Realising the potential of universities for inclusive, innovation-led development: the case of the Newcastle City Futures Urban Living Partnership Pilot [Pre-publication draft]

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Introduction

Universities are increasingly seen as key actors in their local innovation systems, and important catalysts of inclusive growth. This has accelerated since the financial crisis in 2008 and through the subsequent decade of austerity, with significant cuts to public sector budgets hollowing out much of the UK's regional level of institutional capacity and resources. At the same time universities are seen to have gotten off lightly. Indeed, many have emerged in an even stronger position financially following the increase in the tuition fee cap to £9,000 in 2012. Meanwhile the disparities in economic performance between London and the Greater South East and the rest of the country have continued to grow. The Brexit vote in 2016 has been cited as an illustration of the disconnect between many universities (who as a sector strongly argued for remain) and the leave-voting communities in which they are located in or to which they are adjacent. It is therefore unsurprising that government has tried to pull a range of policy and funding levers in recent years in an attempt to encourage universities, not least those that are considered to be nationally and globally 'excellent', to play a more proactive role in contributing to the economic and social development of the places in which they are located.

One of these programme levers was the UK Research and Innovation[1] funded Urban Living Partnership pilot, which aimed to "harness UK research and innovation strength to help cities realise a vision of healthy, prosperous and sustainable living." The Urban Living Partnership pilot programmes provided a vehicle for preliminary investigation into how university led consortia can promote innovation that progresses the challenges of delivering inclusive 'future city' growth. In 2016 Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Newcastle-Gateshead and York were selected as the five pilots, led by these cities' Russell Group[2] universities.

The Newcastle-Gateshead pilot was Newcastle City Futures, originally initiated by Newcastle University in 2014 to create shared opportunities to shape the future of places through research, engagement and innovation. The NCF Urban Living Partnership was initially funded for 18 months (from August 2016 to January 2018), with a further extension of six months to July 2018.

The Newcastle City Futures Urban Living Partnership (hereafter NCF) adopted from the outset a 'quadruple helix' and 'disruptive innovation' approach by creating and facilitating spaces for partners in the quadruple helix sectors (i.e. the public, private, voluntary community and social enterprise and academic sectors) partners to engage without the usual expectations for time bound, specific and

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[1] UK Research and Innovation is a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation of the United Kingdom that directs research and innovation funding, funded through the science budget of the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy.
[2] The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and York and Newcastle University

measurable outputs. It took a challenge-based approach to identifying potential collaborations and utilised a range of innovative methods to engage with partners and the public at large.

While NCF had its ups and downs, successes and failures, it has become a transformational, learning by doing initiative with valuable insights for other universities and their partners in place-based innovation. An independent review has analysed and synthesised this learning into some key insights that we believe has resonance for other English (and beyond) places in defining the role of their universities in challenging and turbulent times.   Our experience suggests that places seeking transformational change require inclusive and diverse local leadership teams that cut across and beyond traditional institutional boundaries.

Universities as civic actors for inclusive growth: the theoretical and policy context

Public funding for teaching and research activities is under scrutiny, putting universities under increasing pressure to demonstrate their 'impact' or societal value. Local communities and taxpayers facing tough economic conditions might question the value of universities, especially in economies where the direct benefits are less apparent (e.g. low levels of local recruitment, graduate retention etc.). The political and policy environment in recent years has placed increasing expectations on universities to be proactively engaged in supporting their local area (Cochrane and Williams, 2013) beyond the passive direct and indirect effects of their presence (Power and Malmberg, 2008). Over the past decade successive national and sub-national policy makers through a range of initiatives - from Government reviews to independent inquiries (e.g. Civic University Commission) – have contended that places should make better use of the assets and capabilities of their local universities. This can be further evidenced through the recent emergence of a range of funding levers (such as Strength in Places and Shared Prosperity Funds) in which universities are increasingly expected to be at the vanguard of driving inclusive growth and development in the places in which they are located. The current development of Civic University Agreements between many UK universities and their local places is the latest manifestation of these trends.

Goddard (2009, p. 5) describes the civic university as "…one which provides opportunities for the society of which it forms part. It engages as a whole with its surroundings, not piecemeal; it partners with other universities and colleges; and is managed in a way that ensures it participates fully in the region of which it forms part. While it operates on a global scale, it realises that its location helps to form its identity and provide opportunities for it to grow and help others, including individual learners, business and public institutions, to do so too."

These concerns with society more broadly, the importance placed on a connection with place and the need for an institutional (and institution wide approach) to engagement provided a new perspective that built on the more general concept of the 'engaged' university (Watson et al., 2011). It also offered a counterpoint to the entrepreneurial university model (Clark, 1998) which became the prevailing model for higher education management policy during the early 2000s, which focuses on the university's links with industry through technology transfer and commercialisation of intellectual property.

The civic university perspective argues for engagement with a much wider range of organisations and sectors, using mechanisms that mobilise people and units across the institution for reciprocal, mutual benefit. The vision set out by Goddard (2009, ibid) calls for 'an institution-wide commitment ... [that]

has to embrace teaching as well as research, students as well as academics, and the full range of support services' (p. 4). This can be seen as a challenge to the discourse on 'third mission' (Gunasekara, 2006) where activities involving links with external, non-academic partners as seen as separate and distinct (and by definition less valued) to the 'core' mission of teaching and research, to be delivered by specialist (usually non-academic) staff or units rather than embedded across all areas of institutional operations (Goddard and Vallance, 2009).

The implicit assumptions behind civic university participation in place-based programmes is that, as part of local leadership teams they can assist in the assessment of interventions and in designing and even delivering their roll-out. However, expert-scepticism, and a sense that powerful metropolitan elites represented by large anchor institutions act in their own rather than wider societal interests has increased during the austerity-decade. In this world-view, the university's membership of the local leadership team and its own institutional requirements will often trump wider interest in local wellbeing and redressing disadvantage. Evidence suggests the track record of universities as critical anchors is highly inconsistent, ranging from instrumental engagement (i.e. only willing to get involved to satisfy their own self-interest) to indifferent place-blindness (e.g. working with the best partners to further their agenda, regardless of where they are located). Even where a university does strive to demonstrate a genuine willingness to contribute to the development of its place, in reality this is often confined to portfolio of individual interventions rather than a coherent place-based agenda co-designed and agreed with diverse, inclusive place-leadership teams. NCF is one approach to these issues which is discussed in Vallance et al (2019) – in terms of the specific project, and as part of future urban leadership and governance.

The rest of this chapter will present the origins and evolution of NCF, the findings from the review and lessons learned that can be applied in other places seeking to maximise the contribution of their universities to inclusive, innovation led development.

NCF – Background and approach

NCF was one of the urban living pilots which aimed to address the future needs of Newcastle and Gateshead through collaborative projects across the city region. Led by Newcastle University in partnership with Northumbria University, NCF included 22 original core partners covering public, private and voluntary community and social enterprise sectors in the city. Starting in July 2016 and building on some of the previous future-oriented research at the University of Newcastle, the project sought to establish ways in which universities can help citizens and businesses in cities and regions to 'diagnose the complex and interdependent challenges' to think about change and imagine future.[3] A focus of the NCF consortium was the development of a shared long-term vision for Newcastle and Gateshead[4] as an age-friendly, sustainable urban area.

NCF had four main aims. The first was to take a **broad and overarching look** at the long-term future of the place over the next 50 years using Newcastle upon Tyne and its region as a pilot. The second was to develop a much more **long-term strategic** and synoptic approach using futures methods and city-wide engagement processes to think about city futures. The third was to show how **universities can work more proactively** with and for the places in which they are located, using both creative

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[3] Newcastle City Futures. About Us. Available at: www.newcastlecityfutures.org/about-us
[4] The geography for NCF covers the Functional Urban Region of Tyneside, an area that extends beyond the administrative boundaries of the city council, and encompasses Newcastle, Gateshead, North Tyneside, South Tyneside, and the southern part of Northumberland.

techniques and expertise to foster city-wide engagement and demonstrator projects. And the fourth was to provide a platform for discussion for a **place-based future city vision**.

These were underpinned by a series of interconnected questions, including: How can the long-term future of the region be tackled together? How can older industrial regions be more ambitious and positive about change and how to harness the assets and skills of the place? What is the role of the university in region and how can universities research link up with leadership?

The report on 'City Futures and the Civic University' (2016) found that the cities need to do more for their citizens, particularly as the latter become increasingly 'interested in the future of their places', from 'delivery or loss of public services, the cost of housing, the reliability of transport' to 'the availability of jobs' and 'the extent of green spaces and clean air.'[5] To address some of these urban challenges, particularly relating to the priority themes of sustainability, aging and social inclusion, NCF helped to develop a variety of initiatives. Working together with local authorities and other public sector actors (e.g. the NHS), businesses, communities, and universities, NCF developed new projects (more than 60 in total, some examples of these are in the figures below) across the city using participatory engagement, digital technologies and photography.[6]

Some of the more citizen-focussed projects identified by partner organisations and facilitated by NCF included 'Metro Futures' (see figure x) and 'Transforming Northumberland Street' (see figure x). The former sought to encourage residents and businesses to get involved in designing the next fleet of Metro trains to develop inclusive mobility. The latter is about creating opportunities to 'redesign and green' the high street in Newcastle city centre, using digital retailing that links customers to businesses. Other initiatives focused on intergenerational work and included creating digitally enabled sustainable homes for an ageing society (Future Homes, see figure x) or encouraging children to design their own future city (Big Draw, see figure x).

The operating model of NCF was to work as a 'quadruple helix', linking together government, businesses, communities and the academy to generate test-bed demonstrator projects and deliver four objectives (simultaneously if possible): excellent research; business growth; public expenditure savings; and citizen engagement. NCF aimed to link existing university initiatives and funded research projects to new audiences and opportunities in a 'hub and spoke' approach, drawing together academic research projects focused on the region with user groups from policy, businesses & communities. New project initiatives were identified by partner organisations, working together, but facilitated by NCF. Projects were required to involve multi-sector, multi-partner involvement, and use digital, visualization and/or engagement methods. Projects that were supported for further development were presented to the City Futures Development Group, a special purpose Newcastle City Council committee, for comment and endorsement.

One of the most important features of the pilot has been the continuous development of the innovative engagement model. NCF saw itself as a neutral broker, or a bridge between different academic fields and industry sectors, policy and organisations. Operating 'at arm's length' from both the University and City Council, it sought to turn the traditional research process on its head, by finding potential areas of impact first, then developing activities to influence policies which results

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[5] John Goddard & Mark Tewdwr-Jones, City Futures and the Civic University, Report, June 2016. Available at: www.ncl.ac.uk/media/wwwnclacuk/socialrenewal/files/City%20Futures%20and%20the%20Civic%20University%20(1MB).pdf

[6] 'Shaping Innovation for City Futures' 2017, Available at: www.newcastlecityfutures.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ncf_brochure_web.pdf

in empirical data and further research.[7] Whilst this allowed a greater methodological flexibility, this also enabled the researchers to bridge some of the cracks between disciplines and subjects by using a quadruple helix approach. Using a wide range of methodologies and systems analysis to visualise scenarios, combined with expertise in computing, mapping, spatial analysis and urban planning, this approach allowed for a stronger understanding of the interdependent challenges confronting the city and the region.

NCF Project Examples

Future Homes - Digitally Enabled Sustainable Housing for the Lifecourse.

The Future Homes project is developing new housing exemplars that show people the future. They will combine in one place innovations in flexible living, materials, digital technology and zero/low energy systems to provide supportive homes for everyone at any life-stage. In the 1st phase, Future Homes fuses a programme of public conversations and citizen centred co-design with scientific research to create a test-bed where entrepreneurs, established businesses and new entrants to the market can develop new solutions that are a step change in urban responses to the biggest global challenges. A 2nd phase will focus on a larger housing scheme of 66 houses. The project was developed using a comprehensive engagement and co-design process with a wide range of stakeholders (including the public) which ensured a genuinely collaborative approach. It has now matured and formalised into a Community Interest Company called Future Homes Alliance (registered at Companies House in April 2018). The key partners (and shareholders) are Newcastle University, Elders Council, Zero Carbon Futures, Ryder Architects, Sustainable Communities Initiative, Innovation Super Network. During its involvement with NCF Future Homes secured more than £4m to support the development of the first phase of the project.

Metro Futures - Digital Train Design for an Inclusive Society
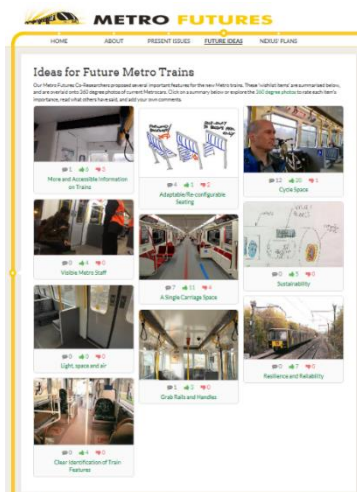
Tyne and Wear Metro is one of the UK's busiest light rail systems, carrying 40 million passengers a year. But after nearly 40 years of service its train fleet will soon need to be replaced. A new train fleet will be around for decades to come and Nexus wants to ensure its design reflects the aspirations and needs of people across the community, and throughout their lives. Nexus partnered with Open Lab and Newcastle City Futures to work with people across Tyne and Wear to understand their needs and develop proposals for future Metrocars through pop up labs and an interactive website. These insights were used to inform designs for new trains and developed with suppliers in 2018/19. This helping inform a successful bid to the Department for Transport for £337m to upgrade the Metro's rolling stock. There were more than 24,000 visits to the Metro Futures website and over 3,000 ideas were submitted by the travelling public.

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[7] Louise Kempton, Presentation at the 'Urban development and change in the age of austerity', Roundtable at Co-Creating Cities and Communities Event, 12-13 July, Bristol.

Future High Street - Transforming the Northumberland Street Area

NCF worked with Newcastle City Council to engage with other partners around plans for the redevelopment of the main shopping street and surrounding area in central Newcastle. The focus of this collaboration was to create opportunities to redesign the high street using the creative arts, digital retailing that links customers to businesses and blue-green infrastructure to enhance the place and shopping experience for citizens. The Northumberland Street Advisory Group was established by Newcastle City Council in 2016. With strong support from the local business community, two universities, the North East LEP and the Quality of Life Partnership a £3m+ Masterplan approved by council cabinet in November 2017.

The Big Draw – Engaging Young People in City Futures
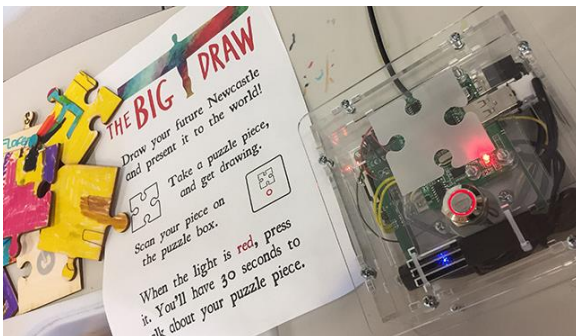
One weekend in October 2016, Newcastle City Futures with the Vital North Partnership, Newcastle University and Northumbria University took over Seven Stories, the National Centre for Children's Books, based in Newcastle Ouseburn Valley for a weekend of Big Draw Festival activities which encouraged children and families to design and build their future city. More than 540 people visited Seven Stories and built homes, cultural, sports and science venues, businesses, hotels, transport systems, power stations and several bridges. In fact, the children organically created pretty much everything you would need in a future city. The event formed part of the 2016 STEAM Powered Big Draw Festival which aims to inspire illustrators everywhere to explore creative innovation, enterprise, digital technologies and the arts through drawing. It also led to the development of Jigsaudio – a new engagement tool in the form of a digital jigsaw that allows children to learn and interact with the future city by recording their views in a fun and interactive way, and the spin out of Little Inventors which was an initiative of the Great Exhibition of the North in 2018.

The NCF review and key findings

As NCF's Urban Living Partnership pilot programme phase drew towards its end, a review was undertaken in which the NCF approach was tested as a type of civic university contribution within emerging approaches to place-based strategies. To this end, a policy development exercise to consider the roles and impact of universities in place-shaping, city leadership and inclusive growth was commissioned. A new framework (see figure x below) was deployed against which NCF was assessed.

This framework suggests that overwhelmingly, large anchor institutions (like NU in Newcastle) tend to structure their civic activity towards the bottom-hand quadrant of the matrix. However, in places with major socio-economic challenges and pressures for transformational change, there is a need for universities to act much more as a disruptive challenger to local incumbent elites and their traditional ways of doing things.

Figure - NCF review framework

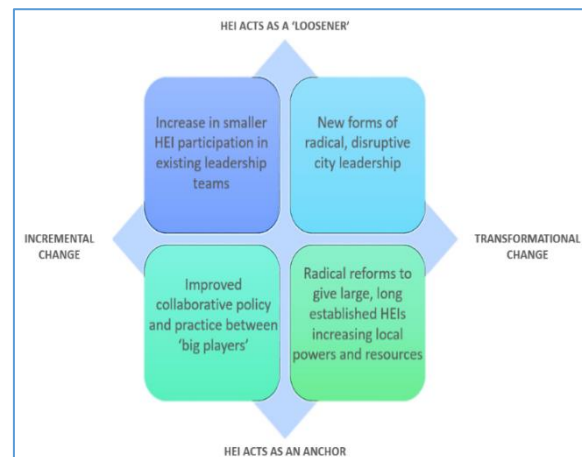The assessment sought to establish how far NCF (as an initiative within a large anchor) could and had played 'challenger'/ 'catalyst' roles in promoting and championing new approaches to place-shaping and city leadership. The process included a literature review, desk research on NCF and Urban Living Partnership documentation, a survey of role players, and some comparative analysis of NCF with experiences in Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and York Urban Living Partnerships. In addition, interviews were conducted with key individuals from organisations across the quadruple helix partnership which explored motivation for, roles and impact of NCF; what worked well and less well; strategic and operational learning from the NCF experience; key relationships; direct and more subtle influences on city leadership and management.

In comparing the experiences of the five Urban Living Partnership pilots the review went on to explore four key questions arising from the application of the NCF review framework:

How far had they been effective in strengthening collaborative action and outcomes in existing city leadership teams?

How did they contribute to changing expectations and practice of their institution in terms of city and city-region engagement?

Had they increased participation of non-traditional role players?

To what extent did they provide a platform for radical, disruptive change in city leadership and delivery management?

The overall question the review sought to answer was to what extent did NCF (and the Urban Living Partnership pilots more generally) provide a viable, replicable model for large civic university anchors to transcend their position as a member of the local incumbent elite and promote radical, disruptive change at scale should this be required?

The review found that NCF was seen as playing a range of roles and functions in place-shaping and (inclusive) city leadership. While these can be seen as distinctive, they are related and potentially complementary and synergistic. They can be broadly summarised as follow:

Providing a neutral space for 'visioning' and discussing 'difficult issues'

Many NCF participants – even the local authority officers – recognised a gap in formal leadership structures and processes. NCF was seen to play a role in filling these in a relatively unthreatening way. To some extent, the City Futures Development Group (established by Newcastle University and City Council, and involving representatives from the wider NCF partnership) was a forum for deliberative exchanges on 'wicked issues' faced by the city and its surroundings. However there was scepticism of the traction the City Future Development Group actually had with more formal city leadership structures and processes.

A way for generating and incubating novel ideas and partnerships

NCF acted as an 'ideas factory' with small amounts of pump-priming expertise and sometimes resourcing for experimental and pilot projects. NCF generated and incubated literally hundreds of ideas and grew from an initial partnership of 22 to more than 180 partners at its peak (see figure x below for a breakdown by sector). The challenge came in scale up.
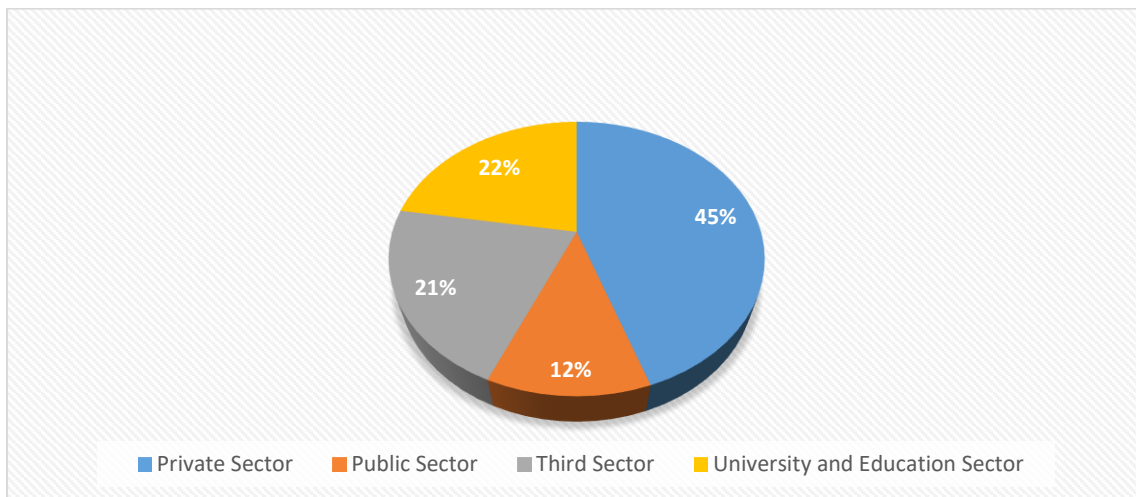
NCF partners by sector

An 'accelerator' for demonstrating ideas

A small number of the ideas sought major resources for scale up. Some made progress, for instance Newcastle Future Homes, which has realised its early ambition to be an estate-level regeneration demonstrator. However even the success stories took several years to incubate and evolve.

A quadruple helix project/programme and potentially policy developer

The use of co-design and co-production tools and techniques was a methodological approach integral to NCF (and all its Urban Living Partnership partners). It is also one where the universities potentially have capabilities that are relatively scarce in mainstream public and private decision-makers and investors. The NCF as the centre of expertise and referral gateway to this expertise was a distinctive role.

A university facility for promoting pan-university inter-disciplinary collaboration and getting local involvement in academic work

NCF was seen within the university as a convenient way of assembling inter-disciplinary and particularly inter-faculty/school, teams to tackle research and development projects and city or community challenges in holistic and innovative ways. Correspondingly, it was welcomed by non-traditional collaborators with the university, as a highly accessible, easy way to mobilise bespoke university support for their needs.

Some challenges for NCF in realising its goals of contributing to inclusive, placed based leadership were identified during the review. The transactional costs of participation were considered very high, especially for smaller companies and organisations in the voluntary, community and social enterprise sector (and even at times for the austerity-struck local authorities). This is a chronic issue for many such interventions led by or including large anchor institutions. NCF evolved over time. It became increasingly difficult for late comers to understand the NCF story, its relationships, and how they could leverage them most effectively. A more explicit induction process might have helped. Some participants considered the co-identification/design tool of choice (the 'mash-up') to not be their preferred operating style. A portfolio of approaches might have worked better. There is a mismatch between academic and business/local authority time frames, with academics much more comfortable with longer term interventions where the outcomes might remain unclear for some time compared to the immediate and urgent priorities of other stakeholders. Finally NCF struggled internally with the lack of university incentives and even systems for pan-school, interdisciplinary working that takes engagement and impact as a starting point (rather than an outcome) for academic research.

There were also a number of institutional and external factors beyond the project that impacted on NCF's ability to design and secure a longer term legacy. The lapsing of the national funding, combined with uncertainty of future university commitment to the model, led inevitably to a waning of influence and dynamism. It is increasingly clear it is unrealistic to expect short-term, low-cost pilots to develop and deliver solutions to challenges of university contributions to inclusive future urban living. Long term commitment and resourcing from university, place and government is important. At the same time there is a definite renewed and heightened interest in civic university models and practice. This culminated in the February 2019 Civic University Commission's report "Truly Civic: Strengthening the connection between universities and their places'. This proposed, amongst others, a new generation of Civic University Agreements (CUAs) to capture this relationship and its shared agendas. Newcastle University was in the first tranche of institutions that signalled a commitment to a CUA. So, the relevance of NCF lessons is current and important.

Learning - conceptual frameworks that can be applied in other places

NCF, in its first two phases, was a relatively short-life institutional arrangement – firstly for the NCF2065 visioning and scenario planning exercise; and then as the host for an Urban Living Partnership pilot programme. The review sought to understand how successful NCF has been as a challenger for disruptive change in the city's leadership and management; and how far it has catalysed new behaviours both within the university, with other anchors and with 'loosener' participants in planning and managing change.

It makes sense, therefore, to return to the framework for the preliminary learning from the assessment in considering the roles NCF played (and some of the challenges faced) within each of the four quadrants. As can be seen, for such a (relatively) low-cost, short-life pilot, NCF's impact is impressive – with specific deliverables in each of the quadrants of the framework. However, what undoes all these potential benefits is precisely the short-life character of the initiative, and the lack of

commitment to a legacy and learning programme within the university, the city, and government/UK Research and Innovation.
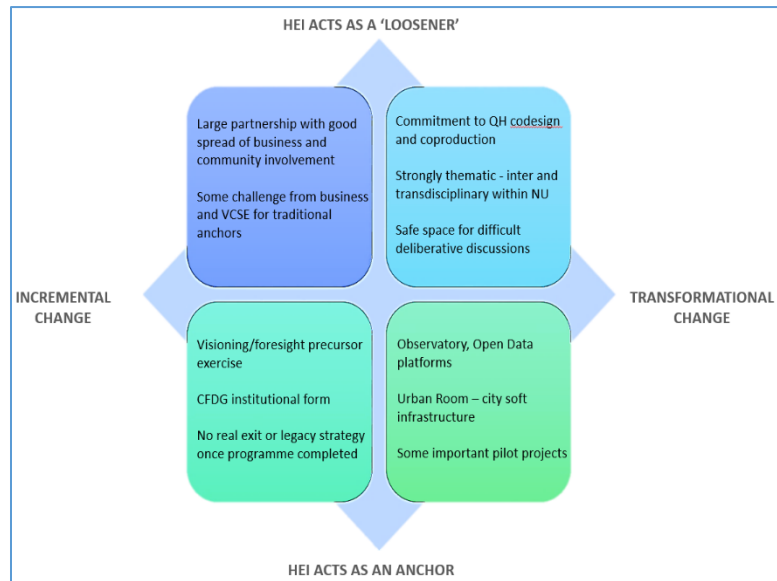
If large anchors wish to be genuinely civic in their values and impact, they need to encourage and embrace the small flexible disrupters that can challenge and catalyse radical change. NCF was has some success in this regard but it needed long run commitment and resourcing if it is to be more than flash in the pan. All large anchors can establish NCFs or equivalent arms-length change catalysts, and/or welcome small specialist universities and other valuable third sector challengers to the leadership top table.

The comparative analysis with the other four Urban Living Partnership pilots has identified a set of approaches and design principles that may be applicable, relevant and scalable in many places across the UK and beyond. There is a sensible menu of roles, responsibilities and activities that future 'NCFs' can assume for a city or other economic geography. This is illustrated in the Urban Living Framework below and we argue is a precondition for enduring sustainable inclusive future growth in any ambitious place.

The Urban Living Framework - role for universities in supporting inclusive leadership in place

Defining civic-ness has to increasingly be determined by the place – rather than the university itself. Part of the NCF-type entity's 'neutral space' role might well be to enable that discussion to take place between all relevant partners, for example in determining what a local civic university agreement might comprise. If the NCF experience within the Urban Living Partnership pilot shows anything national, it is the importance of Government and their research and innovation arm recognising the benefits of national endorsement for new radical models of university civic-ness. This requires a further, extended and better resourced programme across a much wider variety of geography, governance regimes and university configurations to test and develop these propositions.

Conclusions

The UK has enduringly extreme and growing place-based disparities in performance and outcomes within a highly centralised system of political leadership. Place-blind strategies are likely to exacerbate the problems they are trying to address. Universities are critical anchors in the places in which they are located, both directly as employers and purchasers of goods and services as well as indirectly through the impacts of their research, teaching and public engagement. This is even more acutely felt in institutionally 'thin' places, which tend to be most economically fragile and dependent on universities beyond mere generators of knowledge and graduates.

The NCF experience illustrates fundamental limitations to policy assumptions that universities' place-based contributions to inclusive, innovation-led development are inevitable consequences of increasing university civic engagement. Improvements in traditional large anchor university collaboration locally may contribute to innovation-led development of some scale. But the typical outcomes of these improvements will most likely overwhelmingly benefit incumbent local elites – whether public or business sector. There is no guarantee that these benefits will be shared inclusively – let alone prioritise marginalised and 'left-behind' communities and places.

The key recommendation of the 2019 Civic University Commission was that universities should develop Civic University Agreements with the places in which they are located. While this is a welcome development in driving universities to contribute more explicitly to the leadership of place, our research suggests that the implied Civic University question – "what can the university do for its place" – should be turned on its head. Instead the question is "what does the place need from its university(ies)?"

Where places are facing existential challenges requiring disruptive transformation, universities are well-placed to catalyse policy responses. For the large anchor university, there is a menu of roles, responsibilities and activities that they need to assume (as illustrated in the Urban Living Framework) in order to make a genuine and significant contribution to their place; indeed we would argue this is a precondition for enduring sustainable inclusive future growth. But this needs to encourage and support a suite of arms-length challenger arrangements, smaller specialist universities, and community-based anchors which can interrogate and test approaches of incumbent anchors and trial new intervention strategies.

NCF did attempt to do this – with relatively impressive albeit short-term results. Consequently, one of the findings of the review was to propose a much better resourced and longer-term successor to the pilot. This makes 'realising the potential...' complex and a long haul. What is certain from the NCF case, however, is that recognising and managing this complexity is a more honest and most likely a more effective strategy than those offered by civic university quick fixes.

Our exploration of universities' role in place-based leadership through the NCF lens suggests places seeking transformational change require inclusive and diverse local leadership teams that cut across and beyond traditional institutional boundaries. Defining the role and contribution of public institutions in local leadership must be determined by the place rather than the institutions themselves.