto the People;
Live among them;
Love them;
Learn from them;
Start from where they are;
Work with them;
Build on what they have.

But of the best leaders,
When the task is accomplished,
The work completed,
The people all remark:
"We have done it ourselves"

from Lao Tzu's Tao Te Ching

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Notes

¹ See Unlocking the Imagination by Simon Duffy

² See Keys to Citizenship by Simon Duffy

³ See forthcoming article for Journal of Social Work Practice

⁴ See Direct Payments and Personal Budgets by Jon Glasby & Rosemary Littlechild

⁵ See First Phase Report

⁶ See Second Phase Report

⁷ See Putting People First (HMG)

⁸ See forthcoming chapter in Liberation Welfare

⁹ This model was developed in partnership with Nic Crosby and Pippa Murray. It is of course close to the capabilities model proposed by Sen and others. The model was tested with families with children with disabilities.

¹⁰ See Development from Within by Varun Vidyarthi & Patricia A Wilson

¹¹ See Should We Ban Brokerage by Simon Duffy & Kate Fulton