



**GOVERNMENT
OUTCOMES
LAB**

Are we rallying together?

Collaboration and public sector reform

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Report

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Introduction

In the last few decades, collaboration across the public, private, community and voluntary sectors has greatly increased. Local authorities have been searching for new ways to save money whilst delivering effective public services. There is also a strong interest in engaging local community members. They are seen to be experts on their own needs and can help develop solutions to current social issues. These drivers have led to a more collaborative approach to public services, with new and more inclusive ways of working emerging. Even though collaboration has become popular recently, it can pose great challenges when put into practice at the local level. It may require local authorities to make a step-change away from more familiar, contractual relationships. Collaboration requires a certain amount of power to be relinquished and redistributed among partnership members. This brings risks, but where there is risk, there can be reward – something this report demonstrates.

Are we Rallying Together? looks at a set of projects across the UK in 2018/19 which identify as collaborations. We want to understand what is happening on the ground. What does this collaboration look like? And how does it function? To do this we explore 10 locally-led projects from across the UK. There are a few important points to highlight before walking you through our research. Firstly, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' collaboration. Projects are initiated by local authorities, councils and providers, as well as the voluntary sector. Secondly, the scope of public sector involvement is different across the projects, varying from narrow projects for a particular group of citizens, to a comprehensive set of reforms across whole councils. Thirdly, these projects have all embedded collaborative working differently. They have their own processes, decision-making rules, and methods for capturing and reporting progress. Lastly, they are all 'works in progress' and at different stages of development. Some are permanent, fully embedded ways of working, whilst others are a time-limited initiative.

This report captures part of the collaborative landscape in the UK in 2018/19. It is not comprehensive, nor does it outline a blueprint for success. We listened to those involved in collaborations and linked what we heard to what is already known about this practice from the academic literature.

We describe both the similarities and differences that we found across the partnerships we spoke with, and we make recommendations based on the issues identified. We hope this report can help those who work in public service delivery to consider collaborative approaches, and inform their decisions about whether, and how, to adopt them.

How to use this report

Our report captures in depth case studies, offers practical insights and roots our findings in academic literature. It is structured as follows:

- **Research approach** – a brief look at our methods and why we interviewed certain collaborations.
- **Why collaborate?** – understanding the road towards collaboration and the rationale behind it
- **What do collaborations look like?** – we offer a typology of collaboration and explore the different structures
- **How is collaborative working ingrained?** – exploring leadership, culture and engaging the community to help embed collaboration.
- **How to demonstrate success and ensure accountability?** – we look at measuring success in complex systems, as well as understanding issues with accountability.

Research approach

From the beginning, our goal for this report was to capture a diverse range of collaborations operating in local governments. We looked for cases by contacting people in our professional networks who were working in this space, and asked them what they were up to, and who else we should talk to. We also searched online for stories of innovative locally-led collaborations. We decided upon 10 interesting cases¹ that were spread across the UK, and convened by a mix of public sector and voluntary sector actors. A round of interviews was conducted to get further details about how they worked

1. The 10 collaborations we selected to interview were those that involved local government and the service responsibility of local government, in some capacity, and where working outside formalised contractual relationships was a key service delivery element

and the role of the local authority or other convenor. We then analysed the cases against the themes that emerged in our initial calls: culture and behaviour, measurement and accountability, defining roles and governance structure. We then ranked the cases according to where we felt further conversations were likely to address these themes and contacted the top three collaborations for additional interviews.

One site, *Kibble Home Paisley*, fell slightly outside of the scope of this report as their approach to governance and service provision, while very successful, was different to that of our other cases and hence not comparable.²

The following table outlines each of the cases we chose. These will be shared in greater detail throughout the report. Note that by convenor we mean the organisation that is doing the running, who is actively pursuing change and taking on the administrative burden to make it happen. This isn't necessarily the organisation which has decision-making power.

“Collaboration requires... power to be relinquished and redistributed among partnership members. This brings risks, but where there is risk, there can be reward”

Name of Collaboration	Convenor	Date initiated	Region	Funding	Collaboration Focus
Doing The Right Thing	Somerset Richmond Group	2016	South West	Grants	Health and Care
Golden Key	Golden Key	2014	South West	Grants	Complex needs
Ignite	Ignite Coventry	2015	West Midlands	Grants	Children's services and homelessness
Kibble Home Paisley	Kibble Education and Care Centre	1840	Scotland	Endowment and grants	Children's services
The Oldham Plan: 2017–2022	Oldham Council	2017	North West	Recurrent government direct spend	Inclusive Economy Co-operative Services Thriving Communities
Plymouth Alliance Contract	Plymouth Council	2019	South West	Contracts and grants	Complex needs
West London Zone	West London Zone	2015	London	Time-limited contracts and grants	Children's services
The Wigan Deal	Wigan Council	2013	North West	Recurrent government direct spend	Economic Growth Public Sector Reform
Wirral Council Plan: A 2020 Vision	Wirral Council	2015	North West	Recurrent government direct spend	Public service transformation (in 20 Pledges)
Young People's Foundations	John Lyon's Charity	2016	London	Time-limited contracts and grants	Youth services

Table 1: Collaboration cases

2. Kibble exemplified a mission-led business that works in contractually based relationships with commissioners. Notwithstanding these traditional mechanisms for governance, we acknowledge that Kibble shared attributes with organisations working collaboratively – namely in building a business model around the systemic needs of vulnerable children and contributing their knowledge openly to the wider benefit of the market

1. Why collaborate?

In this report, when we say ‘collaboration’, we mean when individuals in multiple organisations coordinate and share resources in order to support one or more policies.³ We spoke to many commissioners, providers and community groups and found that collaboration has broad appeal. It seems to be an ‘obvious’ solution to intractable social problems that we struggle to address as a society. Whilst there is buzz around collaboration at present, it is not a new concept. The UK public sector has a long history of co-operation with the voluntary sector, as well as the private sector. However, modern social, political and economic trends have shaped how it looks today and why it is being actively pursued by public managers and other community actors.

In this section, we provide a brief narrative of the changes, over time, in public sector approaches in order to explain, in part, where collaborative working has emerged from. This sets the context for an exploration of the rationales given for collaboration.

Trends shaping collaboration today

There are several trends that have shaped contemporary forms of collaboration. Referencing work from the United States context, we have drawn out trends that we believe also apply to the UK. These are the persistence of ‘wicked problems’, the ‘move to privatise’, and the ‘move to partner’.⁴

‘Wicked problems’ are those social, public and economic problems for which there are no clear answers, clear definitions, or clear links between cause and effect.⁵ Examples include homelessness, chronic unemployment or educational underachievement. Causes and solutions to

‘wicked problems’ are often intensely debated in Parliament (and around the dinner table), but most people agree that progress has been slow. Major failures in the UK to combat such problems are well known. News headlines keep us informed about the growing numbers of school exclusions or the ‘botched’ rollout of universal credit. These kinds of problems aren’t likely to just go away. If anything, they’re likely to become more complicated.

A key reason why addressing ‘wicked problems’ may become more complex is the ‘move to privatise.’ In addition to privatisation, the ‘move to privatise’ also relates to a set of public service reforms beginning in the 1980s that centred around applying private sector logics to government operations. A central belief was that market forces could increase efficiency and quality in the delivery of public goods and services. There were many indirect policy tools used to embed these market forces, such as selling state-owned assets and enterprises; contracting out public services in order to reduce state-monopoly delivery; and encouraging private sector delivery of government services.⁶ Given these prevailing ideals, governments at all levels increasingly turned to third parties to provide core public goods and services. As the number of provider organisations grew, so too did fragmentation in local systems as well as competition between members of those systems.⁷ In the UK, in 2014/15, government income to voluntary sector organisations reached £15.3 billion and, for the first time in over a decade, the majority of that came from central rather than local government.⁸ While these indirect policy tools have been looked at to improve service quality, enhance flexibility and

3. In this report, the term ‘collaboration’ is used as a catch-all for the various names and forms of inter-organisational working including but not limited to: partnerships, collectives, collaboratives, task forces, collaborations, collect impact initiatives

4. Koliba, C., Meek, J., Zia, A., Mills, R. 2019. *Governance Networks in Public Administration and Public Policy*. Routledge, New York

5. Koliba, C., Meek, J., Zia, A., Mills, R. 2019. p 22

6. Wise, C. 1994. The public service configuration problem: Designing public organisations in a pluralistic public service In A. Farazmand (Ed), *Modern organizations*. Praeger, Westport, CT., p 84

7. Christens, B., Inzeo, P. 2015. Widening the view: situating collective impact among frameworks for community-led change. *Community Development*, 4(6), 420–435

8. House of Commons Briefing Paper No SN05428 <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk>

1. Collaboration will allow us to share financial and service delivery responsibility across sectors and with the community

For all our subjects a core purpose of working collaboratively is to join resources and achieve greater impact. Most organisations recognised they could not tackle complex problems on their own. Some decided to engage the community directly, implementing outreach programmes, encouraging them to take responsibility for matters that traditionally fall to the public sector e.g. litter-picking, renovating local amenities. Others have made explicit the impact citizens have on the cost and performance of local services e.g. better recycling. Wigan called this a 'psychological contract':

"We had to save about £35 million in a year, so [the rationale] was very much around 'well, you're going to have to work with us on this residents, we've got a lot less money than we used to have. If you don't recycle or you don't look after your neighbours or you don't look after you own health, we're not going to be able to do it.' And I thought we'd have this massive outcry, but do you know? The response we got from people was absolutely phenomenal." Donna Hall, Wigan Council

"We haven't done things like close libraries and close community centres and shut down swimming pools. We've come up with a different model... we've done several big community asset transfers...swimming pools, bowling greens, parks, libraries, all sorts of assets have gone over to the communities." Donna Hall, Wigan Council

2. Collaboration gives the voluntary sector a more significant role in tackling complex social challenges

All our interview subjects had changed the way they worked with the voluntary sector in order to deepen engagement and influence. For example, in Somerset, the Richmond Group of Charities noticed the absence of the voluntary sector in the NHS 5-Year Plan. In response, they created a partnership with the local authority and Clinical Commissioning Group (CCG) through the Sustainability and Transformation Plan (STP). They identified a series of opportunities where voluntary organisations could improve social outcomes, including through Social Prescribing.

Collaboration enables smaller, more locally-minded and tailored public service provider organisations to access funding from the local authority. We looked at examples of where social sector organisations were both collaborating to create a more substantial entity capable of delivering a public sector contract, and partnering with commissioners to change practice. In Plymouth, an alliance contract is being used to establish new relationships between provider organisations. The hope is that the shared responsibility for outcomes coupled with shared commercial incentives will create conditions where providers cease to jockey for referrals (and the funding that come with them) and, instead, are comfortable ceding responsibility to the organisation best able to deliver positive outcomes for that person.

"The Ignite project is an early action, neighbourhood funded initiative...it's a group of funders who got together who were interested in funding some projects that would stimulate early action in the public sector. Their belief was that would be best achieved by funding a third sector organisation to be a catalyst for change inside of a public sector body...Ignite was conceived in that model." Emma Bates, Ignite

"I think it is about looking at our cooperative workforce, the assets of a place and the assets that people have that are untapped. [It is about] creating a climate for those to be utilised, grown, and services held to account for the impact...on people, on the local economy and on the voluntary and community enterprise sector which is the glue that holds our community together." Jackie Wilson, Oldham

3. Collaboration seems to deliver better overall impact and value

While we observed different ways in which organisations defined success and measured progress towards goals, there was consensus that the form in which organisations were working together contributed materially to the achievement of better outcomes.

"We were interested in the issue of fuel poverty in Oldham. One in four children currently live in a cold house. So, we started to think 'okay, what are some of the remedies for that?...we used the finders' fee from the 'Switching' campaign and put it into the third sector. Age UK actually took that on. They have generated income through funding bids...[this has] lifted about 1200 households out of fuel poverty over a 5-year period. We wanted to do even more so we helped set up Oldham Community Power, which is a community benefit society." Jackie Wilson, Oldham

"So, we've seen a massive reduction [in demand] by investing in the voluntary...sector in different solutions, preventative, whole person, very local, very 'neighbourhoodly'. We've seen a massive return on that investment and a demand reduction. So, we've got a balanced adult social care budget, and we have had that for the last two years." Donna Hall, Wigan

4. Collaboration makes the public sector a better place to work

Several interviewees talked about the importance of creating a better work environment for those who deliver public services, focusing on 'systems health' indicators like staff turnover and sickness rates.

"Everyone who works in this way realises it's a better way of doing business. It's a more human way of doing business...there's less conflict, more consensus. I do think it is particularly suited for highly complex things where the outcomes for people are long-term or uncertain." Gary Wallace, Plymouth

Table 2: Rationales for collaborating

experimentation, and improve knowledge transfer of what works, they have also led to an increasingly complex network of organisations delivering services, spanning sectors and budgets.

Perhaps as a response to such complex networks, we have seen a 'move to partner'. As some issues cannot be addressed in isolation, partnering allowed stakeholders to "jointly address seemingly borderless problems."⁹ While such partnerships are by no means new, innovative multi-stakeholder models for planning, providing and paying for public goods and services do seem to be gaining traction. There is a distinct preference for collaboration stemming from multiple sources. This includes "professionals, foundations, researchers, government agencies, and groups of organizations and volunteers." Each of these perceive "the clear need for greater communication, collaboration, and coordination of organizational efforts to achieve desired outcomes in local communities."¹⁰

Rationale for collaboration

The landscape, set out above, provides an important backdrop to our report. We are keen to understand why people decided to collaborate. Our interviews revealed a range of answers. Whilst the rationales for collaboration were multifaceted we noticed some key themes across sites on how collaboration was perceived to solve a variety of public service delivery challenges. These are outlined in Table 2 with snippets of interviews with key stakeholders.

“Everyone who works in this way realises it’s a better way of doing business. It’s a more human way of doing business... there’s less conflict, more consensus”

Gary Wallace, Plymouth

9. Koliba, C., Meek, J., Zia, A., Mills, R. 2019. p 29

10. Christens, B., Inzeo, P. 2015. p 423

2. What do collaborations look like?

Having established what drives people to collaborate, we will now look at how they do so. This section describes the structure of relationships in collaborations. We will provide a summary of collaboration ‘types’ as articulated in the academic literature, before describing the collaborations we looked at and offering our own typology. By categorising collaborations we hope to establish a common language. This will allow those interested in collaborations to describe what they are doing and understand how this fits in the landscape.

Collaborative structures

People forming collaborations often wonder how to structure their work. Who should report to whom? Who performs administrative functions? Who should have decision-making

power and how much? The structure of the collaboration can determine how groups operate and make decisions, how they design policies, allocate responsibilities, coordinate activities and monitor progress.

Academics have long been concerned with describing these ‘governance’ types, particularly as they relate to the effectiveness of collaborative endeavours. However, the sum of this work highlights how varied structures are and how little we know about what makes a collaboration ‘effective’. No single governance structure has been found to be superior in all instances, and each has their own strengths and weaknesses depending on context. Whilst our typology will not encompass all collaborations, it can be applied to those we looked at in this report.

Collaborative Councils Oldham, Wigan, Wirral	Collaborative Markets Plymouth Alliance Contract, Young People’s Foundations	Agents of Change Ignite, Golden Key	System Connectors West London Zone, Doing the Right Thing
Broad programme of change where collaboration is a mechanism for the local authority to reform their own way of working and the way other local public agencies work	Aim to transition the relationships between local social sector delivery organisations from competitive to collaborative ones in part using alternative service contracts, procurement, and contract management practices	External to the frontline teams and organisations whose practice they are trying to meaningfully shift, but responsibility to improve the public sector is co-owned	Enable integration of the public and voluntary sectors to improve health and social outcomes by leveraging existing assets without fundamentally uprooting existing relationships and structures

Figure 1: Typology of collaborations

Typology of collaborations

The academic literature gave us an understanding of the structure of collaborations and how those involved relate to one another. We constructed a typology to describe the collaborations we explored. We settled on a four-way distinction characterised by *who led* the development of the collaboration, to *what kind of role* they had relative to other members and, finally, the *scope of change* that the collaboration is intended to deliver. (see Figure 2)

At first glance this may seem like an academic exercise with little relevance to practice. However, decisions on the structure of collaborations are widely believed to be crucial in determining how effective such efforts are. By presenting

this typology, we hope that collaborators will be able to weigh the merits of particular structures in relation to the scope of change they aim to deliver with the resources available.

Collaborative councils

‘Collaborative councils’ refers to programmes of change which span the responsibilities of local government. They are all broad programmes of change where collaboration is a mechanism through which the local authority attempts to reform their own way of working and the way residents, central and local government departments, schools, local business and charitable entities, all work together. Collaborative councils see their role as leaders of their wider community

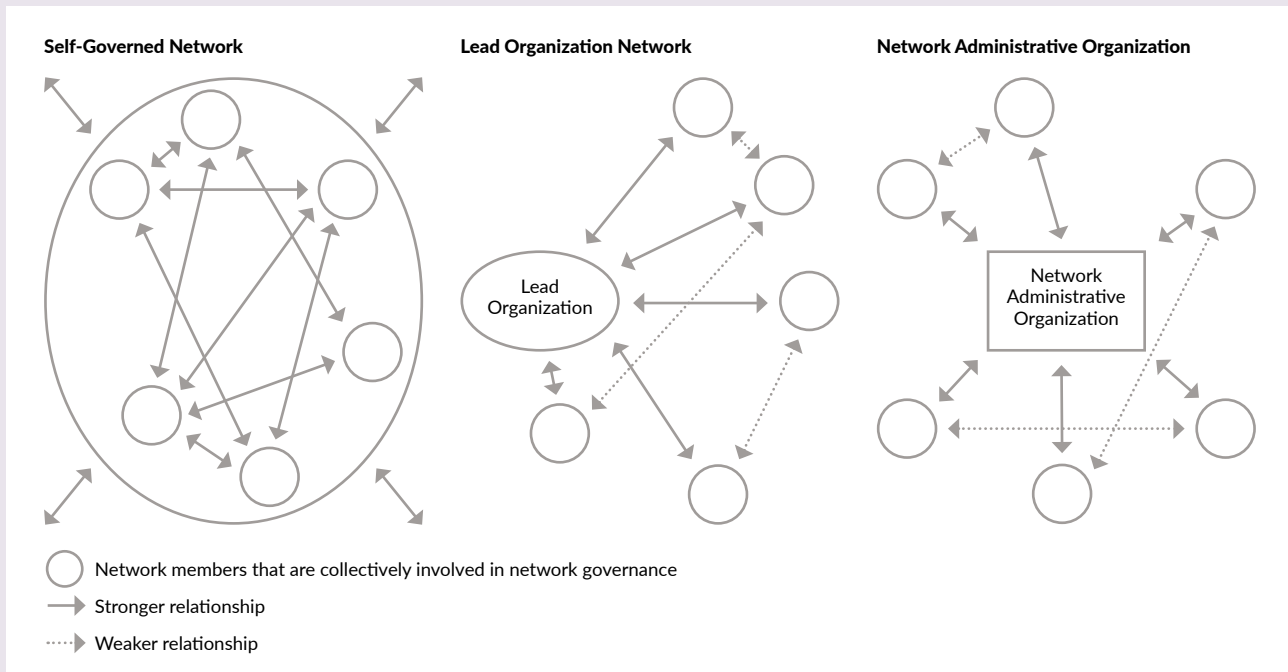


Figure 2: Modes of network governance¹²

Three modes of network governance

Public administration scholars have spent a great deal of time thinking about how collaborations are structured. Whilst researching for this report, we found work by Keith Provan and colleagues particularly helpful. Provan was intensely interested in what academics call ‘networks’ – those relationships that sit between states and markets or among governments and the voluntary sector. His focus on network governance is reflected in a desire in “understanding organizing as a tool for some greater purpose.”¹¹ Here, we think of collaborations as networks with greater purpose and so apply these scholars’ insights.

Provan identifies three different ways that networks are governed: self-governed, lead organisation governed, and network administrative governed. These are characterised by differing amounts of administrative burden and decision-making power.

- **Self-governed networks** are characterised by an equal delegation of powers to all members: decisions are made collectively, and members have roughly the same decision-making power. Thus, there is a high level of interaction, trust and consensus on the goals of the collaboration. However, because of the high degree of information sharing and distributed decision-making

power, effective self-governed networks often have a smaller number of members.

- **Lead organisation governed networks** elect a member organisation to be responsible for the administrative functioning of the network in addition to carrying out their other organisational responsibilities. This makes them a highly centralised broker in the network strongly connected to all organisations. Thus, power among network members is not evenly distributed, and it becomes critically important that the methods used to select lead organisations are viewed as fair within the network.¹³ Because of its distributed nature, these kinds of networks can accommodate larger numbers of organisations than self-governed networks without compromising efficiency.
- **Network administrative networks (NAO)** give the administrative functions to a separate entity whose only purpose is to support network administration. Like a lead organisation, a NAO is a highly-centralised network broker. NAOs have various forms from a single person – referred to as a network facilitator or broker – to a formal organisation consisting of an executive director, staff and a board which might contain representatives of the network members.¹⁴

11. Milward, B. 2016. Remembering the Work of Keith Provan. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 14(2), p 1

12. Adapted from Popp, J., Milward, B., MacKean, G., Casebeer, A., Lindstrom, R. 2014. Inter-organizational Networks: A Review of the Literature to Inform Practice. Collaborating Across Boundaries Series. IBM Center for the Business of Government www.businessofgovernment.org

13. Provan, K., & Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(2), 229–252.

14. Provan, K., & Kenis, P. (2008). Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(2), 229–252.

and all its constituent parts. Rather than leaders of their own organisation, they see themselves as ‘leaders of place’.

By this definition Wigan, Wirral and Oldham are ‘collaborative councils’, as they have all been through a huge transformation of belief, culture and function. They all focused on achieving better outcomes through a systemic change to the way they, and other stakeholders, worked without introducing a strong hierarchy. In each location, we see two-pronged systems that govern the network. They have a core strategic group of chief executives from member organisations who make high-level strategy decisions. They also have an operational group who have decision-making power over the delivery element of public services. These two groups are intrinsically linked to one another and feature representation from all stakeholders.

The Wirral Partnership

The *Wirral Partnership* consists of two main governing groups. The first is the Delivery Group that acts as a key decision-maker on high-level outcomes, as outlined in *The Wirral Council Plan: A 2020 Vision*. The role of the group is to promote and ensure the delivery of these outcomes. Members include the chief executives of the council and key public sector agencies, as well as the Chamber of Commerce and chief executives of voluntary sector organisations. The second is the Steering Groups, which have been described as the ‘thinkers and doers’ of the partnership. Their role is to design strategies, implement and monitor them. Each steering group includes a representative from the Cabinet, members from the Delivery Group and senior representatives from public, private and voluntary sector organisations.

The partnership is held together by the shared ambitions and commitments set out in the *Wirral Council Plan*. The partnership enables multiple organisations to engage in service planning and delivery, and allows leadership to move between organisations. Wirral were keen to avoid bureaucratic structures so there are no formalised agreements. Collaboration depends on each member delivering on their commitments through their employer. This informality was seen as a key enabler for people to initiate new collaborative projects.

Collaborative markets

‘Collaborative markets’ refer to those sites which aim to transition from competitive to collaborative relationships across sectors. The *Plymouth Alliance Contract*, pursued by Plymouth Council, and the network of providers working with the *Young People’s Foundations* challenge the presumption that competition is the best process for driving value. They also challenge the idea that traditional forms of contracts and contract management create the most effective relationships between commissioners and providers.

An alliance contract in Plymouth

Alliance contracting has been used globally to procure and provide a range of public services. It involves a single contract between a purchaser and partner organisations with a collective goal, interdependent responsibilities, and shared risks and rewards. Key features are:

- A common vision ensuring clarity of goals and risks;
- A set of agreed shared outcomes;
- An alliance of organisations working to achieve shared outcomes;
- A focus on the performance of the whole alliance instead of individual organisations.

Whilst procurement is competitive, there is a lot of negotiation on terms after the award has been made. Evidence suggests that alliance contracts can address failings of other efforts to establish integrated services to address siloed working.¹⁵

In Plymouth, the Alliance builds on an existing informal collaboration between a network of providers, the Creative Solutions Forum (CSF) and the System Optimisation Group (SOG). The CSF is an open meeting for service providers and commissioners to resolve difficult cases or try new things. The SOG responds to issues raised in the CSF and is responsible for creating a whole system approach to delivery. In four years, the SOG implemented extensive systems leadership training, three mass co-production events and inquiry work to help stakeholders overcome problems. This work focussed on identifying means to enact system and cultural change.

When the alliance was commissioned, eight providers responded to the tender and formally signed the Alliance. They were joined by three further commissioners creating the Alliance Contract

15. Clark, M., Ryan, T., Dixon, N. 2015. Commissioning for better outcomes in mental health care: testing Alliance Contracting as an enabling framework. *Mental Health and Social Inclusion*, 19(4)

Leadership Team. Decisions within the Alliance must be unanimous, including bidding for contracts. The structures for informal engagement continue to exist alongside the Alliance to create a mechanism for systems wide change.

System connectors

'System connectors' aim to deliver change to a specific set of policy and service challenges. They have no statutory service requirements and hold no direct democratic accountability. Instead, they exist to better manage resources within the network, enabling integration of the public and voluntary

sectors to improve health and social outcomes. They are about achieving better outcomes by leveraging existing assets without fundamentally uprooting existing relationships and structures. *Doing The Right Thing* and *West London Zone* fit this definition. Both focused on supporting and building on local resources within a specified geographical area. Both emphasise on targeting better outcomes for beneficiaries by not only aligning the interests of relevant stakeholders, but also involving smaller local charities in delivery. The belief that it offers more unique and customised solutions to service users, could help member organisations scale, and is a route to more sustainable funding. Interestingly, while these projects share an overarching aim, they are structured differently. *Doing the Right Thing* is a team seconded from the Richmond Group of

West London Zone: two year individual support plan

West London Zone (WLZ) established a collective impact bond¹⁶ whereby they receive payment when they, in partnership with service delivery partners, achieve set outcomes for specified young people. The organisation links local resources in children's education such as schools, local authorities and voluntary sector providers. WLZ hold strong relationships with each party through formal contracts and link workers who 'wrap' support around each child.

A key to success has been the collection of detailed datasets from the provider network. The data indicates

when outcomes are achieved, which enables payment to be made and the wider impact to be analysed. When it began, WLZ had no prior track record. They secured an initial grant which gave them momentum and encouraged other funders. Funders told us that the high performance and entrepreneurial culture was fundamental in securing further financial support. The blended funding model reduced the local voluntary sector's dependence on short-term grant funding while aligning local resources to improving outcomes for children.

Informal engagement	Delivery partner specialist support	Developmental support	Formal engagement
Build trusted relationship; review short-term goals	Expert partners targeting WLZ outcomes	Link Worker support targeting WLZ outcomes	Review of medium and long-term goals; review of Individual Support Plan
Regular 'check ins' with child, perhaps at lunch or after school; regular communication with family	Needs-based: E.g. counselling, literacy/ maths support	Developing a 'growth mindset'; Facilitating small group sessions where children pursue own development and learning, e.g. growth mindset, Reading-wise, Mathematics	Scheduled 1:1 sessions with Link Worker; collaboration with child and family, and school
	Strengths-based: E.g. debating, football, dance		
	Widening horizons: E.g. trips, career workshops		

Figure 3: Two year plan

Over time the relationships WLZ had with the collaborators evolved. They adopted a rigorous performance-led style of management which strengthened their role within the network. Louise Mitchell, CEO of WLZ argues this was the right decision:

"I remember the early discussions around whether we would have another organisation manage the collaboration,

as is common for social impact bonds, and our instinct from the outset was that we wanted to do it all ourselves because it was at the heart of what we would be doing and would drive our culture. It's [the bond] not a financial vehicle for us; it drives our delivery model and our focus on high performance."¹⁷

16. A collective impact bond is a model where the five principles of success for collective impact initiatives are brought together with a social impact bond funding model. Those principles include: a common agenda, shared measurement systems, continuous communication, mutually reinforcing activities, and having a backbone organisation; Kania, J., Kramer, M. 2012. Collective Impact. Stanford Social Innovation Review

17. Louisa Mitchell, West London Zone, interview 26/10/2018

Charities and Somerset Council, who connect partners through a process of engagement and facilitation. *West London Zone* holds formal contracted relationships with funders and service providers.

Agents of change

'Agents of change' are independent of other network members and work to change the way services are delivered from the outside in. They are looking to reform service delivery by provoking and disrupting practice in-situ. Agents of change design their programme of improvement not from an ideal version of the service delivery system, but from how it currently functions. Unlike a system connector, the focus is not convening or leveraging resources within this network. Instead, they strive for meaningful shifts in front-line practice.

Golden Key and Ignite as agents of change

Golden Key and *Ignite* are both independent bodies pushing for reform. They focused their efforts on understanding service user behaviours and preferences, mapping gaps in service provision and re-engineering systems around people. Working at the point closest to the client was critical to these agents of change. Insights gleaned from deep, meaningful relationships with service users were used to make operational changes. 'Agents' were embedded alongside delivery teams so they could understand programmes and make changes. For example, *Ignite* 'agents' worked with a housing provider to reduce the incidence of failed tenancies by changing the way staff interact with clients. While they both feel the constraints of their external position, they are able to challenge existing practice in a way that an employee of a delivery organisation could not.

Both projects were funded through grants in partnership with the local authority and others. They were designed to play a role in service and partnership, and the grant funders were willing to allow this flexibility. Where funds were sought jointly between the provider and the local authority, this acted as a leveller and made it a joint enterprise rather than a commissioned service. Having grants allowed *Golden Key* and *Ignite* to take an experimental approach to developing their working model, and meant that they held an equal relationship with the local authority. This enabled these voluntary sector partners to challenge the status quo. In that sense, grant funders enabled the collaborative relationship between public and voluntary sectors.

“I remember the early discussions around whether we would have another organisation manage the collaboration... our instinct was that we wanted to do it all ourselves because it is at the heart of what would be doing and would drive our culture”

Louise Mitchell, WLZ

3. How is collaborative working ingrained?

We asked all the interview subjects across the range of projects what they thought the key determinants of successful collaborations were. We listened, collated and grouped the responses under four broad headings: leadership, culture, infrastructure, and communities. We discuss each determinant in turn.

Leadership

Interviewees at all collaborations emphasised the importance of effective and transformative leadership. The distinct characteristic of collaborative leadership is that it requires managers to move away from hierarchical relationships, to be more facilitative. As one manager¹⁸ put it, this means going from being “a direct manager of something to being the one who trusts someone else to manage it on our behalf.” Leaders should encourage experimentation and allow failures to be part of the learning process. They should create a climate of “truth and reconciliation” and a safe space for mistakes to be made. Several other crucial elements for effective leaders were identified by interviewees. First, a compelling vision that unites leaders in the partnership. Second, a way of cultivating open and honest relationships in order to make effective and resilient partnerships. Third, offering their time, listening, and including a range of people in order to build trust.

In this report we focus on leaders who initiate and guide the collaborative process. Public administration scholars Chris Ansell and Alison Gash identify three collaborative leadership types: steward, mediator and catalyst. While these types are helpful conceptual tools, we are not suggesting that leaders are only one thing. Successful leaders beg, borrow and steal. In interviews we heard examples of each type, sometimes related to the same leader. Instead, you might conceive of these as the general approaches to leadership taken by key individuals within the collaboration. As Ansell and Gash¹⁹ put it:

“Stewards facilitate collaboration by helping to convene collaboration and maintain its integrity. Mediators facilitate collaboration by managing conflict and arbitrating exchange between stakeholders. Catalysts facilitate collaboration by helping to identify and realize value-creating opportunities.”

Stewards

Stewards see their role as establishing and protecting the integrity of the collaborative process and are responsible for “creating an understanding of the issue.”²⁰ They engage key stakeholders and seek new collaborators from the start of the process. The majority of interviewees stressed the need to invest significant time in building relationships and aligning outlooks of sometimes disparate organisations.

In *Doing the Right Thing*, which aimed to demonstrate the benefit of collaborations between the voluntary and public sector, the programme manager met all relevant stakeholders individually to understand their perspectives and worked that into the programme. In Oldham, the nine chief executives of the public sector agencies met every week for twelve months to shape their partnership. This was led by the Council CEO, who had previously worked with the stakeholders bilaterally. During interviews, people said this ‘facilitated openness and allowed people to overcome potential barriers to improving relationships’. This proved essential in resolving future challenges. Even when there is broader buy-in, it is critical to celebrate these successes, showing the value of the collaboration to build belief and support. As one interviewee²¹ explained: “The council is willing to put its money where its mouth is, in terms of doing things differently. It starts to demonstrate improved outcomes, and then it becomes increasingly easy to get partners involved because they can see that change is really happening.”

Collaboration literature notes the importance of creating a shared identity and vision and stewards are often thought to

18. Fiona Johnstone, Wirral Council, interview 17/09/18

19. Ansell, C. and Gash, A. 2008. ‘Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice’ *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), 543–571

20. Ansell, C. and Gash, A. 2012. Stewards, mediators and catalysts: Towards a model of collaborative leadership. *The Innovation Journal*, 17 (1), 2–21

21. Donna Hall, Wigan Council, interview 08/08/18

The Wigan Deal – Creating a common vision across a place

The Wigan Deal is about creating a shared vision among collaborative partners. Wigan Council describes the Deal as “an informal agreement between the council and everyone who lives or works here to work together to create a better borough.” The Deal does this by inspiring the community

to get involved, setting out what residents and local businesses can do to improve the borough. It makes explicit the limitations of the state as a source of resources to deliver that vision while giving power and trust to citizens to pursue ways to contribute.



Figure 4: The Wigan Deal

promote these tools well.²² Interestingly, each collaboration we researched had created a set of shared ambitions and some articulation of what would be different about working collaboratively. These took the form of plans, pledges, principles and theories of change which articulated the shared ambition, as well as the purpose and values meant to rally member organisations and individuals together. For the Collaborative Councils, communicating these served to inspire members of the collaboration as well as help define new ways of working among *and within* each member organisation. This meant that member organisations avoided having to create new systems to formalise collaborative processes and intentions internally.

Mediators

Mediators, like stewards, wish to maintain the integrity of the collaboration and place a great emphasis on nurturing and negotiating relationships. “Building trust” is a central aim, recognising the need for space and time to nurture open and honest relationships. Many interviewees highlighted the challenge of seeing the collaboration as owned equally by all parties rather than an initiative led by the organisation who started the process. In brokering equal relationships, the role of a mediator is to communicate and translate stakeholders’ differing perspectives to get to the root of disagreement. One of our interviewees framed the process as “going back to the recovery position,”²³ meaning having ongoing discussions to

22. Ansell, C. and Gash, A. 2012. Stewards, mediators and catalysts: Towards a model of collaborative leadership. *The Innovation Journal*, 17 (1), 2–21

23. Simon Banks, NHS Wirral CCG, interview 05/11/18

ensure inclusiveness and mutual understanding. Empathy allowed mediators to negotiate solutions with broad buy-in. We saw examples where mediators had to identify and address adversarial behaviours that threatened the collaboration but, like stewards, mediators preferred to celebrate collaborative behaviour rather than apply sanctions.

Catalysts

Catalysts “name and shape the identity”²⁴ of the collaboration, identifying opportunities for new approaches and helping to mobilise partners to pursue them. Catalysts see themselves as innovative and flexible. Like mediators, they find ways to constructively challenge assumptions in order to overcome barriers and engage stakeholders in new approaches. They provoke new thinking, or ask “daft” questions in order to “get people to begin to think about what they do.”²⁵ Catalysts can make collaboration exciting by identifying partners’ individual strengths and creating the right conditions for each to make a meaningful contributions, in effect changing the rulebook. This process was explained to us in an interview as “getting alongside them [partners] and talking to them, making sure they are doing the right things, giving them the space to do the right thing, correcting if there is deviation, coaching if necessary.”²⁶

Fostering a sense of “intellectual playfulness” in Plymouth

In Plymouth, catalytic leadership can be seen in a commitment to what they call “intellectual playfulness.” Because self-censorship can be a frequent barrier to innovation, Plymouth created a team exercise to demonstrate that bold ideas can be of great value. In a cross-partner workshop within the System’s Optimisation Group, leaders split teams into groups and gave them six minutes to generate 200 ideas for system improvements. Though participants were highly sceptical that sensible ideas could come from such a rapid-fire session, several ideas were implemented after the workshop. For instance, in a session on how to address chronic pain, participants took inspiration from practices in Cuba and set up an outreach team who regularly visit people in the community who have long term conditions.

Culture

Leaders are often tasked with establishing a working culture suited to the aims of their organisation. For collaborative leaders, culture can be a tool for embedding collaborative approaches in everyday ways of working for member organisations. In this section, we identify cultural elements which, according to our research, were essential precursors to successful collaborations. First, interviews highlighted that commitment to the aims, purpose and vision of the collaboration should be shared equally by all partner organisations. Second, interviewees held that staff engagement and empowerment within member organisations was key to getting buy-in and being able to change working practices. Third, interviews underscored the importance of getting the infrastructure ‘right’, both operationally and physically (e.g. co-location, shared communications systems) as well as for data capture. In this section, we address these three concerns in turn.

Getting buy-in

We have seen how leaders were keen to create a shared vision for the collaboration within and between partner organisations. This may mean forging new identities or building relationships, but each interview emphasised the need to create shared ownership of collaboration aims and processes. For many, it was vital that all partner organisations saw a clear imperative for collaboration. As one interviewee described it, “There was an absolute starting point... which said we have significant issues in our borough that if we don’t get together and sort it out, we will not make any difference.”²⁷ For many, this meant learning to put collective interests above organisational and individual priorities. Interviewees referred to the need to ‘take their badge off’ and put aside organisational loyalties, to “start on working on the outcomes through the system, rather than just through your organisation.”²⁸ Shared commitment was seen as vital, but this could be threatened if stakeholders displayed superficial commitment. As one person put it, “the tendency is – people get in a room, they say the right things and then actually nothing moves on.”²⁹

Stakeholders voiced that they gained a sense of shared “ownership” through implementing projects, “by doing things”.³⁰ Without this, collaborative plans could have easily become dusty strategic documents rather than new ways of working. Many believed that including an agreement about the shared

24. Ansel, C. and Gash, A. 2012. Stewards, mediators and catalysts: Towards a model of collaborative leadership. *The Innovation Journal*, 17 (1), 2-21

25. Gary Wallace, Plymouth Council, interview 07/09/18

26. Simon Banks, NHS Wirral CCG, interview 05/11/18

27. Fiona Johnstone, Wirral Council, interview 17/09/18

28. Sarah Alldis, Wirral Council, interview 14/12/18

29. Janelle Holmes, Wirral Council, interview 07/11/18

30. Fiona Johnstone, Wirral Council, 17/09/18

path in statements of vision and values allowed stakeholders to feel responsible for the outcomes of the project and for adopting a different approach. People had to be willing to take the most appropriate role for achieving collective goals, including adopting other organisations' practices over their own.

"We've learnt...that one of the indicators of real partnership is where one party gives up sovereign territory into the collective good and if that doesn't happen, you've probably got a hotchpotch but not a real integration."³¹

Empowering staff

In many cases, the collaboration meant that staff were being asked to accept new ways of working and develop new relationships with other organisations and service users. Interviewees stressed the importance of empowering front-line staff so they shared the objectives of the partnership. This involved underscoring the value and meaning of peoples' jobs, giving them freedom and responsibility for execution, and allowing them to shape the direction of their work.

The Wigan Deal for Staff and the "Perfect Week"

In an effort to create a unified culture across all partner organisations, Wigan Council defined three core principles: "Be Positive, Be Accountable, Be Courageous." These were complemented by "The Deal for Staff" which gives detailed

guidance as to how attitudes and behaviours relate to the core principles. The Deal is written in clear, active language intended to encourage staff to identify with the principles and embed them in everyday practice.

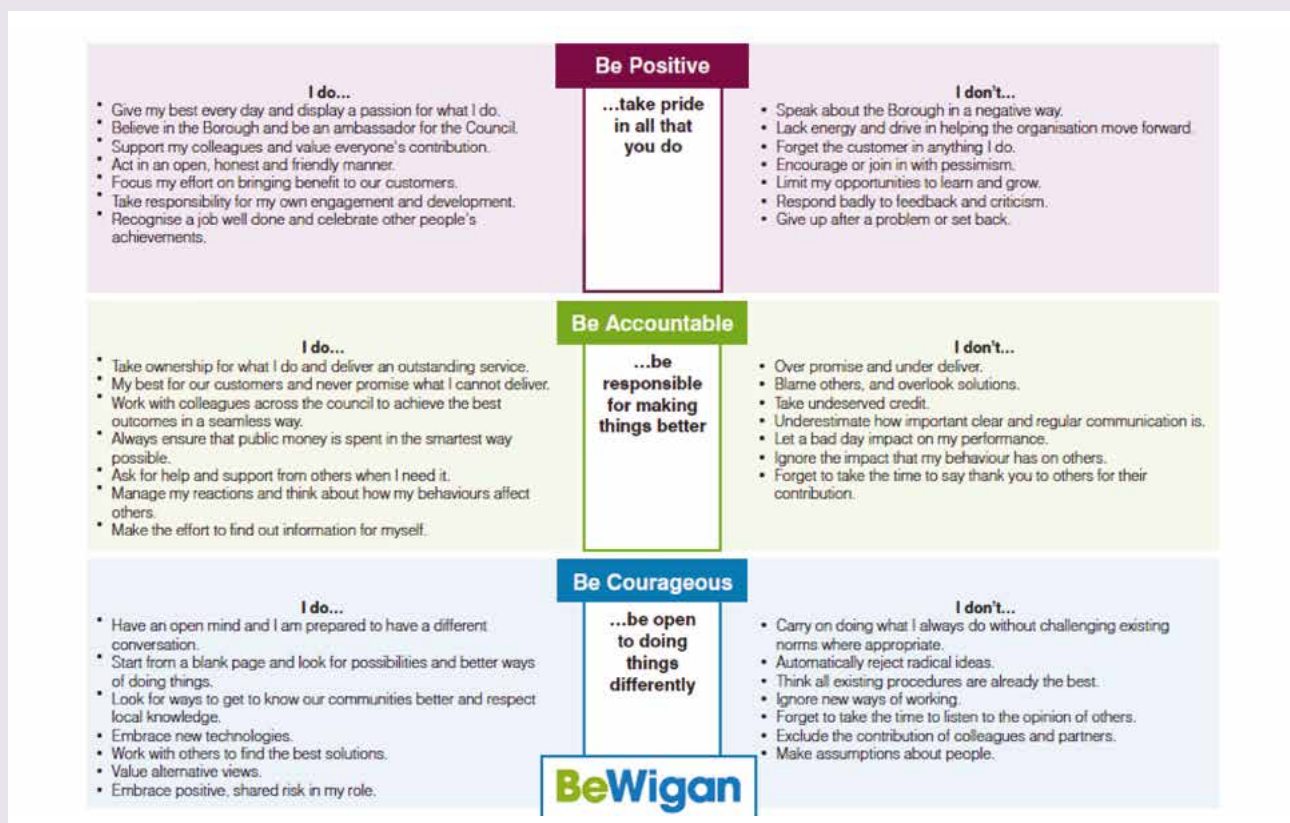


Figure 5: Setting out behaviours

To emphasise this new autonomy and trial new ways of working Wigan Council suspended certain rules for a week across health and education services. Interesting stories unfolded, such as when the council was about to evict a woman for not paying rent. Her children were frequently in trouble with police and rarely attended school. The council had made many attempts to contact her by letter, but during the "Perfect Week" they visited her instead. It turned

out the woman was dyslexic and had not understood the council's letters. Her children didn't attend school because they were bullied for not having a uniform. As a result of this visit, the council wrote off the woman's back rent and created a role for her within the partnership to help people with similar issues. They also enrolled the children in an after-school club to help them make friends.

In some locations, empowerment meant improving communication between employers and employees, such as hosting forums to elicit employees' ideas, express concerns and celebrate success. Recognition ranged from formal, such as staff award ceremonies, to the informal, such as writing appreciative emails. Interviewees stressed the importance of senior leaders' involvement in these celebrations. Many believed that creating a culture of recognition reinforced collaborative values and motivated the workforce.

In Coventry, *Ignite* employees worked alongside existing service practitioners to help identify opportunities for change. In Wigan a whole workforce went through a programme called the 'Wigan Way', which instilled a collective culture including being trusted to make decisions that balance competing pressures of individual client interest, use of resources and risk. This level of autonomy runs counter to attempts to manualise public service practice to minimise risk. For many sites, a key cultural shift was to reduce procedures, trusting employees to use professional judgement to meet service users' interests. One interviewee said "It's very much is a heart and mind thing. If we were to try to bureaucratise it, I think we would lose something."³² As identified by another interviewee, giving more autonomy to their staff built confidence and resilience. "If you're someone in a position where you've been given the respect and responsibility to enquire and kindly make small changes within the system...then you feel enabled to continue the work."³³ Collaborations often see themselves as pioneering a different approach to risk, identifying that inertia poses a greater risk than making mistakes by trying new approaches. The statement by one of our interviewees illustrates this development, giving staff "permission to think about things" rather than "being stifled by your current goals and responsibilities."³⁴ Indeed, there seemed to be a growing recognition that failure forms an essential part of the learning journey, and interviewees emphasised that the role of senior leadership is to create an environment in which staff feel safe to test new approaches.

Infrastructure

We next turn to the practicalities of collaborative working. In the next two sections we highlight the operational or physical infrastructure deemed necessary by interviewees to support the collaboration.

Three of our collaborations noted the benefits of co-locating teams in multi-agency hubs. Better communication between staff and shared IT systems allowed better access to data. In Wirral, joint problem-solving was facilitated through meetings between different delivery teams, resulting in greater work satisfaction and more efficient use of resources, as if there were "a natural growth in terms of problem-solving."³⁵ We heard that co-location helped colleagues' understand challenges and build stronger relationships between front-line staff. In Plymouth, the collaboration of service providers created a common knowledge and skills framework for front-line staff so they could share resources and improve efficiency. It created the basis for a more collective approach to delivery.

Establishing the Safer Wirral Hub

The Safer Wirral Hub³⁶ is a multi-agency partnership intended to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour and to safeguard vulnerable citizens. Partner organisations include services from Wirral Council, Merseyside Police, the anti-arson section of Merseyside Fire and Rescue Service, voluntary sector organisations and housing associations. Led by a Police Superintendent, Tracey Haynes, the Hub coordinates the partners under a single management structure and base of operations. The integrated approach of the Hub has helped deliver a 13% reduction in antisocial behaviour and a 27% reduction in youth offending. Wirral has the lowest re-offending rate in the Mersey region.

Communities

Community involvement in public service delivery was a recurring theme in our research. The focus was to empower citizens to self-help and self-organise. In Wigan and Oldham this resulted in citizens taking ownership of public assets. Oldham created shared spaces for community organisations to develop projects alongside public employees. Elsewhere, service users were brought into the design phase of service delivery, and helped with prioritisation. Asset-based approaches were seen as keys to building more resilient and independent communities. They gave members capacity to overcome problems and exercise 'positive choice'. Citizens also encouraged innovation; they "think of things that we

32. Donna Hall, Wigan Council, interview 08/08/18

33. Hannah Mahoney, Golden Key, interview 27/07/2018

34. Sarah Alldis, Wirral Community NHS Foundation Trust, interview 14/12/18

35. Steven Gavin, Wirral Council, interview 13/11/18

36. For further information on the Safer Wirral Hub:
<https://www.wirral.gov.uk/communities-and-neighbourhoods/crime-reduction/safer-wirral-hub>

would never think of as bureaucrats. They think of the most remarkable ways of managing demand in the local area.”³⁷

While there is a changing ethos around the balance of powers between the state and the local citizens, it is partly financial pressures from prolonged austerity that resulted in citizens becoming ‘assets’ in public service delivery. As one interviewee explained, “the nature of the public sector has to change, from being what it’s always been...something that works everything out for somebody. We don’t have the resources or the capacity to do that in the same way anymore.”³⁸ There has been a shift of responsibility onto citizens from the state and an emphasis on the reciprocity of obligations. This is illustrated in The Wigan Deal slogan, “Our part – your part.”

What is an ‘asset’?

Assets take many forms but can include:³⁹

- Practical skills, capacity, and knowledge of local residents
- Passions and interests of local residents that give them energy for change
- Networks and connections – known as ‘social capital’ – in a community, including friendships and neighbourliness
- Effectiveness of local community and voluntary associations
- Resources of public, private and third sector organisations that are available to support a community
- Physical and economic resources of a place that enhance well-being

Front-line staff as facilitators

Front-line staff are key to citizen engagement initiatives. Several times we heard that conversations between those that deliver public services and those that use them were shifting from “what can we do for you?” to “what would you like to be able to do? What resources have you got to help you to do that, and...what are the gaps?”⁴⁰ Likewise, there is a strong aim to establish more personal and consistent relationships

to be able to work in partnership around a jointly defined plan of support. As articulated by one of our interviewees, “There is a different sort of relationship that sits at the heart of community-based provision, and that is one of positive enquiry and human connection.”⁴¹

Walking the journey of service users at Golden Key

As part of the National Lottery Community Fund’s Fulfilling Lives programme, *Golden Key* employs people who have been service users. They invite them to be part of their “Lived Experiences Team.” *Golden Key* attempts to capture ‘client voice’ so they can scrutinise services and support the collaborative effort. *Golden Key* feel that through this they have shifted their strategic leadership focus from financial outcomes to more meaningful social outcomes that improve lives of beneficiaries.

Mobilising community assets

There are different ways to mobilise community assets. The terms co-production, citizen self-help, and community self-organisation emerged in our interviews to describe the relationship between citizen and state.

Co-production implies a contribution from the public sector. Public service professionals and community members find better ways to utilise mutual resources and contributions to improve outcomes. Thoughtful co-production efforts can be very successful and citizens can be engaged as co-producers in all stages of the commissioning cycle (see Table 3).

Citizen self-help and community self-organisation can imply a withdrawal of the public sector from provision, as a way of reducing public sector direct spend.⁴² This can be a double-edged sword, as we will see below.

Several interviewees articulated the need to establish a ‘nurturing’ culture for citizens to participate and a ‘creative space’ to develop and implement ideas. As one interviewee explained, “it’s appreciating that those ideas that are coming out from local people are as important as those that are cooked up in the strategic vision sessions with the senior leaders.”⁴³

37. Donna Hall, Wigan Council, interview 08/08/18

38. Fiona Johnstone, Wirral Council, interview 17/09/18

39. Foot, J., Hopkins, T. 2010. A glass half-full: how an asset approach can improve community health and wellbeing. Improvement and Development Agency, London. <https://www.local.gov.uk>

40. Fiona Johnstone, Wirral Council, interview 17/09/18

41. Clare Kiely, Comic Relief, 03/12/2018

42. Bovaird, T. and Loeffler, E. 2012. From engagement to co-production: The contribution of users and communities to outcomes and public value. *Voluntas*, 3 (4), 1119–1138

43. Rachel Musgrave, Wirral Council, interview 16/11/18

Commissioning Stage	Co-production Activity	Example Tools
Service planning	Planning	Deliberative participation
	Prioritisation	Stakeholder representation in commissioning decisions; participatory budgeting; service personalisation; personal budgets
	Financing	Fundraising; service fees; taxation
Service design	Design	Customer journey mapping; user forums; service design labs; community hubs
Service delivery	Delivery	Peer support groups; neighbourhood watch
	Management	Community trusts; community managed public assets
	Assessment, monitoring, and evaluation	Participatory service reviews; user online ratings; community researchers

Table 3: Co-production in the commissioning cycle⁴⁵

Similarly, this way of working required leadership to transfer their decision-making power to the community and take on some personal risk. As one interviewee emphasised, “...to encourage local people to flourish, we also have to be willing to take risks and not always be looking over their shoulder giving them the impression that they might be going to get told off.”⁴⁴

Thinking differently about helping people

In Wigan a young adult showed constant antisocial behaviour and was at risk of entering into the justice system. His youth worker talked to him about what he really wanted to do with his life. He wanted to be a plasterer like his Dad, but he couldn't get a local employer to give him an apprenticeship. So, the worker arranged for the Council to pay him a wage so that his father could employ him. The anti-social behaviour and drugs and alcohol misuse stopped. This avoided significant future costs had the young man been given a custodial sentence.

A moment on the flipside of asset-based approaches

While asset-based approaches are often seen as positive, competing views do exist. One interviewee said, “there's also barriers around the political climate in which we're operating in... maybe because of austerity, local people see this as the public sector trying to offload things that they used to do onto them, and therefore they're quite suspicious about why we are wanting to

have a conversation with them and do things differently.”⁴⁶ Whilst Wigan were very open about public sector constraints as a rationale for their approach, there are concerns.

Asset based approaches require citizens to willingly participate. Of particular concern is the extent to which different parts of the community are able to participate. Where there is a lack of participation, there may be greater disadvantage. The issue of ensuring fair and equal access to public goods and services becomes even more pressing where government bodies completely transfer service provision to a community group (e.g. running of a public library, maintenance of a football pitch). Community groups are not democratically accountable in the same way as government, there are real concerns about how councils can ensure that services and assets remain accessible to residents once a transfer takes place. Here, we can see a real dilemma:

“We have got services that are under huge pressures, [and we're] making lots of budget reductions et cetera and asset transfers could be used to get an asset off the books...then there is a sort of concern about what happens if a [community] group can't manage it? What happens, who is responsible for it? What is the risk?” Jackie Wilson, Oldham Council.

44. Julie Webster, Wirral Council, interview 16/11/18

45. Adapted from Bovaird, T., Loeffler, E., 2015. 'Co-Producing Public Services with Service Users, Communities and The Third Sector', in Perry, J. and Christensen, R. (ed.). *Handbook of public administration* (Third ed.). San Francisco, California, pp.235–250

46. Julie Webster, Wirral Council, interview 16/11/18

4. Demonstrating success and ensuring accountability

Having explored the rationale, structure and processes involved in collaboration, it is essential to understand what success look like. We asked collaborative partnerships how they define success and track progress toward their goals. Our interviewees stated that; collaborative working was about equal relationships between partners, underpinned by an empowered and an entrusted workforce. In this environment, the notion of measurement and target-setting is contentious, perhaps even counterproductive.

It was felt that the measurement needed to reflect the system style, scope and ambitions of the work. This was challenging in collaborative systems with multiple stakeholders, complex social problems, and long time spans. Measurement systems had to capture complexity and deal with uncertainty, as well as safeguard against attempts to play the system. There were a range of opinions on what the 'right' measurement system would look like. Some said using targets on agreed indicators was outmoded and reductive and painted an incomplete picture. Targets for individual or group rewards and sanctions ran counter to the collective ethos of collaborative working. Others saw measures as material to aid learning, recognising that while measurement has limitations, it can be useful.

In this section we highlight the methods used to capture data, before exploring how collaborators have designed the measurement system. We then share the key considerations that we observed from our research sites. Finally, we look at how sites ensured accountability in their collaborations.

Traditional approaches to performance management

Public actors are facing "unprecedented pressure...to perform, in a context where performance is defined by quantitative indicators."⁴⁷ These kinds of results-oriented and outcomes-oriented reforms are very popular models for public managers to adopt, but their success remains difficult to assess.⁴⁸ This is partly due to two things. Firstly, there are many opinions around what constitute valid measures of performance - and, by extension, there are polarised views as to how to define and measure outcomes. Second, people assume measurement can be substituted for management. However, in reality, performance management is separate from but dependent on performance measurement.

The promise of performance management is to make incremental improvements through using performance measurement in decision-making. Performance measurement refers to the systematic tracking of inputs, activities and outputs, recording metrics such as number and duration of client visits. When these measurement systems are tied to various targets or milestones and associated rewards or sanctions, they are known as performance management systems. These systems are often designed to handle matters within single organisations, and consequently have struggled to cope in cross-organisational contexts. Therefore, this approach is often criticised, particularly in collaborative contexts.

47. Moynihan, D., Fernandez, S., Kim, S., LeRoux, K., Piotrowski, S., Wright, B., Yang, K. 2011. Performance Regimes Amidst Governance Complexity. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 21:i141-i155

48. Poister, T., Pasha, O., Pasha, Edwards, L. 2013. Does Performance Management Lead to Better Outcomes? Evidence from the US Public Transit Industry. *Public Administration Review*, 73(4), 625-636

Approach	Description	Example
Community conversations	Engage citizens and/or front-line staff in gathering evidence about the social norms in the local community.	Oldham Council 'makes every contact count' by training community members who have frequent contact with the public (e.g. barbers) to engage in conversations about health, particularly smoking and drinking.
	Conduct in-depth conversations with citizens about their needs and concerns: earn their trust and make them feel heard.	During the 'Great Wirral Door Knock' volunteers went to the homes of older people and ask about their needs and vision for living in Wirral. They also provided advice on local sources of support.
Asset mapping	Identify existing resources and capacity in the local community and match those with the demands of the public service.	Wigan Council used asset mapping to understand the capacity of its voluntary sector and support required. Then they asked local community organisations to complete an online survey about the organisation's field of work, staff number and funding structure.
Place-based measurement system	A systematic tool to comprehensively capture data at a granular level, usually a small geographic area.	Oldham Council uses the Thriving Community Index, which divides the borough into 115 neighbourhoods and maps how well each area is doing on range of factors: environmental, socio-economic aspects, A&E admissions, crime.
Ethnographic research	Using ethnographic research methods – observation, conversation, interview – to understand issues from the citizens' point of view	<i>Ignite</i> staff embed themselves in service organisations to observe client-staff interactions and identify behaviours on either side that could hinder early action.
Single access point	Access to a comprehensive database facilitates demand assessment and targeting, with the aim of improving service delivery.	The Wirral Intelligence Service consolidated existing teams of analysts to provide information on a wide range of topics relevant to public service delivery. Staff engage with managers at all levels, to ensure and support the use of information in its various forms, e.g. performance reports, needs analysis, surveys

Table 4: Tools for capturing and using data

Capturing data

Collaborations require tools and processes for capturing and sharing data in order to assess service needs, capacities and successes. In a collaboration, data requirements can be more onerous as all partners need to access and share high quality, comparable data. Transparency and trust are essential.

As opposed to traditional methods of performance measurement, in collaborations we found data capture was a bottom-up, place-based efforts, and included qualitative insights. The rationale was that it provided more nuance around needs of service users. This allowed for more efficient demand and resource management, and a better chance to achieve positive outcomes. Many interviewees highlighted that using

solely quantitative data for needs and performance analysis was insufficient. Several public servants referred to the community as a key data source in informing policy design and development. As one interviewee stressed: "We are by no means in the best position to understand what is really going on...the people who understand it better are the people themselves."⁴⁹

However, ensuring inclusive feedback remained a challenge: "How do you hear the voice of the person who you don't normally hear?"⁵⁰ Interviewees told us many times about the importance of active listening. They did this by having community conversations, asset mapping, place-based measurement, ethnographic research, and single points of access for data (see Table 4). These tools enabled collaborations


49. Jackie Wilson, Oldham Council, interview 01/08/18

50. Julie Webster, Wirral Council, interview 16/11/18

New approaches in 'traditional' measurement

West London Zone (WLZ) uses a social impact bond and they have well-defined outcomes, with payment from local authorities linked to their achievement. Initially over 90 outcomes were drawn up, but they were reduced to those shown in the table below. The outcome measures include improved attainment in Maths and English, increased school

attendance, and improvement in Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire scores. Qualitative insights are provided by link workers, delivery partners, parents and schools. Each child develops an 'Individual Support Plan' with their link worker, outlining personal strengths and needs.



Outcomes Framework

		Emotional and mental wellbeing	Positive relationships	Confidence and aspiration	Progress at school
		'I feel good about myself'	'I get on fine with others'	'I am confident and want to do well'	'I have progressed well at school'
Primary school	End of Two Year Programme	Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ)	SDQ peer relationship sub-scale	School attendance; SDQ emotional sub-scale; WLZ measure based on Brofenbrenner	On track to meet age-related expectations by the end of primary school
	End of primary school			School attendance; SDQ emotional sub-scale; Link Worker or teacher assessment re. confident for transition	KS2 results 'expected standard' in Reading, Writing and Maths
Secondary school	End of Two Year Programme	SDQ; Warwick Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale	SDQ peer relationship sub-scale; Communities That Care	School attendance; Communities That Care	On track to achieve age-related expectations by the end of secondary school
	End of secondary school			School attendance; Link Worker and teacher progression planning survey for KSS	Level 4 GCSE in English and Maths; enrolled in full-time Education, Employment or Training

Figure 6: West London Zone Outcomes Framework

The team had a theory of change and the goal was to refine and adapt the delivery model accordingly. A large, bespoke, regularly updated dataset informs those managing and delivering the service. A reflective practice approach to operations allows the team to use the feedback to make informed decisions about improving the service. CEO Louisa Mitchell describes the data collection and reporting each year as a "massive learning exercise" and an "incredible, humbling experience." In her words, "You don't learn on this stuff until you do it."⁵²

At first, delivery partners were anxious about completing reporting templates that may not capture the wider context. Over time, partners became more confident as they were given opportunities to offer feedback and qualitative insights.

There were mixed views from front-line staff on the outcomes-based payment system. Some said it did "increase the pressure" and is "strenuous and demanding on (the) practitioner," whereas others did not feel more pressure appreciating the flexibility it gave them compared to having to follow prescribed activities.

to reframe their understanding of citizens' needs, "from 'what does the data tell us about local communities?' to 'what is the insight that is coming back?'"⁵¹ Generating different sorts of insights was cited by all case sites as a major objective. It also led to more meaningful use of data in decision-making.

Designing the measurement system

For data to be systematically and captured and reported, and

routinely discussed and used, there has to be a system in place which ensures these activities are ongoing. Most collaborations included in this report were in the process of developing their measurement system. Few represented mature, fully tested approaches. However, everyone saw learning and feedback as critical for the success of the partnership. There was a common wish to make learning widely available to assist others and to be held accountable for results.

51. Rachel Musgrave, Wirral Council, interview 16/11/18

52. Louisa Mitchell, West London Zone, interview 26/10/2018

Focus	Description	Case Examples	Attributes
Results	Accountability for collaboratively defined targets	Wirral	Results and priorities set broadly, and actions and priorities reviewed regularly in response to short-term feedback on progress.
System-health	Accountability for a well-functioning service system	Golden Key; Plymouth Alliance Contract	Indicators like staff turnover, absences and sickness used to improve work environment.
Outcomes	Accountability for client outcomes	West London Zone	Well-defined theory of change used to track outcomes and assess effectiveness.
Narratives	Sense-making tool for understanding how and why things have/have not worked	Wigan; Oldham	Stories were used to humanise impact, motivate workforce and stimulate learning.
Community reporting	Accountability for delivering on collaboration and community promises	Wigan; Oldham; Wirral	Ongoing reporting on how promises have been upheld.

Table 5: Focus of the measurement system

As collaborating involves establishing working relationships with new and existing partners, it was felt that measurement systems needed to reflect different preferences. This would ensure that the system was seen as a valid and legitimate method for determining success. In the table below, we set out what we observed was the primary focus of these systems. Many collaborations used a mix of these as part of an overall measurement system, suggesting that incorporating these is all part of a balanced approach.

Key considerations

Many interviewees detailed factors which greatly influenced the design of their measurement system. As the importance of 'culture' and 'shared vision,' have been covered previously, we will highlight other considerations to be made when designing a measurement system in a collaboration.

Choose a unit of analysis

In the early stages of designing a system, it can be overwhelming to know which measurements to choose. Clarifying the 'unit of analysis' for the system can be a helpful way to shorten the list of potential metrics. This is the level at which the measurement system operates. It could be a whole system, a discrete network of providers, or even a particular service delivery team. Golden Key favoured indicators of systems health-measures which reflect the internal workings of the partnership and the wellbeing of the workforce – in a belief that a healthy system will deliver improved service quality and good outcomes. For broader programmes of change, it can be more appropriate to use insights and feedback from citizens. Interviewees

involved in larger systems change initiatives defined success measures at a more granular level than the whole community so that reporting was tailored to particular audiences. Some collaborations elected to define success differently for particular neighbourhoods and used a conversational method of feedback rather than formal reporting.

Decide how much time you have

Every measurement system has its own cadence. Activities involving a high level of routine might be monitored and discussed weekly. Systems linked to multi-year strategic plans may be reviewed on an annual basis. Among these collaborations, interviewees talked about the importance of having a balance across different kinds of measurements – inputs, activities, and outputs – but taking a longer-term view on results, particularly when they are contingent on significant contextual changes and ongoing group effort.

Be open to learning

There was a consensus across sites that embedding a system of learning rather than judgement is critical. Everyone stressed the importance of the whole system being responsive and open to change; almost all interviewees said that the measurement system should capture learning that will improve the service. There needed to be trust that improvements could be implemented without external pressures.

In order to highlight the value of open learning, Plymouth City Council informed providers that, "...whatever you tell us, we're not going to pull your contract. We might vary it, with agreement, but we're not going to do anything...bad to you, if you're honest with us."⁵³ Similarly, Wirral developed an

53. Gary Wallace, Plymouth Council, interview 07/09/18

intelligence team to help define the system of learning in order to create high quality feedback for those accountable for results. All data is published on their website and openly available.

Adapt and improve

Every collaboration featured in this report described measurement as a process of refinement. In each location, approaches to measurement, data capture, reporting and learning were regularly adapted in accordance with realities of service delivery and stakeholder preferences. For example, during implementation *West London Zone* found that their predefined measures were not supporting learning as anticipated. With support of their principal funder they were able to redefine the measures during the initial delivery phase.

Ensuring Accountability

Whilst it is challenging to define and measure success, there are also great challenges around accountability within collaborations. The jury is out on whether collaborative approaches enhance or diminish democratic accountability. Some scholars argue that collaborative arrangements can be viewed as “less democratic” by traditional measures⁵⁴ because government cedes control of a service. There is no longer a straightforward mechanism by which policymakers are held to account by the electorate. Yet accountability rarely functions so simply in practice, even in a centralised system with well-defined contractual relationships. Almost all governments relinquish key decision-making powers to unelected bodies. A complex system develops to hold government accountable for performing statutory duties, such as oversight by courts and regulatory bodies. Less formally, citizens, community groups and the media hold government accountable. Governments respond by holding public meetings and consultations, publishing minutes, and by making financial and performance data available.

Other scholars argue that multi-centred governance has equal or greater legitimacy.⁵⁵ Such dispersed governance provides more checks and balances than centralised systems. It can also offer more opportunities for citizens' voices to be heard, and for local or innovative solutions to be developed. However, this type of governance presents certain accountability challenges. Elected politicians and the public may prefer simple lines of accountability, even if those are sometimes illusory. Thus, collaborations require a compelling and accurate narrative to communicate their legitimacy externally. They also need to guard against exacerbating inequity through ‘capture’ by particular organisations or vocal groups, or through neglect of

groups that lack resources or capacity to participate (something we referred to in section three).

The projects often had forms of ‘internal’ accountability for the parts of the collaboration involved in service delivery. Here, we are considering how sites demonstrate ‘external’ accountability, such as to commissioners or funders, elected councillors in local authorities, regulatory bodies and, ultimately, to service users and citizens.

Some collaborations are required to report to their external funders and commissioners. This was sometimes an onerous duty when multiple funders were involved, with collaborations subject to several reporting lines with different formats and timescales. Collaborations featuring market-based and outcomes-based financing usually had more defined reporting requirements than those with grant funding. Nevertheless, some collaborations did report more qualitative information.

As one interviewee outlined her view on accountability as follows.

“The funders and our partners and ourselves are all very clear that this is an experiment, and the learning is almost as important as the achievements [...] So, we’re not accountable to having some hard and fast outcomes or outputs, or any particularly hard milestones. What we are accountable for is to understand whether this approach can really make a shift in the public sector, and if it can, what it is that has made that possible?”⁵⁶

Some collaborations are responsible to their local authority – specifically the elected council – for fulfilling statutory duties and to fulfil the council's public ‘best value duty’. This type of scrutiny often overlaps with internal accountability mechanisms, particularly for council-wide collaborations. Some collaborations are also subject to inspection by regulatory bodies – which at times proves complex, as traditional inspection processes are more suited to dealing with single organisations rather than partnerships.

Still, most collaborations we spoke to are ultimately accountable for, and thus base their legitimacy on, improving outcomes for service users. This underpins the importance of having a deep understanding of both client needs and the factors that generate better outcomes, so that delivery systems can be based on this understanding. In turn, this is dependent on a high level of good quality information and feedback, and a willingness for partners to work in the interests of service users even if that is not perceived to align with their own organisational interests.

54. Cairney, P., Heikkila, T., and Wood, M. 2019. *Making Policy in a Complex World*. Cambridge University Press. p 44

55. Ostrom, E. 2010. “Polycentric systems for coping with collective action and global environmental change.” *Global Environmental Change* 20(4) 550–557; Hooge, L, and Marks, G. 2003. “Unravelling the central state, but how? Types of multi-level governance.” *American Political Science Review* 97(2) 233-243; Cairney, P. Heikkila, T., and Wood, M. 2019. p 45

56. Sue Bent, Ignite, interview 19/11/2018

Conclusion

Are we Rallying Together? is an attempt to understand how collaboration is being used to deliver good outcomes locally. Our intent was to describe and explore collaborative working practice, to understand its perceived challenges and opportunities, and to ascertain where research might have a helpful role to play.

In part a response to financial austerity, our research sites viewed their collaboration as a way to realise the benefits of combining resources and joining up strategies without the cost and complexity of a formal integration. We observed resistance to codifying processes and applying strict measurement for decision making, but willingness to give responsibility to less formal entities like steering groups or community organisations. We witnessed a move toward empowerment and trust in individuals and organisations rather than a reliance on command and control. We also saw a widely held desire to directly engage communities in the design and delivery of public services. The challenges we catalogued were largely tensions related to the 'newness' of embedding collaborative approaches into highly defined and established systems of bureaucracy: sharing decision making, rethinking accountability, and providing structures able to flex to increasingly personalised service delivery.

As with any research inspired exercise, we find ourselves ending this phase of investigation with more questions than answers. Below we set out the questions that we think are most pertinent to future collaborative practice and where research can be most valuable to practitioners working collaboratively.

What regulatory and statutory constraints prevent collaborative approaches?

As organisations learned to merge their roles and responsibilities, many had to actively balance collaborative efforts with explicit statutory and regulatory responsibilities that they could only carry individually. In some instances, local authorities felt their capacity to change was constrained by upward and outward accountabilities. This was amplified in situations where organisations had previously experienced an adverse inspection and were under additional scrutiny. In order to have a better conversation with regulators and with central government, *we think mapping the web of regulations, statutory*

requirements, and devolved powers that influence collaborations is a helpful, and executable next step.

The collaborative 'counterfactual': Does collaboration deliver better value and impact?

The belief that collaboration resulted in reduced costs and improved impact was widely held, but evidence to back this up was limited. Clearly, a rigorous empirical case for what collaboration can deliver is imperative in swaying opinions among a wider constituency. *We believe assessing the impact and value of collaboration through independent evaluation is critical.* Importantly, this should not connote that collaboration must reduce cost to be a viable way forward. *Greater thought should be put into the resourcing of collaborative administration as a worthwhile additional expense if the outcomes of collaboration are demonstrably better than business as usual.*

How do we embed collaborative practice that is resilient and effective in navigating setbacks and disagreements?

We heard consistently that a collaborative culture that fostered resilience to setbacks and disagreements was one of the most important prerequisites for successful and sustained collaborative efforts. But, it took a significant time to embed. While approaches to relationship building were perhaps the most localised aspect of building a collaboration, the common thread we observed was that leadership was integral in facilitating challenging, but cathartic and constructive, conversations. This, in turn, created the foundation for a collaborative culture capable of surmounting future challenges. *Further exploration and description of how leaders navigate these potentially treacherous waters, galvanising support for the collaboration without eclipsing criticism, would be invaluable in comparing collaborative leadership styles against hierarchical ones.*

What does a governance system that enables people and organisations to take decisions in the interests of service users, but doesn't revert to the inflexibility of rules or hierarchy, look like?

The organisations working collaboratively shared a broad belief in empowering, engaging, sharing, and trusting the wider community and service providers to do the right thing. We were interested in how this autonomy was discursively

framed and governed. With greater freedom to operate, individuals were asked to take more personal responsibility for their decisions. Without formal rules to guide behaviour, we explored how organisations supported people to exercise good professional judgement. Our research showed that buying into the vision and values of the collaboration, in addition to having access to good data on client needs and strengths as well as the ramifications of professional decisions, empowered frontline workers and service providers to make what they felt were better informed judgements. *We think there is immense value in understanding how governance systems attempt to balance the demands of providing adequate autonomy to frontline workers and service providers while ensuring adequate service quality and democratic accountability.*

How can we design a system for feedback and learning that deals with the complexity of both the problem and the system around it – whilst delivering transparency and accountability for public services?

In the collaborations we studied, feedback and learning systems were works in progress. There was wide consensus that capturing and understanding impact is important, but some significant differences in opinion about the kinds of information that truly capture impact, and whether it was even appropriate to attempt to do so. The importance of good qualitative information was underscored in many of our interviews: we heard that stories brought numbers alive, creating a meaningful connection between data and people, and a more nuanced understanding of why something has happened. Where collaborations rely on consensual decision making, operating with limited hierarchy, key questions remain about how measurement, information use, and rewards and sanctions can drive improvement and remedy failure. Using data to penalize was widely viewed as driving the wrong ethos, halting the sharing of information for learning and development. Likewise, where systems engaged multiple constituencies, legitimacy of the system of measurement was viewed as critically important. Voluntary sector organisations have a different culture of measurement compared to commissioners and in a relationship of equals, the system of measurement needs to find common ground. *Based on our interviews, it seems that designing a flexible but robust system of feedback and learning remains challenging but is an area most organisations are working to improve upon. We think there is significant value in tracking these emerging systems over time as a way to capture, synthesise, and share practice.*

Engagement not exploitation: What is the ‘right way’ to engage citizens in public services?

In the collaborations included in this report, service users and citizens more broadly were being engaged in ways that go beyond straightforward co-production methods. In many places teams had adopted asset-based and strengths-based

“The belief that collaboration resulted in reduced costs and improved impact was widely held, but evidence to back this up was limited... assessing through independent evaluation is critical”

working. This led to a practice of collaborating with service recipients at the point of delivery, as well as on service and system design, involving them in the decision-making process. We saw a practice of open conversations shaping the direction of services, rather than the rather narrow methods of public hearings or satisfaction surveys. In some instances, this led to communities taking on direct responsibility for services, assuming responsibility for tasks that would otherwise be considered the job of the local authority. Interviewees seemed to believe that there was acceptance amongst their citizen constituencies that the state can no longer afford to be responsible for all aspects of public service delivery, and therefore needed to pursue a different level of community engagement. Obviously, this inspires a host of value-laden questions about the appropriate role of citizens and their capacity to respond to requests to be involved in public service delivery. There is a danger of this increasing inequality. *Understanding how this different relationship between the state and communities is emerging and examining how authorities are constituting those relationships is deeply important in ensuring that service quality and democratic accountability are upheld.*

We welcome conversation, discussion and debate about these questions. Given the increasing interest in collaborative approaches, we encourage researchers, policy makers, public managers and practitioners to reflect on what the future can and should look like. And we welcome conversations with those interested in working together with us on both research and engagement. Not only is there more to be learned, there is more to be done to ensure decision-makers and doers are able to benefit from all that is already known.

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Contribution statement

JB initiated the Rallying Together project, defining the scope and focus of the research. She led in case selection, conducted interviews, and co-edited the report.

FR designed the template for the interview guide, conducted interviews, contributed to the academic literature synthesis and design of the report structure, and contributed to the drafting of Chapter 3.

TH contributed to the research approach and case selection, conducted interviews, and contributed the drafting of Chapter 4.

CF led the organisation and main conceptual ideas for the report. She also co-edited the report.

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